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HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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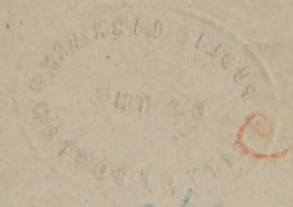

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OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 26, 1838.

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NOTICE.

The Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society have been classed in series, each comprising ten volumes; and the present volume is the seventh of the third series.

The volumes are sold at the very moderate price of one dollar, neatly done up in boards. The whole set, or any single volume, may be had on application at the Library, over the Savings Bank, Tremont Street, or of C. C. Little & Co., Booksellers, No. 112 Washington Street, Boston.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

[Prepared by William Jenks, D. D., a member of the Society.]

The common remark, that no nation can trace so readily and accurately its origin, as ours, has been grounded, no doubt, on the consideration of the progress of European society at the time our country was discovered. The three centuries and a half, which have now nearly elapsed since that period, have formed, comparatively, times of light, and mutual influence, in the history of mankind. By printing, extended navigation, and commercial treaties, the nations have apparently approximated each other; and it would seem, that, even of necessity, the history of each must be recorded and known.

But, in fact, the preservation of the particulars involved in the progress of any people, is a distinct and definite labor for some individual, or association, appropriately devoted to the subject. Official documents must, indeed, in civilized nations, exist; but these are necessarily meagre and restricted, or formal and uninteresting: and the historian is compelled to gather his materials from a wide surface, and to welcome the intelligence derived

*The Rev. Dr. Cogswell, one of the editors of the American Quarterly Register, having applied for *a memoir of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, for insertion among the interesting statistics of that highly respectable periodical publication, the Rev. Dr. Jenks was appointed to prepare one; and, by a subsequent vote, the Publishing Committee were directed to include it in the forthcoming volume of the Collections.—*Pub. Com.*

from the more private memoir, as well as the public record.

If such observations apply even to the old establishments of Europe and Asia, in which the series of public documents and private memoirs, has, in so many instances, been kept almost unbroken; it may easily appear, that the difficulties attending the often perilous work of colonization, succeeded by the alteration of character and pursuits in the descendants of original colonists, must enhance the labor of collecting materials for historical use.

Thus, for instance, in the settlement of New England, we should imagine that, engaged in as it was when science and literature had produced their wonders at Oxford, Cambridge, and other seats of learning in the mother country, no material fact would pass without observation, nor fail to be transmitted to our times. And it is, indeed, a subject for gratulation, that several of the actors in the busy scenes of that day were qualified by education and experience for the task. Thus was the illustrious WINTHROP, first governor of Massachusetts, and so were several of his associates. But, not being at once intrusted to the press, for no press had been erected, their memorials, in their single preciousness, were exposed to the ravages of fire, the negligence and indifference of subsequent possessors of them,* and the innumerable "changes and chances" of an emigrant's fortunes.

The Rev. Dr. COTTON MATHER prepared several memorials, especially of an ecclesiastical character, at a period tolerably early, while yet many of the first race of immigrants were alive. But his desultory manner of writing, much like a modern review, did not allow him to establish his narratives by a severe attention to dates and historical facts, nor to give attention to statistical details. Valuable as are many of the materials he has left us, we are grieved

* The fate, for instance, of the learned President *Chauncy's* MSS. as related in *Allen's* Biographical Dictionary is in point. A member of the Historical Society, not many years ago, had been promised, on his application for that purpose, the indulgence of examining a barrel or two of ancient papers in a neighboring town, belonging to a family descended of the early settlers. "They are now," said the lady, "in the garret—an unfit place for you to enter;" and the inspection was deferred. On calling again, he had the mortification to learn, that, as the occupants had been repairing the house, these papers, being found in the way, had the day before been committed to the flames!

to think how much he might have done for our history, and has yet neglected.

Similar remarks might apply to GOOKIN,* and HUBBARD,† and to MORTON,‡ to ELIOT,§ and WILLIAMS,‖ whose works have been, either by members of this Society, or by the Society itself, reproduced to the public; and it was not until the time of HUTCHINSON,¶ that a history at all worthy of the subject appeared before the world.

Previously, however, to the accomplishment of any portion of this labor, the Rev. Mr. PRINCE,** had, with indefatigable zeal, and at no inconsiderable expense, collected a mass of documents in reference to the country, both in printed works and MSS. Early in life he had conceived the idea which he labored to embody in his "New England Library." Of this valuable collection, which suffered

* *Gookin's* "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," rich as they are in details, yet leave much to inquire for. Happily, another work of his has, at length, after lying long in England, been published in the Transactions of a sister society here.

† See *Savage's* Winthrop, I. 296, 7.

‡ The remarks, however, may not be thought applicable to the edition of *Morton* with which we are now favored from a discriminating, industrious, and learned editor, who has so greatly enriched it with his notes. Judge DAVIS's edition of the "Memorial" was published in 8vo. 1826.

§ Few particulars, comparatively, of a historical kind, are gleaned from the productions of this eminently pious, devoted and successful missionary and pastor. Like the primitive Christians, his effort was rather "to live, than to record, great things."

‖ The remark just made in reference to "the apostle Eliot" may apply to Roger Williams, several of whose letters, autograph MSS. were contained in a volume of the Trumbull collection belonging to the Historical Society, which perished in the conflagration of November 10, 1825. He has found, however, able biographers in the late Rev. Dr. *Bentley* and Rev. Prof. *Knowles*.

¶ In the highly valuable notes with which Mr. Savage has accompanied his edition of Gov. Winthrop's History, will be found an appreciation of Hutchinson's merits as an accurate, laborious, and well-informed historian. Two volumes of his History of Massachusetts, with an Appendix of important documents, had been printed before his departure for England. Within a few years, the concluding volume has been published there. It seems desirable, that an American edition of the whole, with additional notes, should appear. It is believed, that a proposition of this nature was not long since made to our eminent jurist, Judge STORY, whose engagements have not allowed him to give the project attention. Could it engage, as successfully as did the History of Winthrop, the learned labor of the diligent antiquary who so happily edited that work, the writer doubts not that the public and himself would have no cause for regret. Much and steady light, in addition even to MINOT and BRADFORD's Histories, will, we may anticipate, be thrown on the stirring period of Hutchinson's life, when we shall possess the long expected, entire collection of the works of the elder President ADAMS, preparing, as is understood, by his distinguished son.

** Mr. *Prince's* historical work, the New England Chronology, with the additional numbers designed for a second volume, has been faithfully edited by a member of the Historical Society, the Hon. N. HALE, 8vo. 1826. But for most of what may be important in relation to Mr. Prince, the writer must gratify himself by referring to the excellent "History of the Old South Church," by his late beloved Christian brother, the lamented Dr. WISNER.

the predatory and destructive violation of a barbarous soldiery during the revolutionary war, a portion only remains, divided between the study of Mr. Prince's successor, and the library of this Society. To the latter destination have been consigned, by loan, or deposit, such portions of these treasures as were deemed essential in a historical view, or valuable as books of reference.*

The destruction, by fire, of the ancient, original library of Harvard college, in 1764, and the dispersion, or destruction, by a mob, of the valuable collection of books and MSS. in the hands of governor Hutchinson,† some of which belonged to the State, but were loaned for the completion of his History, must have irrecoverably deprived the country of many precious records. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that literary men, who reflected on all these and many other losses, sustained in various ways, should desire a place of deposit for whatever scattered remains might be yet accumulated, and an association to preserve and use them.

It is difficult, if not impracticable, to discover, at the present period, the actual germ of the Society, in the first thought, intention, or effort of any individual mind. Mr. WALLCUT, the only survivor of the first ten who associated, does not sustain the claim made for him by the late Dr. Snow,‡ and by Dr. Allen. The writer will, therefore, avail himself of the reminiscences and minutes of his valued friend, the Rev. Dr. HARRIS, better able, perhaps than any one now living, to ascend to the fountain head of the institution, having taken a very early and deep interest in its success.

The Rev. Dr. BELKNAP has been uniformly regarded as a principal founder of this Society. His valuable History of New Hampshire had been written under great disadvantages, and published with inadequate patronage. The labor of twenty-two years, as he states, was devoted to it; and in his last volume, published in 1793, nine years after

* The deposit of these selected volumes and MSS. was made in 1814, under a specific and recorded agreement. The selection was confided to the late Rev. Dr. HOLMES and ALDEN BRADFORD, LL. D. In effecting the object, Dr. HARRIS also had, from the first, been deeply interested and active.

† See *Holmes's* Annals, and *Eliot's* Biographical Dictionary.

‡ History of Boston. p. 356. Pres. Allen's Biographical Dictionary, art. Belknap.

the first, it is said, that the sale of the preceding volumes had not defrayed the expense of publication. He had been at great cost, of time and labor at least, in amassing the materials for his work. Several of these were now his own—others were, of course, in public offices.

Dr. BELKNAP, by the interest of friends who knew his worth, had been transferred from his parish in New Hampshire, and had become a pastor in Boston; and he, having "engaged in preparing his American Biography, and Hon. GEORGE R. MINOT," the elegant historian of the Insurrection in Massachusetts, "who was occupied in writing a continuation of Hutchinson's History, had frequent occasion in 1789," observes Dr. HARRIS, "of conferring together with reference to materials to be consulted. They knew that the Rev. Dr. ELIOT* possessed the MS. of Hubbard's History; that Rev. Dr. THACHER had the diary of his ancestor, a very early settler; and concluded that Hon. JAMES WINTHROP, of Cambridge, retained papers of his ancestor, the governor, and of other branches of that celebrated family. To have a place of common deposit of such documents, for ready access and consultation, they proposed to these gentlemen to unite with them, in contributing and collecting aids to their own labors and those of others." In 1790, therefore, a meeting was holden, the day however is not given, to agree on the object. Five gentlemen were present, and the Society, it appears, was then virtually formed. But on separating, at the adjournment, each agreed to bring a friend to the next meeting. Accordingly, on the 24th of January of the next year, ten persons met, and embodied themselves with due formality. The Hon. Judge TUDOR, Rev. Drs. BELKNAP, THACHER and ELIOT, and Judge WINTHROP, attended the first informal meeting: and at the embodying were present, beside them, Rev. Dr. FREEMAN, Judge MINOT, Hon. W. BAYLIES, of Dighton, Judge SULLIVAN, and Mr. WALLCUT. Yet, in the printed paper inserted in

* The writer ought never to name this amiable and accomplished scholar, and modest, benevolent man, his early patron and friend, without grateful emotions. Dr. ELIOT says of himself, that "his taste always led him to collect curious MSS. and ancient books;" and that "he was favored with many letters of the Hutchinson and Oliver families." His venerated father had been an attentive collector of similar documents, and enjoyed the correspondence of HOLLIS, with occasional accessions to his library from a source so munificent.

their volumes, the "establishment" of the Society is dated 1790.

Judge SULLIVAN, afterward governor of the Commonwealth, was chosen President, Mr. WALLCUT,* Recording Secretary, Dr. BELKNAP, Corresponding Secretary, Judge TUDOR, Treasurer, and Dr. ELIOT, Librarian.

The OBJECTS of the association were, not only to collect and to preserve, but also to communicate such materials as might be procured for a complete history of this country, with its topography, natural productions, and aborigines, as also a view of all valuable efforts of ingenuity and industry made by its inhabitants, with biographical and statistical delineations, and accounts of institutions of a benevolent or literary kind, or in any manner connected with the welfare of the country, and illustrating the progress of its civilization and prosperity, in arts or science, and in agriculture, commerce, or manufactures.†

In pursuance of their plan, the associates began their collection, consisting at first of mutual contributions of books, MSS. and such articles of curiosity, connected with their object, as were offered by their friends. We regard with astonishment the immense collections of books in Europe—and are mortified on comparing with them the

* This gentleman early occupied himself in collecting books and MSS., and, by copying, which was with him a favorite idea, to multiply the chances that a rare or unique document should descend to posterity. The far greater part of this collection is now, by the liberality of the late owner, the property of the American Antiquarian Society, and a part has gone to Bowdoin college.

† The following is a copy of the original record, in which, with peculiar elegance of language, the aim and design of the Society are developed.

"The preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts and records, containing historical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial speculations, conduces to mark the genius, delineate the manners, and trace the progress of society in the United States, and must always have a useful tendency to rescue the true history of this country from the ravages of time, and the effects of ignorance and neglect.

"A collection of observations and descriptions in natural history and topography, together with specimens of natural and artificial curiosities, and a selection of every thing which can improve and promote the historical knowledge of our country, either in a physical or political view, has long been considered as a desideratum; and as such a plan can be best executed by a society whose sole and special care shall be confined to the above objects: We the subscribers do agree to form such an institution, and to associate for the above purposes, subject to the following regulations.

"ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the Historical Society, and consist of a number not exceeding thirty, (a) who shall, at the time of their election, be citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"ART. 2. That each member, at the time of his admission, shall pay five dollars

(a) Enlarged, subsequently, and "sixty" substituted.

scantiness of our own literary resources. Yet it is to be remembered, that ages alone have sufficed to amass the former—and that public acts of the respective governments have successively augmented them. Thus the Royal Library of Paris, the first establishment of the kind in Europe, is indebted to a law of near three centuries' continuance, that a copy of every work he publishes be presented to it by each bookseller. With such aid, the increase is no marvel.* But, in relation to the collection now contemplated, it commenced with private efforts of men of restricted means.

"Their meetings were first held in the office of Judge Minot, in Spring lane. But, being liable to interruption there, they obtained the use of a small apartment in Faneuil Hall, being the north-west corner of 'the attic,' a place," says the writer's authority, "as retired and recondite, as explorers into the recesses of antiquity could think

and two dollars annually, to create a fund for the benefit of the institution. And any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of two dollars, provided he shall, at any time after six months from his admission, pay to the treasurer thirty-four dollars in addition to what he had before paid.

"Art. 3. All elections shall be made by ballot. No member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting, and all nominations shall be made at a meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

"Art. 4. There shall be four stated meetings of the Society in each year, namely, on the last Tuesdays of January, April, July and October. And occasional meetings shall be convened on due notification from the president, or, in case of his absence, by one of the secretaries, upon the application of any two of the members.

"Art. 5. There shall be annually chosen, at the meeting in April, a president, a recording and corresponding secretary, a treasurer, a librarian, and a standing committee of three.

"Art. 6. All communications which are thought worthy of preservation, shall be entered at large, or minuted down in the books of the Society, and the originals kept on file.

"Art. 7. At the request of any two members present, any motion shall be deferred to another meeting for further consideration before it is finally determined upon.

"Art. 8. All accounts shall be kept in dollars and cents.

"Art. 9. Five members present shall be a quorum for all purposes, excepting those of making alterations in, or additions to the foregoing Articles, and the election of members.

"Art. 10. No member shall be chosen unless there are eight members present at the election.

"Art. 11. The first Article shall not restrict the Society from electing corresponding members in any other State or country.

"Art. 12. The members who are chosen in other States and countries shall not exceed the number of thirty, (*a*) and shall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of the Commonwealth.

* See a valuable paper on libraries, and the poverty of our own, in the July No. (1837) of the North American Review.

(*a*) Altered, as before; and several articles have been altered also, or enlarged, as became requisite.

of visiting."* In a few months, however, after this removal, they were accommodated in the building originally erected for the proposed linen factory,† in which the Massachusetts Bank transacted business.

Their literary materials increasing, they were anxious to present them to the public in a permanent form. But it was "the day of small things," and the means were wanting for publication. In this emergency, it was proposed by Dr. BELKNAP, in the autumn of 1791, to encourage a periodical contemplated by two young men,‡ just commencing the business of printing. Accordingly, in a sheet attached to the "American Apollo," which made its appearance weekly, in 1792, commencing with the year, the publications of the Society began, and thus was completed the first volume of their "Collections." These now amount to twenty-six volumes, divided into series of ten volumes each, denominated decades, the last volume of each decade containing the index of the series. As they were originally printed in small editions, several of the volumes have, of necessity, been re-commited to the press. Still it is difficult to obtain the set complete.

In order to forward the designs of the Society, their Corresponding Secretary had already addressed to many gentlemen, throughout the United States and the adjacent islands, the following "Circular Letter," with its accompaniment :

"SIR,

"A Society has lately been instituted in this town, called the HISTORICAL SOCIETY ; the professed design of which is, to collect, preserve, and communicate materials for a complete history of this country, and accounts of all valuable efforts of human ingenuity and industry, from the beginning of its settlement. In pursuance of this plan, they have already amassed a large quantity of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts ; and are still in search of more : a catalogue of which will be printed for the information of the public.

* Notes of Rev. Dr. HARRIS.
† Where Hamilton place now is, in Tremont street.
‡ Messrs. Joseph Belknap and Alexander Young.

"They have also given encouragement to the publication of a weekly paper, to be called the AMERICAN APOLLO; in which will be given the result of their inquiries into the natural, political, and ecclesiastical history of this country. A proposal for the printing of this paper is here inclosed to you; and it is requested that you would promote subscriptions, and contribute to its value and importance by attention to the articles annexed. The Society beg leave to depend on your obliging answer to these heads of inquiry, when leisure and opportunity will permit.

"Your letters addressed, free of expense, to the subscriber, will be gratefully received, and duly noticed in the Society's publications; and you will have the satisfaction of contributing to the general stock of knowledge, with which they hope to entertain the public.

"In the name, and by order of the Society,

"JEREMY BELKNAP, Cor. Sec.

"*Summer street, Boston, Nov.* 1, 1791."

"*Articles on which the Society request information.*

"1. The time when your town was granted and incorporated; its Indian name; when the settlement began; whether it was interrupted, and by what means; to what colony or county it was first annexed; and if there have been any alterations, what they are, and when made.

2. The exploits, labors and sufferings of the inhabitants in war; particular accounts of devastations, deaths, captivities and redemptions.

3. Divisions of your town into parishes and precincts, or the erection of new towns within the former limits.

4. Time of gathering churches of every denomination; names of the several ministers; the times of their settlement, removal and death; and their age at the time of their death.

5. Biographical anecdotes of persons in your town, or within your knowledge, who have been remarkable for ingenuity, enterprise, literature, or any other valuable accomplishment; an account of their literary productions, and, if possible, copies of them.

6. Topographical description of your town and its vicinity ; mountains, rivers, ponds, vegetable productions ; remarkable falls, caverns, minerals, stones, fossils, pigments, medicinal and poisonous substances, their uses and antidotes.

7. The former and present state of cultivation, and your thoughts on further improvements, either in respect to agriculture, roads or canals.

8. Monuments and relics of the ancient Indians ; number and present state of any remaining Indians among you.

9. Singular instances of longevity and fecundity, from the first settlement to the present time.

10. Observations on the weather, diseases, and the influence of the climate, or of particular situations, employments and aliments, especially the effect of spirituous liquors on the human constitution.

11. Accurate bills of mortality, specifying ages and casualties, the proportion of births and deaths ; and the increase or decrease of population.

12. Accounts of manufactures and fisheries, and thoughts on the further improvement of them.

13. Modes of education, private or public ; what encouragement is given to schools ; and what is done to advance literature ; whether you have a social library, what is the number of books, and of what value.

14. What remarkable events have befallen your town, or particular families or persons at any time.

P. S. Any books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps or plans, which may conduce to the accomplishment of the views of the Society ; and any natural or artificial productions which may enlarge its museum, will be accepted with thanks.

The library of the Society is deposited in an apartment of the Massachusetts Bank. Any person desirous of making a search among the books or manuscripts, may have access to it, under such regulations, and at such hours, as may be known by applying to any one of its members."

Circulars, of import similar to this, with further enlargements, have been, since that period, repeatedly distributed

among gentlemen of science, or of curious research, and have occasionally elicited very valuable communications.

Three centuries having elapsed, in 1792, from the first discovery of America, the Society resolved to notice the period.* Dr. BELKNAP was therefore appointed to deliver a discourse on the 23d of October. This was done, and the discourse printed—remaining a pleasing monument of the fine talents and diligent investigations of the author; who gives, within its covers, the public notice of his having advanced in preparing the volumes of his "American Biography," † with proposals for subscription.

At the close of 1793, when the "Tontine Crescent" had been nearly finished, a room was most liberally offered to the Society by WILLIAM SCOLLAY, CHARLES BULFINCH, and CHARLES VAUGHAN, Esquires, the gentlemen under whose superintendence the erection had been effected. It was in the centre of the block, in Franklin place, over the Boston Library. The noble donation was gratefully accepted, and the public letter of thanks bears date January 11, 1794. It follows.

"Gentlemen,

"Your obliging letter of the 31st of December last, offering to the Massachusetts Historical Society a room in the centre building of the Crescent, I have communicated to the Society. That association had its origin in a sincere wish to promote the honor and happiness of United America, and the labor of its members has been, and now is, employed with unremitting zeal and industry, in collecting and preserving those materials, which will give a foundation to a political, as well as a natural history of the country. Our fellow citizens, recognising the utility of our plan, have been very liberal and assiduous, in yielding us assistance and support. By these means we have amassed a great number of books, printed productions, ancient manuscripts, and natural curiosities. The government of this Commonwealth has directed the Secre-

* Centurial celebrations have since received the marked attention of the Society, as in 1820 at Plymouth, and in 1828 at Salem, &c.

† Two volumes only have been published; the first in 1794, and the second in 1798; but it is understood that no inconsiderable progress was made before the author's decease toward a third volume.

tary to deliver us copies of public proceedings ; and we hope that the general, and other governments, will afford us aid and countenance in the same manner.

"Thus situated, and with these prospects, nothing could be more congenial to our wishes, or acceptable to our interest, than the generous offer you have made. We derive no small degree of pleasure from the consideration, that the donation is made by gentlemen, whose feelings for the public interest, and taste for architecture, have ornamented the capital with buildings so exceedingly elegant as the Crescent.

"I am directed by the Society, of which I have the honor of being president, to present to you their most cordial thanks for this mark of respect to their institution ; and to assure you, that a grateful sense of your generosity and goodness shall be preserved until the Society shall cease to exist.

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen, with sentiments of respect, your most obedient and humble servant,

"JAMES SULLIVAN."

This room continued to be occupied by the Society until 1833. The situation, however, having been thought to expose the Society too much, from the difficulty of approach, to the irreparable loss of its acquisitions in case of fire, various efforts had been made by special committees* at different times, to obtain a place more commodious in its access, and promising greater safety ; but with no favorable result, until the erection, on the spot originally occupied by the Boston Athenæum, of the substantial stone building which now accommodates that invaluable institution, the Savings Bank. By a subscription of several members, aided more largely by generous friends, who appeared to feel that the object was of high public utility, arrangements were then effected,† by which an entire story, besides a convenient upper room, was devoted to the increasing treasures of the Society, and appropriately fitted for the purpose.

* The Hon. Mr. QUINCY, especially, was for years, and more particularly during his mayoralty, desirous and engaged to produce a mutual accommodation for several of the literary and scientific associations, whose seat is the metropolis.

† At a cost of $6,500.

But we must return. The prospect of a location which, at the time it was made, was so very acceptable to the Society, drew forth the desire, and established the propriety of petitioning for an act of incorporation. As early, indeed, as July, 1792, the subject was agitated ; it was assigned to a committee in January, 1793 ; but at the meeting which voted thanks for the room, and prepared for securing to the Society, and occupying it, the matter was expedited with new spirit ; and on the 19th of February, 1794, granted in ample form by the legislature.

In this act of incorporation, the following twenty-nine resident members, the number of which the Society then consisted, are legally embodied, viz. William Baylies, Esq., Jeremy Belknap, D. D., the Rev. Alden Bradford, Peleg Coffin, Esq., Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D., John Davis, Esq., Daniel Davis, Esq., Aaron Dexter, M. D., the Rev. John Eliot, Nathaniel Freeman, Esq., the Rev. James Freeman, the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, Isaac Lathrop, Esq., George Richards Minot, Esq., the Rev. John Mellen, Jun., Thomas Pemberton, William Dandridge Peck, the Rev. John Prince, Ezekiel Price, Esq., James Sullivan, Esq., David Sewall, Esq., Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D., William Tudor, Esq., Samuel Turell, Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq., James Winthrop, Esq., Thomas Wallcut, Redford Webster, and William Wetmore, Esq. With the usual provisions, they are allowed to hold real estate producing an income of £500 per annum, and personal estate, beside books, papers, and articles in their museum, to the amount of £2,000. Their number is not to exceed sixty, exclusive of honorary members residing out of the Commonwealth ; and the legislature reserves to each of its branches free access to the library and museum.

Soon after the incorporation, the circular letter was enlarged with new particulars, and directions given for the preservation of subjects in natural history, which were requested afresh, and with new urgency, from the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, together with books, pamphlets, manuscripts, &c. to enrich the cabinet and library.

The story of the building, now appropriated to the objects of the Society, consists of a hall and the library room.

In the former is found a number of ancient and modern portraits. Those of the families of Winslow,* and Phillips, beside several single portraits, as of Increase Mather, Gov. Hutchinson,† Gen. Lincoln, Lafayette, at an early period of life, Gov. Wolcott, the Hon. Judge Davis, recently president of the Society, and the Hon. T. L. Winthrop, the present President, will attract attention. That of the first Gov. Winslow, of the "Old Colony," is peculiarly masterly, and supposed to have been painted by Vandyke, while Mr. Winslow was in England as a commissioner.‡

It is very desirable that this department be increased. The portraits of governors of the Commonwealth, so judiciously hung in the senate-chamber of the State-house, with the large and valuable exhibition of a similar kind made in the library of Harvard college, and the few in Faneuil hall, where a series of the mayors of Boston might well be looked for, excite the wish, that public places may become more and more ornamented with the products of the pencil and burine, to transmit to other times the features of worthy men. How large the catalogue may be of such reliques, the writer has no means of knowing; but our "guide books," as in old countries, must soon be expected to declare. Doubtless there are not a few yet existing on sufferance in many private families, which would be very acceptable to the community, if in some similar way rendered public and stationary.

The library consists principally of printed books and MSS. on American history, though by no means exclusively confined to it. It numbers near 6,000 articles, many of which are precious. The most ancient MSS. are, probably, a fragment of the Laws of Hoel Dha, in Welsh, and a specimen, in a medical treatise, of the English language in the reign of Richard II., with an illuminated missal, and a few similar productions.§ Then follow autograph letters and treatises of several of the fathers of New England.

* These are, at present, but deposited with the Society.

† Believed to be unique, and as such solicited by the family in England, as a loan, for copying.

‡ A list of the principal portraits is intended for this Volume. [*Pub. Com.*

§ The Publishing Committee would mention, also, a very ancient manuscript of 552 pages, neatly written, containing *a translation of the Æneid of Virgil in blank*

A large collection of these, and of documents of a more recent date, had been made by Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut, and are now bound in twenty-three volumes, folio, the property of this Society.

It is not to be supposed, that, how important soever a collection of documents of a religious nature might be regarded, the Society limits itself to these. Yet as a large part of the early authors of our country were clergymen, and the original establishments in New England were made on religious accounts, it is not surprising that no inconsiderable portion of the publications and MSS. possessed by the Society are of an ecclesiastical nature. Still the collection is very imperfect; and our Congregational body of churches are but very scantily furnished with materials for their history. The attested records of ecclesiastical councils, and the particulars of ordinations, are often suffered to rest with the neglected papers of individual clergymen, and undergo the usual fate which awaits "old and musty writings, relating only to the dead, and of no use to the living." It were to be wished, that the safe keeping of these and similar memorials might be uniformly entrusted to the archives of the Society. The subject has been repeatedly suggested in private, has been laid before the convention of ministers, and by a special committee presented to several of the more ancient churches—to obtain, if no more, the copies of church records. The value of all these documents may at some time be great—especially to the future ecclesiastical historian.

Several periodicals have at different times been undertaken and failed, while others have survived, and still flourish. Some of these are found in the library. But it is still very defective; and complete sets, desirable as the acquisition might be, are now, it is feared, to be rather wished and hoped for, than expected.

Newspapers have been greatly desired, and sedulously, at an early period of the Society's labors, sought after and

verse, by ANNIBAL CARO. This celebrated author died at Rome in 1566. His Poems and Sonnets were much admired, and appeared at Venice in 1564: and the "Eneide di Virgilio," was published at Paris in 1765, [two hundred years after the death of the author] in 2 vols. 4to, and the following commendation is given of it:—"This translation of the Æneid is done with so much spirit, that some judges have declared the composition scarcely inferior to the original."

solicited; yet the collection is far from complete. Nevertheless, there are some, especially such as relate to the progress of the revolutionary struggle, which have often been consulted; and for minute, local information, highly prized. Several editors have contributed to increase this stock, and receive, as they merit, public thanks for their liberality. Perfect files, of the earliest especially, young as our country is, are, perhaps, hardly, if at all, to be found. An eminent foreigner,* and the fact is curious, has been among the most successful single collectors of these flitting leaves; and, thanks to the liberality of a Boston merchant,† the results of his care enrich the library of our University. The Antiquarian Society also has a very large collection‡—but that of this Society was, of course, at an earlier period of avail to the community.

The public documents of the general government, which have of recent years been transmitted from Congress, are a valuable part of the Society's treasures; which have been occasionally increased, though, it is feared, not uniformly, by the legislature of Massachusetts.

No small attention has been paid to the collection of maps, charts, and plans—of which the number is very respectable, and has been of public use, as well as an essential aid in private researches.

The publications of the Society have consisted almost entirely of its well-known "COLLECTIONS." These, as has been stated, now extend to two decades, and six volumes of a third. They are in an 8vo form, and by their convenient size, and cheapness of execution, are better calculated, it is judged, for a wide and beneficial circulation, than the more stately and expensive volumes of the older European establishments of scientific and literary character. They embrace, of course, a great variety of miscellaneous information on almost all topics connected with the history, not of the United States only, or of their colonial condition, from the settlement of the respective States, but of the continent likewise—and even occasion-

* EBELING. † MR. THORNDIKE.

‡ Made originally by the distinguished printer, ISAIAH THOMAS, Esq., LL. D., its first president, whose extensive connections and long editorial labors gave him great advantages, and which has been subsequently increased.

ally of the mother country, and others in Europe, so far as their relation demands.

In such a field, it would be presumptuous in the writer of this "account" to attempt a discrimination, with regard either to the productions, or their respective authors. Many pages, however, of the volumes, consist of republications of treatises out of print, and more, of valuable MSS. of former days. In procuring these, the industry and care of many members of the Society, and the kindness of friends, have been conspicuous. The particular merits of every worthy contributor it were invidious to attempt to ascertain ; nor can the value, indeed, of the materials themselves be fully appreciated in the present day. They have, in many cases, been absolutely rescued from destruction, and a future age alone will develope their worth.

By the liberality of the late governor GORE, who was president of the Society from 1806 to 1818, a large addition has been made to the library from his own collection, and a bequest of $2,000, increased, very acceptably, its funds.

From the present president of the Society, a donation of several ancient books and papers of the family of WINTHROP, enriches, with other important benefactions, the Society's treasures—among which may be numbered a copy of the portrait of his illustrious ancestor, the first governor of Massachusetts, to the publication of whose journal, or history, his respected descendant largely contributed.

The zeal of ALDEN BRADFORD, Esq., LL. D., one of the few survivors among its earliest members, and a large contributor to the history of his country,* as well as to the Collections of this Society, induced him to obtain from the government of the State permission to extract from the Hutchinson papers in the Secretary's office such as the Society might deem worthy of publication. The MSS. also

* Dr. Bradford's separate historical publications are, A Collection of State Papers, 8vo, 1818. History of Massachusetts, from 1764, the period to which Judge Minot carried his Continuation of Hutchinson, to July, 1775, published in 1822. A second volume carried the history to 1789. History of Massachusetts from 1620 to 1820, in one volume, 8vo, and the History of Harvard College, published in the Quarterly Register recently.

of the DANFORTH family were procured by him, and placed in the archives of the Society.

The original arrangement of the library, and the first formation of its catalogue, were mainly due to the persevering industry of Rev. TIMOTHY ALDEN,* recently president of Alleghany College, but at that time residing in Boston, and to his beloved and lamented friend, the late Rev. Dr. MCKEAN.†

The recovery of our Indian languages, a labor which has been with so much ardor and success prosecuted by M. DU PONCEAU,‡ in reference to the Delaware, has engaged the special attention of the Hon. Judge DAVIS, president, of late, of the Society, and of the Hon. J. PICKERING, Esq., some of whose labors in this field enrich the volumes of the Society's Collections. Indeed, such recovery has been deemed, by some, but a duty due to the memory of those whose pleasant land we occupy, and whose welfare employed the benevolent exertions of ELIOT, GOOKIN, the MAYHEWS and COTTONS, the memorials of whose deep interest in the aborigines may be said to hallow the Collections themselves. It may also in this connection be remarked, that some of the remains of our Indians, are found in the cabinet of curiosities, which the Society is forming. It is to be lamented that they are so few. But when the perishable nature of their productions is considered, and their wandering mode of life, it will easily appear, that little beside their tools and weapons could be expected to remain. Of these there are several, and they are mingled with similar proofs of industry and skill obtained by early navigators to the north-west coast of America, and presented by several of our enterprising merchants. The cabinet, however, has not grown rap-

* In imitation of Weever's Funeral Monuments, which, with antiquaries, are in no small repute, Mr. Alden has published five small volumes of a Collection of Epitaphs. These establish obituary dates, and have allowed opportunity for occasional biographical sketches, the work admitting of indefinite enlargement.

† He was taken away at a comparatively early age from a circle of strongly attached friends—few of whom have had greater reason than the writer to cherish his memory. He is understood to have been the author of an Addition to Wood's Continuation of Goldsmith's History of England, published in two large 8vo volumes, 1814. He was also the biographer of Rev. Dr. Eliot; see Historical Collections, volume i., second series.

‡ See the volumes of the American Philosophical Society for these labors of their greatly distinguished president.

idly—and much of the cause, perhaps, may be found in an increasing desire to acquire and preserve such specimens in the different museums, which have from time to time been formed and patronized—a result of the very kind the Society desires to witness.

The funds for the progress and support of the Society's designs, have been obtained in part from annual assessments on the members, partly from the sale of the "Collections," and in no small degree from the liberal contributions of its more wealthy members. In consequence also of the delivery of a series of lectures on historical subjects, during the evenings of a few past winters, by some of the distinguished friends or members of the Society,* an addition has been made to its pecuniary resources. The legislature has likewise purchased for distribution in the several towns of the Commonwealth, some hundreds of copies of the Society's edition of Hubbard's History, and of the Journal of Governor Winthrop, or, as it is more properly to be styled, his "History of New England," the latter edited, and greatly enriched with most valuable notes, by the present treasurer of the Society, the Hon. JAMES SAVAGE.

It has been said already, that it were an invidious task to particularize and discriminate, in mentioning the literary labors of members of the Society ; yet, as several have been already named, a few further references may seem absolutely requisite. Thus, it is not to be overlooked, even in the present sketch, that, the attention of the legislature having been drawn, about twenty years ago, to the condition of the public records of the "Old Colony" of Plymouth, a commission was instituted, of members of this Society, viz. the late Rev. Dr. FREEMAN,† SAMUEL

* From the avails of the lectures, the amount which has thus far been paid into the treasury is but little short of $1,000.

† Few of the members have taken a deeper or more persevering concern in the interests of the Society than the gentleman now named. With his theological views the writer will not be expected to harmonize. Yet will he never forget the obligations under which he has been laid by the early and effective frendship and urbanity of this studious and accurate scholar and honest man. Dr. FREEMAN was peculiarly attached on the "Old Colony," the seat of his family, and illustrated its local history in various communications, scattered through the Collections of the Society. He was also known to have made a very considerable preparation of geographical materials in reference to the United States, and his review of MORSE's Geography is not forgotten.

Davis, Esq., recently deceased, and B. R. Nichols, Esq., "to examine the said records, files, and documents,—and to report how far, in their opinion, it may be proper to have the same deposited in the archives of the Secretary of State, for the use of legislators, historians, and antiquarians; and how far it may be useful to multiply copies of the whole." They reported, that "it would be of benefit to the present age, and still more to posterity, to cause a fair transcript to be taken, and copies to be multiplied by printing the most useful articles." The result has been, the transcription of a mass of these records, amounting to eleven folio volumes, which are now deposited, with the twenty-two volumes of original records, in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth.* To have aided in such an arrangement is gratifying, as is the contemplation of the attention paid by enlightened legislators† to preserve and diffuse an accurate knowledge of the settlement and growth of our country.

One great and important work, achieved by a distinguished and beloved member of this Society, the late Rev. Dr. Holmes, for several years its Corresponding Secretary, must not be passed in silence. His "American Annals," an edition of which has been published in England, will remain a highly creditable and valuable monument, not merely of accurate and laborious research, sound judgment, and inviolable fidelity, but of patriotism also and philanthropy; and while it illustrates the history of his country, from its discovery down to our times, will not fail to spread the reputation of the author, and endear his memory.

The History of Maine,‡ by the late governor Sullivan, and his account of the Penobscotts,§ are an important

* See an account of this commission, &c. in vol. ii., 3d series, Hist. Coll. p. 258, seq.

† Under the authority and patronage of the legislature, a publication has recently been made, by W. Brigham, Esq. of the most material parts of these documents, in a legal view. Similar publications have been in progress for several years in England, with splendid results; and France is now re-publishing her ancient original historians.

‡ It is an interesting literary fact, that, on the completion of this work, its author disposed of the copyright for $200, which he presented to the Society.

§ See Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. ix.

contribution to a full knowledge of that rising and flourishing member of our Union.

The various valuable publications of the Hon. W. SULLIVAN, the late W. TUDOR, Esq., the Hon. JOSIAH, QUINCY, Mayor of Boston, and now President of the University in its neighborhood; of the Hon. Judge STORY, of Governor EVERETT, of Mr. J. E. WORCESTER, and of JARED SPARKS, Esq., who is doing so much to illustrate the name of our WASHINGTON, as well as to embalm his own—reflect honor on the Society of which they are members, and aid in accomplishing its patriotic aims.

Similar remarks might be made in reference to several other works, as of LINCOLN'S History of Worcester, LEWIS'S of Lynn, SHATTUCK'S of Concord, FELT'S of Salem, Hamilton, Ipswich, and Essex, and the entertaining History of Boston, by the late Dr. SNOW, whose blameless character is cherished by the Society, and whose early death they regret. To several objects also of this Society the amiable, accomplished, and lamented BUCKMINSTER devoted no small attention.*

But neither the occasion, nor the space allotted to this "Account" will allow enlargement, however gratifying it might be to the writer to indulge the recollection of departed associates and friends, or to dwell on the worth of those who happily survive. He will close this sketch with a catalogue of members of the Society, for which he acknowledges his obligations to the well known accuracy and attention of his respected friend, the Rev. Dr. PIERCE.

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* For little more than a year was he connected with it, yet he contemplated a work, "On the Sources of American History," which, had he lived to complete it, might have been of high worth.

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"A WORD TO BOSTON,"

BY GOVERNOR WILLIAM BRADFORD.

[In the IIId volume of the *Collections*, first series, was published "a descriptive and Historical account of New England, in verse," by Gov. Bradford, of which Dr. Belknap remarks, "if it be not graced with the charms of poetry, yet it is a just and affecting narrative, intermixed with pious and useful reflections." Of a like strain are the lines that follow, and as, from the reference to them in the Governor's Will, of which we subjoin an extract, they were by him commended to preservation, we rescue them from the original manuscript where for more than one hundred and sixty years they have remained in obscurity.

"I commend unto your wisdom and discretion, some small bookes written by my own hand, to be improved as you shall see meet. In special I commend to you a little booke with a blacke cover, wherein there is a word to Plymouth, a word to Boston, and a word to New England; with sundry useful verses." [The Will was witnessed by Thomas Cushman, Thomas Southworth, and Nathaniel Morton.]

Of Boston in New England.

O Boston, though thou now art grown
To be a great and wealthy town,
Yet I have seen thee a void place,
Shrubs and bushes covering thy face;
And house then in thee none were there,
Nor such as gold and silk did weare;
No drunkenness were then in thee,
Nor such excesse as now we see.
We then drunke freely of thy spring
Without paying of any thing;
We lodged freely where we would,
All things were free and nothing sold.
And they that did thee first begin
Had hearts as free and as willing
Their poor friends for to entertaine,
And never looked at sordid gaine.
Some thou hast had whome I did know,
That spent theirselves to make thee grow,
And thy foundations they did lay
Which doe remaine unto this day.
When thou wast weak they did thee nurse,
Or else with thee it had been worse;
They left thee not, but did defend
And succour thee unto their end.
Thou now hast growne in wealth and store,
Doe not forget that thou wast poore,

And lift not up thyselfe in pride,
From truth and justice turne not aside.
Remember thou a Cotton had,
Which made the hearts of many glad;
What he thee taught bear thou in minde,
It's hard another such to finde.
A Winthrop once in thee was knowne
Who unto thee was as a crowne.
Such ornaments are very rare
Yet thou enjoyed this blessed pair.
But these are gone, their work is done,
Their day is past, set is their sun:
Yet faithful Wilson still remains,
And learned Norton doth take pains.
Live ye in peace. I could say more.
Oppress ye not the weake and poore.
The trade is all in your own hand,
Take heed ye doe not wrong the land,
Lest he that hath lift you on high,
When, as the poore to him doe cry
Doe throw you downe from your high state,
And make you low and desolate.

A word to New England.

O New England, thou canst not boast;
Thy former glory thou hast lost.
When Hooker, Winthrop, Cotton died,
And many precious ones beside,
Thy beauty then it did decay,
And still doth languish more away;
Love, truth, good-men, mercy and grace,
And wealth and the world take their place.
Thy open sins none can them hide,
Fraud, drunkenness, whoredom and pride.
The great oppressors slay the poore,
But whimsie errors they kill more.
Yet some thou hast who mourne and weep,
And their garments they unspotted keep;
Who seek God's honour to maintaine
That true Religion may remaine.
These doe invite and sweetly call
Each to other, and say to all,
Repent, amend, and turn to God
That we may prevent his sharp rod,
Time yet thou hast, improve it well,
That God's presence may with you dwell.

OUR FOREFATHER'S SONG.

[Composed about the year 1630, author unknown; *taken memoriter, in* 1785, *from the lips of an old Lady, at the advanced period of* 96. *There is visibly a break in the sense, commencing at the* 5*th line of the* 5*th verse:* and, through the failure of memory, four lines have been lost at the latter part of the 5th stanza.]

New England's annoyances you that would know them,
Pray ponder these verses which briefly doth shew them.

I.

The place where we live is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanting that's fruitful and good:
Our mountains and hills and our valleys below,
Being commonly covered with ice and with snow:
And when the northwest wind with violence blows,
Then every man pulls his cap over his nose:
But if any's so hardy and will it withstand,
He forfeits a finger, a foot, or a hand.

II.

But when the spring opens we then take the hoe,
And make the ground ready to plant and to sow;
Our corn being planted and seed being sown,
The worms destroy much before it is grown;
And when it is growing some spoil there is made,
By birds and by squirrels that pluck up the blade;
And when it is come to full corn in the ear,
It is often destroyed by raccoon and by deer.

III.

And now our garments begin to grow thin,
And wool is much wanted to card and to spin;
If we can get a garment to cover without,
Our other in garments are * clout upon clout;
Our clothes we brought with us are apt to be torn,
They need to be clouted soon after they're worn,
But clouting our garments they hinder us nothing,
Clouts double, are warmer than single whole clothing.

IV.

If fresh meat be wanting, to fill up our dish,
We have carrots and turnips as much as we wish;
And is there a mind for a delicate dish
We repair to the clam banks, and *there* we catch fish.

* Clout signifies patching.

Instead of pottage and puddings and custards and pies,
Our pumpkins and parsnips are common supplies;
We have pumpkins at morning and pumpkins at noon;
If it was not for pumpkins we should be undone.

V.

If barley be wanting to make into malt,
We must be contented and think it no fault;
For we can make liquor to sweeten our lips,
Of pumpkins and parsnips and walnut tree chips.

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VI.

Now while some are going let others be coming,
For while liquor's boiling it must have a scumming;
But I will not blame them, for birds of a feather,
By seeking their fellows are flocking together.
But you whom the Lord intends hither to bring,
Forsake not the honey for fear of the sting;
But bring both a quiet and contented mind,
And all needful blesssings you surely will find

MODEL OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

BY JOHN WINTHROP ESQ.

FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

[We introduce this interesting Paper by the following letter to the Corr. Sec. of Mass. Hist. Society.]

DEAR SIR,

Agreeably to your request, I forward to you a copy of the WINTHROP MS. belonging to the New York Historical Society, as transcribed by the Assistant Librarian, under the direction of the Society, in accordance with a resolution I had the honor to submit at a late meeting. A member of your Publishing Committee, whom I had informed of the existence of this document, communicated to me the desire of the Committee to have it inserted in their forthcoming volume of Collections, and as it is the production of a man whose fame is inseparably connected with the history of Massachusetts, there seemed to be a manifest propriety in acceding to the request. The Society, therefore, readily consented that it should be communicated to the public, through that medium.

I am satisfied, by comparing it with the original, that the copy has been accurately made; occasionally, however, a word was illegible, rendering it necessary to leave blanks. The MS. is evidently in the obscure handwriting prevalent at the period to which it is referred, though probably not in that of the author. It is supposed to have been presented to the Society by the late Francis B. Winthrop, Esq., of this city, (the oldest brother of the Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop, late Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts,) a lineal descendant of the author, into whose possession I am informed most of the old family papers came, nearly all of which have since perished. Among these was an original letter from Charles II. to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, which was in existence a few years ago in this city.

Although aided in my inquiries by B. R. Winthrop, Esq., Recording Secretary of this Society, and of the same family, (who, by the way, is also, on his mother's side, a lineal descendant from Governor Stuyvesant, of the Rival Colony of New Netherlands, afterwards New York.) I regret to be unable to furnish any additional information relative to this interesting relic of the "brave leader and famous Governor" of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Very Respectfully,
Your faithful
and obedient Servant,
GEORGE FOLSOM.

NEW YORK, *April* 19, 1838.

Prefatory Remarks by a Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

It is not easy for any of us, in modern times, to form a perfect estimate of that devotion to the general good, which characterised the fathers of New England. Some glorious, though inadequate, ideas are excited, indeed, in a generous breast, when the story is first heard of the noble company of pilgrims, who, having lived seven years exiles from their native land, among the Hollanders, but not of them, came in midwinter to the desolate coast of Plymouth, to bury half their number in three months. Well might a colony of half a hundred souls, including women and children, be compacted together by common principles, as by common perils; and we can readily believe, that, in all their acts, they should make reference to the will of the Most High, from whom alone their hourly preservation was expected.

But that politic and accomplished gentlemen, well supplied with means of present enjoyment, and entitled to expect future advancement at home, should have been exalted to a spirit of stern patriotism and equal self denial in founding deeply and broadly the edifice of SUCH an empire, whose whole and true glory was all within their prophetic vision, is a marvel which students of romance alone had ever contemplated. *Tantum religio potuit.*

Readers of the following homily of Governor Winthrop must, however, naturally have anticipated the success of the Massachusetts settlement, if his principes of action were diffused among his companions, and taught to their descendants. The name of that man is always sure to bring up to remembrance the virtues of our fathers, which will never find a better representative. That he practised what in this essay is inculcated, the record of his life for nineteen years fully discloses; and the failure of others to fill out the whole character, when they yielded to temptation in returning to their native land, or in emigrating to happier fields and more benignant skies, grieved him, like the ingratitude of a child to his parent. His reflections on the subject, after twelve years of service in the cause, make one of the most striking passages of his History, II. 87, and may appropriately be here introduced:

"For such as come together into a wilderness, where are nothing but wild beasts and beastlike men, and there confederate together in civil and church estate, whereby they do, implicitly at least, bind themselves to support each other, and all of them that Society, whether civil or sacred, whereof they are members,—how they can break from this without free consent, is hard to find, so as may satisfy a tender or good conscience in time of trial. Ask thy conscience, if thou wouldst have plucked up thy stakes, and brought thy family three thousand miles, if thou hadst expected that all, or most, would have forsaken thee there. Ask again, what liberty thou hast towards others, which thou likest not to allow others towards thyself; for if one may go, another may, and so the greater part, and so church and commonwealth may be left destitute in a wilderness, exposed to misery and reproach, and all for thy ease and pleasure; whereas these all, being now thy brethren, as near to thee as the Israelites were to Moses, it were much safer for thee, after his example, to choose rather to suffer affliction with thy brethren, than to enlarge thy ease and pleasure by furthering the occasion of their ruin." Σ.

A

MODELL OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

WRITTEN

ON BOARD THE ARBELLA, ON THE ATLANTIC OCEAN.

By the Hon. John Winthrop Esqr. In his passage (with a great company of Religious people, of which Christian tribes he was the Brave Leader and famous Governor;) from the Island of Great Brittaine to New-England in the North America. Anno 1630.

CHRISTIAN CHARITIE.

A Modell hereof.

God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence, hath soe disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poore, some high and eminent in power and dignitie; others mean and in submission.

The Reason hereof.

1 *Reas.* First to hold conformity with the rest of his world, being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures, and the glory of his power in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole; and the glory of his greatness, that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, soe this great king will haue many stewards, counting himself more honoured in dispensing his gifts to man by man, than if he did it by his owne immediate hands.

2 *Reas.* Secondly that he might haue the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit: first upon the wicked in

moderating and restraining them: soe that the riche and mighty should not eate upp the poore nor the poore and dispised rise upp against and shake off theire yoake. 2ly In the regenerate, in exerciseing his graces in them, as in the grate ones, theire love, mercy, gentleness, temperance &c., in the poore and inferior sorte, theire faithe, patience, obedience &c.

3 *Reas.* Thirdly, that every man might have need of others, and from hence they might be all knitt more nearly togeather in the Bonds of brotherly affection. From hence it appears plainly that noe man is made more honourable than another or more wealthy &c., out of any particular and singular respect to himselfe, but for the glory of his creator and the common good of the creature, man. Therefore God still reserves the propperty of these gifts to himself as Ezek. 16. 17. he there calls wealthe, *his gold and his silver*, and Prov. 3. 9. he claims theire service as his due, *honor the Lord with thy riches* &c.—All men being thus (by divine providence) ranked into two sorts, riche and poore; under the first are comprehended all such as are able to live comfortably by their own meanes duely improved; and all others are poore according to the former distribution. There are two rules whereby we are to walk one towards another: Justice and Mercy. These are always distinguished in their act and in their object, yet may they both concurre in the same subject in eache respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of showing mercy to a rich man in some sudden danger or distresse, and alsoe doeing of meere justice to a poor man in regard of some perticular contract &c. There is likewise a double Lawe by which wee are regulated in our conversation towardes another; in both the former respects, the lawe of nature and the lawe of grace, or the morrall lawe or the lawe of the gospell, to omitt the rule of justice as not propperly belonging to this purpose otherwise than it may fall into consideration in some perticular cases. By the first of these lawes man as he was enabled soe withall is commanded to love his neighbour as himself. Upon this ground stands all the precepts of the morrall lawe, which concernes our dealings with men. To apply this to the works of mercy; this lawe requires two things. First that every man afford his help to another in every

want or distresse. Secondly, that hee performe this out of the same affection which makes him carefull of his owne goods, according to that of our Savior, (Math.) *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you.* This was practised by Abraham and Lot in entertaining the angells and the old man of Gibea. The lawe of Grace or of the Gospell hath some difference from the former; as in these respects, First the lawe of nature was given to man in the estate of innocency; this of the Gospell in the estate of regeneracy. 2ly, the former propounds one man to another, as the same flesh and image of God; this as a brother in Christ allsoe, and in the communion of the same Spirit, and soe teacheth to put a difference between christians and others. *Doe good to all, especially to the household of faith;* upon this ground the Israelites were to putt a difference betweene the brethren of such as were strangers though not of the Canaanites.

3ly. The Lawe of nature would give no rules for dealing with enemies, for all are to be considered as friends in the state of innocency, but the Gospell commands loue to an enemy. Proofe. *If thine Enemy hunger, feed him; Loue your Enemies, doe good to them that hate you.* Math. 5. 44.

This lawe of the Gospell propounds likewise a difference of seasons and occasions. There is a time when a christian must sell all and give to the poor, as they did in the Apostles times. There is a time allsoe when christians (though they give not all yet) must give beyond their abillity, as they of Macedonia, Cor. 2, 6. Likewise community of perills calls for extraordinary liberality, and soe doth community in some speciall service for the churche. Lastly, when there is no other means whereby our christian brother may be relieved in his distress, we must help him beyond our ability rather than tempt God in putting him upon help by miraculous or extraordinary meanes.

This duty of mercy is exercised in the kinds, Giueving, lending and forgiving.—

Quest. What rule shall a man observe in giueving in respect of the measure?

Ans. If the time and occasion be ordinary he is to giue out of his abundance. *Let him lay aside as God hath blessed him.* If the time and occasion be extraordinary,

he must be ruled by them ; taking this withall, that then a man cannot likely doe too much, especially if he may leave himselfe and his family under probable means of comfortable subsistence.

Object. A man must lay upp for posterity, the fathers lay upp for posterity and children, and *he is worse than an infidell that pronideth not for his owne.*

Ans. For the first, it is plaine that it being spoken by way of comparison, it must be meant of the ordinary and usuall course of fathers, and cannot extend to times and occasions extraordinary. For the other place the Apostle speaks against such as walked inordinately, and it is without question, that he is worse than an infidell who through his owne sloathe and voluptuousness shall neglect to provide for his family.—

Object. The wise man's Eies are in his head, saith Solomon, *and foreseeth the plague ;* therefore he must forecast and lay upp against evill times when hee or his may stand in need of all he can gather.

Ans. This very Argument Solomon useth to persuade to liberallity, Eccle.: *Cast thy bread upon the waters,* and *for thou knowest not what evill may come upon the land.* Luke 26. *Make you friends of the riches of iniquity ;* you will ask how this shall be ? very well. For first he that giues to the poore, lends to the lord and he will repay him even in this life an hundredfold to him or his.—*The righteous is ever mercifull and lendeth and his seed enjoyeth the blessing ;* and besides wee know what advantage it will be to us in the day of account when many such witnesses shall stand forth for us to witnesse the improvement of our tallent. And I would know of those whoe pleade soe much for laying up for time to come, whether they holde that to be Gospell, Math. 16. 19. *Lay not upp for yourselves Treasures upon Earth &c.* If they acknowledge it, what extent will they allowe it ? if only to those primitive times, let them consider the reason whereopon our Saviour groundes it. The first is that they are subject to the moathe, the rust, the theife. Secondly, They will steale away the hearte ; *where the treasure is there will ye heart be allsoe.* The reasons are of like force at all times. Therefore the exhortation must be generall and perpetuall, withallwayes in respect of the love and affection

to riches and in regard of the things themselves when any speciall seruice for the churche or perticular Distresse of our brother doe call for the use of them ; otherwise it is not only lawfull but necessary to lay upp as Joseph did to haue ready uppon such occasions, as the Lord (whose stewards wee are of them) shall call for them from us ; Christ giues us an Instance of the first, when hee sent his disciples for the Ass, and bidds them answer the owner thus, the Lord hath need of him : soe when the Tabernacle was to be built, he sends to his people to call for their silver and gold, &c ; and yeildes noe other reason but that it was for his worke. When Elisha comes to the widow of Sareptah and findes her preparing to make ready her pittance for herselfe and family, he bids her first provide for him, he challengeth first God's parte which she must first give before shee must serve her owne family. All these teache us that the Lord lookes that when hee is pleased to call for his right in any thing wee haue, our owne interest wee haue, must stand aside till his turne be served. For the other, wee need looke noe further then to that of John 1. *he whoe hath this world's goodes and seeth his brother to neede and shutts upp his compassion from him, how dwelleth the loue of God in him*, which comes punctually to this conclusion ; if thy brother be in want and thou canst help him, thou needst not make doubt, what thou shouldst doe ; if thou louest God thou must help him.

Quest. What rule must wee observe in lending ?

Ans. Thou must observe whether thy brother hath present or probable or possible means of repaying thee, if there be none of those, thou must give him according to his necessity, rather then lend him as he requires ; if he hath present means of repaying thee, thou art to look at him not as an act of mercy, but by way of Commerce, wherein thou arte to walk by the rule of justice ; but if his means of repaying thee be only probable or possible, then is hee an object of thy mercy, thou must lend him, though there be danger of losing it, Deut. 15. 7. *If any of thy brethren be poore* &c., *thou shalt lend him sufficient.* That men might not shift off this duty by the apparent hazzard, he tells them that though the yeare of Jubile were at hand (when he must remitt it, if hee were not able to

repay it before) yet he must lend him and that chearefully. *It may not greive thee to giue him* (saith hee) and because some might object, why soe I should soone impoverishe myself and my family, he adds with all thy worke &c ; for our Saviour, Math. 5. 42. *From him that would borrow of thee turne not away.*

Quest. What rule must we observe in forgiuing ?

Ans. Whether thou didst lend by way of commerce or in mercy, if he hath nothing to pay thee, must forgive, (except in cause where thou hast a surety or a lawfull pleadge) Deut. 15. 2. Every seaventh yeare the Creditor was to quitt that which he lent to his brother if he were poore as appears ver. 8. *Save when there shall be no poore with thee.* In all these and like cases, Christ was a generall rule, Math. 7. 22. *Whatsoever ye would that men should doe to you, doe yee the same to them allsoe.*

Quest. What rule must wee observe and walke by in cause of community of perill ?

Ans. The same as before, but with more enlargement towards others and lesse respect towards ourselves and our owne right. Hence it was that in the primitive Churche they sold all, had all things in common, neither did any man say that which he possessed was his owne. Likewise in theire returne out of the captivity, because the worke was greate for the restoring of the church and the danger of enemies was common to all, Nehemiah directs the Jews to liberallity and readiness in remitting theire debts to theire brethren, and disposing liberally to such as wanted, and stand not upon their owne dues which they might have demanded of them. Thus did some of our Forefathers in times of persecution in England, and soe did many of the faithful of other churches, whereof wee keepe an honorable remembrance of them ; and it is to be observed that both in Scriptures and latter stories of the churches that such as have beene most bountifull to the poore saintes, especially in those extraordinary times and occasions, God hath left them highly commended to posterity, as Zacheus, Cornelius, Dorcas, Bishop Hooper, the Cuttler of Brussells and divers others. Observe againe that the Scripture gives noe caussion to restraine any from being over liberall this way ; but all men to the liberall and cherefull practise hereof by the sweeter promises ; as

to instance one for many, Isaiah 58. 6. *Is not this the fast I have chosen to loose the bonds of wickedness, to take off the heavy burdens, to lett the oppressed go free and to breake every yoake, to deale thy bread to the hungry and to bring the poore that wander into thy house, when thou seest the naked to cover them; and then shall thy light brake forth as the morning and thy healthe shall growe speedily, thy righteousness shall goe before God, and the glory of the Lord shall embrace thee; then thou shalt call and the Lord shall answer thee* &c., Ch. 2. 10. *If thou power out thy soule to the hungry, then shall thy light spring out in darkness, and the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfie thy soule in draught, and make falt thy bones, thou shalt be like a watered garden, and they shalt be of thee that shall build the old wast places* &c. On the contrary most heavy cursses are layed upon such as are straightened towards the Lord and his people, Judg. 5. *Cursse the Meroshe because he came not to help the Lord. Hee whoe shutteth his eares from hearing the cry of the poore, he shall cry and shall not be heard;* Math. 25. *Goe ye curssed into everlasting fire &c. I was hungry and ye fedd mee not,* Cor. 2. 9. 16. He that soweth sparingly shall reape sparingly. Haveing already sett forth the practice of mercy according to the rule of God's lawe, it will be useful to lay open the groundes of it allsoe, being the other parte of the Commandment and that is the affection from which this exercise of mercy must arise, the Apostle tells us that this *love is the fullfilling of the lawe,* not that it is enough to loue our brother and soe noe further; but in regard of the excellency of his partes giueing any motion to the other as the soule to the body and the power it hath to sett all the faculties on worke in the outward exercise of this duty; as when wee bid one make the clocke strike, he doth not lay hand on the hammer, which is the immediate instrument of the sound, but setts on worke the first mouer or maine wheele; knoweing that will certainely produce the sound which he intends. Soe the way to drawe men to the workes of mercy, is not by force of Argument from the goodness or necessity of the worke; for though this cause may enforce, a rationall minde to some present act of mercy, as is frequent in experience, yet it cannot worke such a habit in

a soule, as shall make it prompt upon all occasions to produce the same effect, but by frameing these affections of loue in the hearte which will as naturally bring forthe the other, as any cause doth produce the effect.

The deffinition which the Scripture giues us of loue is this. *Love is the bond of perfection*, first it is a bond or ligament. 2ly it makes the worke perfect. There is noe body but consists of partes and that which knitts these partes together, giues the body its perfection, because it makes eache parte soe contiguous to others as thereby they doe mutually participate with each other, both in strengthe and infirmity, in pleasure and paine. To instance in the most perfect of all bodies; Christ and his Church make one body; the severall partes of this body considered a parte before they were united, were as disproportionate and as much disordering as soe many contrary quallities or elements, but when Christ comes, and by his spirit and loue knitts all these partes to himselfe and each to other, it is become the most perfect and best proportioned body in the world, Eph. 4. 16. *Christ, by whome all the body being knitt together by every joint for the furniture thereof, according to the effectuall power which is in the measure of every perfection of partes, a glorious body without spott or wrinkle;* the ligaments hereof being Christ, or his love, for Christ is love, 1 John 4. 8. Soe this definition is right. *Love is the bond of perfection.*

From hence we may frame these conclusions. 1. First of all, true Christians are of one body in Christ, 1 Cor. 12. 12. 13. 17. *Ye are the body of Christ and members of their parte.* All the partes of this body being thus vnited are made soe contiguous in a speciall relation as they must needes partake of each other's strength and infirmity; joy and sorrowe, weale and woe. 1 Cor. 12. 26. *If one member suffers, all suffer with it, if one be in honor, all rejoyce with it.* 2ly. The ligaments of this body which knitt together are loue. 3ly. Noe body can be perfect which wants its proper ligament. 5ly. This sensibleness and sympathy of each other's conditions will necessarily infuse into each parte a native desire and endeavour, to strengthen, defend, preserve and comfort the other. To insist a little on this conclusion being the product of all the former, the truthe hereof will appeare both by precept

and patterne. 1 John 3. 10. *Yee ought to lay doune your lives for the brethren.* Gal. 6. 2. *beare ye one another's burthen's and soe fulfill the lawe of Christ.* For patterns wee haue that first of our Saviour whoe out of his good will in obedience to his father, becomeing a parte of this body and being knitt with it in the bond of loue, found such a natiue sensibleness of our infirmities and sorrowes as he willingly yielded himselfe to deathe to ease the infirmities of the rest of his body, and soe healed theire sorrowes. From the like sympathy of partes did the Apostles and many thousands of the Saintes lay doune theire lives for Christ. Againe the like wee may see in the members of this body among themselves. 1 Rom. 9. Paule could have been contented to have been separated from Christ, that the Jewes might not be cutt off from the body. It is very observable what hee professeth of his affectionate partaking with every member ; *whoe is weake* (saith hee) *and I am not weake ? whoe is offended and I burne not ;* and againe, 2 Cor. 7. 13. *therefore wee are comforted because yee were comforted.* Of Epaphroditus he speaketh, Phil. 2. 30. *that he regarded not his owne life to do him service.* Soe Phebe and others are called *the servants of the churche.* Now it is apparent that they served not for wages, or by constrainte, but out of loue. The like we shall finde in the histories of the churche in all ages ; the sweete sympathie of affections which was in the members of this body one towards another ; theire chearfullness in serueing and suffering together ; how liberall they were without repineing, harbourers without grudgeing, and helpfull without reproaching; and all from hence, because they had feruent loue amongst them ; which onely makes the practise of mercy constant and easie.

The next consideration is how this loue comes to be wrought. Adam in his first estate was a perfect modell of mankinde in all their generations, and in him this loue was perfected in regard of the habit. But Adam, rent himselfe from his Creator, rent all his posterity allsoe one from another ; whence it comes that every man is borne with this principle in him to loue and seeke himselfe onely, and thus a man continueth till Christ comes and takes possession of the soule and infuseth another principle, loue to God and our brother, and this latter haueing continuall

supply from Christ, as the head and roote by which he is vnited, gets the predomining in the soule, soe by little and little expells the former. 1 John 4. 7. *loue cometh of God and every one that loueth is borne of God*, soe that this loue is the fruite of the new birthe, and none can have it but the new creature. Now when this quallity is thus formed in the soules of men, it workes like the Spirit upon the drie bones. Ezek. 39. *bone came to bone.* It gathers together the scattered bones, or perfect old man Adam, and knitts them into one body againe in Christ, whereby a man is become againe a living soule.

The third consideration is concerning the exercise of this loue, which is twofold, inward or outward. The outward hath beene handled in the former preface of this discourse. From unfolding the other wee must take in our way that maxime of philosophy. *Simile simili gaudet*, or like will to like ; for as of things which are turned with disaffection to eache other, the ground of it is from a dissimilitude or ariseing from the contrary or different nature of the things themselves ; for the ground of loue is an apprehension of some resemblance in the things loued to that which affects it. This is the cause why the Lord loues the creature, soe farre as it hathe any of his Image in it ; he loues his elect because they are like himselfe, he beholds them in his beloued sonne. So a mother loues her childe, because shee throughly conceives a resemblance of herselfe in it. Thus it is betweene the members of Christ; eache discernes, by the worke of the Spirit, his oune Image and resemblance in another, and therefore cannot but loue him as he loues himself. Now when the soule, which is of a sociable nature, findes anything like to itselfe, it is like Adam when Eve was brought to him. She must be one with himselfe. *This is flesh of my flesh* (saith he) *and bone of my bone.* Soe the soule conceives a greate delighte in it ; therefore shee desires nearness and familiarity with it. Shee hath a greate propensity to doe it good and receiues such content in it, as fearing the miscarriage of her beloved, shee bestowes it in the inmost closett of her heart. Shee will not endure that it shall want any good which shee can giue it. If by occasion shee be withdrawne from the company of it, shee is still looking towardes the place where shee left her beloved. If shee heard it groane, shee

is with it presently. If shee finde it sadd and disconsolate, shee sighes and moanes with it. Shee hath noe such joy as to see her beloved merry and thriving. If shee see it wronged, shee cannot hear it without passion. Shee setts noe boundes to her affections, nor hath any thought of reward. Shee findes recompense enough in the exercise of her loue towardes it. Wee may see this acted to life in Jonathan and David. Jonathan a valiant man endued with the spirit of love, soe soone as he discovered the same spirit in David had presently his hearte knitt to him by this ligament of loue ; soe that it is said he loued him as his owne soule, he takes soe great pleasure in him, that hee stripps himselfe to adorne his beloved. His father's kingdome was not soe precious to him as his beloved David, David shall haue it with all his hearte. Himself desires noe more but that hee may be neare to him to rejoyce in his good. Hee chooseth to converse with him in the wildernesse even to the hazzard of his oune life, rather than with the greate Courtiers in his father's Pallace. When hee sees danger towards him, hee spares neither rare paines nor perill to direct it. When injury was offered his beloued David, hee would not beare it, though from his oune father. And when they must parte for a season onely, they thought theire heartes would have broake for sorrowe, had not theire affections found vent by abundance of teares. Other instances might be brought to showe the nature of this affection ; as of Ruthe and Naomi, and many others ; but this truthe is cleared enough. If any shall object that it is not possible that loue shall be bred or upheld without hope of requitall, it is graunted ; but that is not our cause; for this loue is alluayes vnder reward. It never giues, but it alluayes receives with advantage ; First in regard that among the members of the same body, loue and affection are reciprocall in a most equall and sweete kinde of commerce.

2nly. In regard of the pleasure and content that the exercise of loue carries with it, as wee may see in the naturall body. The mouth is at all the paines to receive and mince the foode which serves for the nourishment of all the other partes of the body ; yet it hath noe cause to complaine ; for first the other partes send backe, by severall passages, a due proportion of the same nourishment, in a better forme

for the strengthening and comforting the mouthe. 2ly the laboure of the mouthe is accompanied with such pleasure and content as farre exceedes the paines it takes. Soe is it in all the labour of love among Christians. The partie louing, reapes loue again, as was showed before, which the soule covetts more then all the wealthe in the world. 3ly. Nothing yeildes more pleasure and content to the soule then when it findes that which it may loue fervently; for to love and live beloved is the soule's paradise both here and in heaven. In the State of wedlock there be many comforts to learne out of the troubles of that Condition; but let such as have tryed the most, say if there be any sweetness in that Condition comparable to the exercise of mutuall loue.

From the former Considerations arise these Conclusions.—1. First, This loue among Christians is a reall thing, not imaginarie. 2ly. This loue is as absolutely necessary to the being of the body of Christ, as the sinews and other ligaments of a naturall body are to the being of that body. 3ly. This loue is a divine, spirituall, nature; free, active, strong, couragious, permanent; undervaluing all things beneathe its propper object and of all the graces, this makes us nearer to resemble the virtues of our heavenly father. 4thly It rests in the loue and wellfare of its beloued. For the full certain knowledge of those truthes concerning the nature, use, and excellency of this grace, that which the holy ghost hath left recorded, 1 Cor. 13, may give full satisfaction, which is needful for every true member of this louely body of the Lord Jesus, to worke upon theire heartes by prayer, meditation continuall exercise at least of the speciall [influence] of this grace, till Christ be formed in them and they in him, all in eache other, knitt together by this bond of loue.

It rests now to make some application of this discourse, by the present designe, which gaue the occasion of writing of it. Herein are 4 things to be propounded; *first* the persons, 2ly the worke, 3ly the end, 4thly the meanes. 1. For *the persons.* Wee are a company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ, in which respect onely though wee were absent from each other many miles, and had our imployments as farre distant, yet wee ought to account ourselves knitt together by this bond of loue, and,

live in the exercise of it, if wee would have comforte of our being in Christ. This was notorious in the practise of the Christians in former times; as is testified of the Waldenses, from the mouth of one of the adversaries *Æneas Sylvius* "mutuo ament pere antequam norunt," they use to loue any of theire owne religion even before they were acquainted with them. 2nly for the *worke* wee have in hand. It is by a mutuall consent, through a speciall overvaluing providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of cohabitation and Consorteshipp under a due forme of Government both ciuill and ecclesiasticall. In such cases as this, the care of the publique must oversway all private respects, by which, not only conscience, but meare civill pollicy, dothe binde us. For it is a true rule that particular Estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the publique. 3ly The *end* is to improve our lives to doe more service to the Lord; the comforte and encrease of the body of Christe, whereof we are members; that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evill world, to serve the Lord and worke out our Salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances. 4thly for the *meanes* whereby this must be effected. They are twofold, a conformity with the worke and end wee aime at. These wee see are extraordinary, therefore wee must not content ourselves with usuall ordinary meanes. Whatsoever wee did, or ought to have done, when wee liued in England, the same must wee doe, and more allsoe, where wee goe. That which the most in theire churches mainetaine as truthe in profession onely, wee must bring into familiar and constant practise; as in this duty of loue, wee must loue brotherly without dissimulation, wee must loue one another with a pure hearte fervently. Wee must beare one anothers burthens. We must not looke onely on our owne things, but allsoe on the things of our brethren. Neither must wee thinke that the Lord will beare with such faileings at our hands as he dothe from those among whome wee have lived; and that for these 3 Reasons; 1. In regard of the more neare bond of mariage between him and us, wherein hee hath taken us to be his, after a most

strickt and peculiar manner, which will make them the more jealous of our loue and obedience. Soe he tells the people of Israell, *you onely have I knowne of all the families of the Earthe, therefore will I punishe you for your Transgressions.* 2ly, because *the Lord will be sanctified in them that come neare him.* We know that there were many that corrupted the service of the Lord ; some setting upp altars before his owne ; others offering both strange fire and strange sacrifices allsoe ; yet there came noe fire from heaven, or other sudden judgement upon them, as did upon Nadab and Abihu, whoe yet wee may think did not sinne presumptuously. 3ly When God gives a speciall commission he lookes to have it strictly observed in every article, When he gave Saule a commission to destroy Amaleck, Hee indented with him upon certain articles, and because hee failed in one of the least, and that upon a faire pretense, it lost him the kingdom, which should have beene his reward, if hee had observed his commission. Thus stands the cause betweene God and us. We are entered into Covenant with Him for this worke. Wee haue taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to drawe our own articles. Wee haue professed to enterprise these and those accounts, upon these and those ends. Wee have hereupon besought Him of favour and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to heare us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath hee ratified this covenant and sealed our Commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it ; but if wee shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends wee have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnall intentions, seeking greate things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely breake out in wrathe against us ; be revenged of such a [sinful] people and make us knowe the price of the breache of such a covenant.

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke, and to provide for our posterity, is to followe the counsell of Micah, *to doe justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God.* For this end, wee must be knitt together, in this worke, as one man. Wee must entertaine each other in brotherly

affection. Wee must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. Wee must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekeness, gentlenes, patience and liberality. Wee must delight in eache other ; make other's conditions our oune ; rejoice together, mourne together, labour and suffer together, allwayes haueving before our eyes our commission and community in the worke, as members of the same body. Soe shall wee *keepe the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace.* The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his oune people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our wayes. Soe that wee shall see much more of his wisdome, power, goodness and truthe, than formerly wee haue been acquainted with. Wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies ; when hee shall make us a prayse and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "the Lord make it likely that of *New England.*" For wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are uppon us. Soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our God in this worke wee haue undertaken, and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. Wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake evill of the wayes of God, and all professors for God's sake. Wee shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause theire prayers to be turned into curses upon us till wee be consumed out of the good land whither wee are a goeing.

I shall shutt upp this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithfull servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israell, Deut. 30. *Beloued there is now sett before us life and good, Death and evill, in that wee are commanded this day to loue the Lord our God, and to loue one another, to walke in his wayes and to keepe his Commandements and his Ordinance and his lawes,* and the articles of our Covenant with him, that *wee may liue and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may blesse us in the land whither wee goe to possesse it. But if our heartes shall turne away, soe that wee will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worshipp and serue other Gods,* our pleasure and proffitts, *and serue them ;* it is

propounded unto us this day, *wee shall surely perishe out of the good land whither wee passe over this vast sea to possesse it ;*

Therefore lett us choose life
that wee, and our seede
may liue, by obeyeing His
voyce and cleaveing to Him,
for Hee is our life and
our prosperity.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

[It is well known, that little has been systematically published on the past history of the Post Office department in our country.—Such a subject might be individually and interestingly handled from its small beginnings to its present expanded and important relations.—To aid in preserving materials for the accomplishment of this subject,—the publishing Committee have prepared the ensuing article.—Most of the extracts and documents, which they here quote, are derived from the Massachusetts Archives.]

I.

Under General Court Records. 5th, 9 mo. 1639.

" For preventing the miscarriage of letters,—It is ordered that notice bee given, that Richard Fairbanks his house in Boston is the place appointed for all letters, which are brought from beyond the seas, or are to be sent thither;—are to bee brought unto him and he is to take care, that they bee delivered, or sent according to their directions, and hee is alowed for every such letter 1d. and must answer all miscarriages through his owne neglect in this kind ; provided that no man shall bee compelled to bring his letters thither except hee please."

II.

General Court Records. January 6—1673-4.

"Whereas the publick occasions of the Country doe frequently require that messengers be sent post and as yet no stated allowance is settled in such cases,—It is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof that from henceforth every person so sent upon the publicke service of the country shall be allowed by the Treasurer after the rate of 3d. a mile to the place to which he is sent, in money, as full satisfaction for the expense of horse and man. And no inholder shall take of any such messenger or others travayling upon publicke service more then 2s. pr bushall for oates and 4d. for hay, day and night."

III.

The petition of sundry Merchants respecting Letters.

To the Honourable General Court now sitting in BOSTON.

May 23d, 1677.

We whose names are under written, hearing many complaints made by Merchants and others, and several of us being sensible of the loss of letters; whereby Merchants especially, with their friends and employers in forraigne parts are greatly damnified; many times the letters imposted and throwne upon the Exchange so that who will may take them up; no person without some satisfaction being willing to trouble their houses therewith; so that letters of great moment are frequently lost:—our humble request, therefore, to this Honoured Court is, that they will please to depute some meet person to take in and convey Letters according to direction; and the Honoured Court sett the prices on letters, and state that affaire. And if this Honoured Court please, we suppose Lt. Richard Way may be a fit person for that service.

William Brattle,
Thomas Deane,
Hezekiah Usher,
John Usher,
Sampson Sheafe,
Edward Shippen,
Richard Knight,
John Hubbard,

Charles Lidget,	Edward Drinker,
Benjamin Davis,	Henry Derings,
John Fayerweather,	John Clarke,
John Frost	John Pynchon, Jr.
Richard Crisp,	

The Deputies have granted the petitioners their desire herein; and, in Richard Way's roome doe make choice of Mr. John Hayward, the scrivener, to be the man, the Honored Magistrates consenting hereunto.

10*th May*, '77. WILLIAM TORREY, *Clerk.*

Consented to by the Magistrates.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

IV.

General Court Records. 1677, *Dec.* 28.

In answer to the request of severall merchants of Boston declaring that they have heard many complaints made by merchants and others that have been sensible of the losse of letters, whereby merchants with their friends and imployers in forreign parts are greatly damnified; many times letters are thrown upon the exchange that who will may take them up &c, therefore humbly desire this Court to depute some meete person to take in and convey letters according to their direction. This Court judgeth it meete to grant the petitioners request herein and haue made choyce of Mr. John Hayward, the Scrivener, to be the person for that service.

V.

An act encouraging a Post Office.

Whereas their most excellent Magesties, by their letters patents under the great seale of England bearing date the 17th day of February, in the yeare of our Lord 1691, have given unto Thomas Neale Esq., his Executors, Administrators and assignes, full power and authority to erect, settle, and establish within the chief ports of their Magesties' Colonies and Plantations in America an office or offices for the receiving and dispatching Letters and pacquets; and to

receive, send, and deliver the same under such rates and sums of money as the planters shall agree to give, and to hold and enjoy the same for the terme of twenty one years ; with such powers and clauses as are necessary on that behalf, as by the letters patents reference being thereunto had may more fully and largely appear ; and whereas Andrew Hamilton Esq. is deputed and constituted to govern and manage the said General Post Office for and throughout all their Magesties Plantations and Colonies in the main land or continent of America and the Islands adjoining thereunto, persuant to the directions of the said Letters Patents ; and whereas he the said Andrew Hamilton hath made application to his Excellency and Council, and Representatives, convened in General Assembly, that they would ascertaine and establish such rates and sums of money upon Letters and Pacquetts that shall be received and dispatched by the said Office or Officer, for the effectual encouragement of the said General Post Office and for the quicker maintenance of mutual correspondence amongst all the neighbouring Colonies and Plantations aforesaid, and that trade and commerce may be the better preserved ; *Be it therefore enacted by the Governor and Council and Representatives convened in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same,* that there be from henceforth A GENERAL LETTER OFFICE erected and established in some convenient place within the town of Boston, from whence all letters and pacquets whatsoever may be with speed and expedition sent into any part of the neighbouring colonies and plantations or the main land and continent of America, or unto any of their Magesties kingdoms and dominions beyond the seas ; at which said office all returns and ansuers may be likewise received ; and that one Master of the said General Letter Office shall from time to time be appointed by the said Andrew Hamilton, which said Master of the Office, or his servant or agent, and no other person or persons whatsoever, shall from time to time have the receiving, takeing up, ordering, dispatching, and sending post or with speed, and delivering of letters and pacquets whatsoever, which shall from time to time be sent to and from all and every the adjacent Colonies and Plantations on this main land and continent of America or any other their majesties kingdoms and dominions be-

yond the seas, where he the said Post Master general, shall settle or cause to be settled posts or running messengers for that purpose, except such letters of Merchants and Masters which shall be sent by any Masters of Ships, boat, or other vessels of merchandize by any other person employed by them for the carriage of such letters aforesaid according to the respective directions, and also except letters to be sent by any private friend or friends in their way of journey or travel, or by any messenger or messengers sent on purpose for or concerning the private affairs of any person or persons.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Post Master General aforesaid, and his Deputy or Deputies by him thereunto sufficiently authorized, to demand, have, receive and take for the postage and conveyance of all such letters which he shall so convey, carry, or send post, as aforesaid, according to the several rates and sums of current money of this Province hereafter mentioned, not to exceed the same ; that is to say, for the post of every single letter from Europe, the West Indies, or other parts beyond the seas, two pence; and all letters are to be accounted single, though they contain Bills of lading, Gazettes, Invoices, &c. and for each pacquet of letters from the places aforesaid, four pence ; and a pacquet shall be accounted three letters for the least ; and for the post of every single letter from Rhode Island to Boston, or from Boston to Rhode Island, six pence ; and so in proportion to the greatness and quantity of letters ; and for the post of each single letter from the post road in Connecticut Colony to Boston, nine pence ; and so in proportion as aforesaid ; and for the post of each single letter from the City of New-York, twelve pence ; and so in proportion as aforesaid ; and for the post of each single letter from the Provinces of East or West Jersey or Pennsylvania, fifteen pence ; and so in proportion as aforesaid : and for the post of each single letter from Maryland or Virginia, two shillings, and so in proportion as aforesaid. And for the post of each single letter from Salem, three pence ; from Ipswich, Newbury, or other places eastward of Salem within this Province, four pence ; and from Piscataqua, six pence ; and so in proportion as aforesaid. And if any letters or

pacquets shall lie and remain in the office uncalled for, by the space of forty eight hours, the Post Master then sending them forth to the respective houses of the persons to whom they are directed, shall have and receive one penny more for each letter or pacquet.

And be it further resolved by the Authority aforesaid, that no person or persons whatsoever, or body politic or corporate, other than the Post Master general aforesaid, shall presume to carry, recarry, or deliver letters for hire other than as before expressed, or to set up or employ any foot-post, horse-post, or pacquet boat whatsoever, for the carrying, conveying, and bearing of any letters or pacquets, by sea or land within this Province, or shall hire or maintain horses and furniture for the equipping of any persons riding post with a guide and horn, as is usual in their majesties' realm of England, upon the pain of forfeiting the sum of forty pounds current money of this Province for every several offence against the tenor of this present Act, to be sued and recovered in any Court of record within this Province, by bill, plaint or information ; wherein no essoyene, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed ; one half of the said forfeiture to their majesties, towards the support of the government of this Province and the contingent charges thereof; and the other half to the Post Master General, who shall sue and prosecute for the same.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all letters and pacquets, that by any master of any Ship or vessel, or any of his company, or any passenger therein, shall or may be brought to this port of Boston other than such letters as are before excepted, shall, by such Master, passenger, or other person, be forthwith delivered to the Post Master of Boston for the time being, or unto his servants or agents, by him or them to be delivered according to the several and respective directions of the same, the said Post Master, or his servants paying to the Master of any such ship or vessel so delivering in his letters, a half penny for every letter or pacquet.

And it is further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the Post Master General, his officers or servants, shall continue constant posts for the carriage of letters to the several places and stages above mentioned, and shall seasonably and faithfully deliver forth the letters according

to the intent of this Act, upon pain of forfeiture for every omission five pounds; to be recovered as aforesaid; and to be disposed the one half to their majesties, as aforesaid, the other half to the party aggrieved who shall sue for the same.

And it is further enacted that the said Post Master, his agents or servants, upon the coming in of every Post, do mark every letter with a print, to show the day of the month and year when every letter came in.

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any ferryman within this their Majesties' Province shall at any time neglect, or refuse, or delay the conveying over his or their ferry, any post man or his horse, he shall forfeit the sum of five pounds, to be recovered and disposed as the penalty before by this Act laid upon such as shall set up any post or pacquet boat.

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all letters of public concernment for their majesties' service, from time to time, and at all times, shall be received, dispatched away, and delivered with all possible speed, according to the respective directions thereon, free of all charge, and without demanding or receiving any money or pay for the same, any thing herein before contained notwithstanding.

Provided that this Act nor any thing therein contained, shall be and continue in force any longer than three years from and after the publication thereof, herein to the contrary notwithstanding.

Past in the affirmative.

To be sent to the Council for their concurrence,

WILLIAM BOND, *Speaker.*

Read three several times in the Council, and voted, past in the affirmative, June 9. 1693.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

VI.

To his Excellency the Governour, to the Honourable the Council, and to the Representatives convened in the General Assembly.

The humble application of Duncan Campbell, deputy Post Master, on behalf of the undertakers, and Col. Andrew Hamilton, Post Master General.

Whereas there is a Post Office erected by Thomas Neale, Esq. in these northern parts of America, by virtue of a patent granted under the great seale of England, for the benefit and encouragement of trade, and speedy intelligence, &c.—and whereas by an Act passed by the General Assembly, they have established the several rates for letters from stage to stage, and that the post should go ferriage free ; notwithstanding the aforesaid grant, we find, daily, several refractory persons, and the Post many times for two or three hours is waiting for other passengers, &c. —also masters of vessels deliver letters as they please, &c. all which is a great discouragement to this undertaking, of so great a benefit to this country, &c.—also it is humbly presented to this honourable Assembly that the charges of this Post Office are thrice the income ; he humbly desires that a salary may be settled for the carrying on of so advantageous a design, &c. The Governor and Assembly of New York have settled fifty pounds per annum for three years.

'Tis humbly desired that no person may be permitted to go on board of any Vessel to receive any letters before the packet boat, as 'tis the custom in other places.

This is left to your Excellency and the honourable Assembly's consideration.

Read in Council. Read and sent up.*

*[Nothing conclusively was done.]

VII.

To the Honourable William Stoughton, Esq. Governour, the Council, and Representatives of their Majesties' Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, convened in General Assembly.

The Petition of Duncan Campbell, Post Master for the Town of Boston,—*Humbly sheweth*,

That whereas the General Court have enacted that all letters and pacquets that by any master of any ship or vessel, or any of his company, or any passenger therein, shall or may be brought to the port of Boston (other than such letters as are therein excepted) shall by such master, passenger, or other person be forthwith delivered to the Post Master of Boston for the time being, or unto his servants or agents by them to be delivered according to the respective directions of the same, &c. as in and by the Act of encouraging a Post Office doth more at large appear; notwithstanding which several persons do go on board ships on their first arrival, and receive sundry letters from passengers and others, before the same are delivered unto the Post Office, to the great lessening of the profits and revenue thereof, and to the damage of particular persons, there being no penalty imposed by said Act for the transgressors of the same.

Your Petitioner therefore prays that this honourable Court will be pleased to affix such penalty to the said Act, and to order that the same may be duly observed; and that offenders against it be liable to such punishment or forfeitures as your honours shall judge meet: and that all letters brought in any ship or vessel be delivered into the Post Office also under a penalty, except the letters of or belonging to the owners of such ship or vessel.

Your petitioner further prays this Honourable Court, that in consideration of his own case, charge, and diligence in tending and despatching away public letters out of the post road, and on days in which the post does not go (for which there is no allowance) you would please to free him from the payment of all public rates and taxes, as also that he may not be liable to pay excise for the retailing of strong drink

and other liquors, in case he shall see cause to do the same ; it being only what privileges are granted to the Post Masters in other their majesties' Plantations.

And your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray.

DUNCAN CAMPBLL.

Voted, upon reading the petition of Duncan Campbell, that all persons not bringing letter or letters (except such as the law excepts) that ought to be delivered to the Post Office, shall pay four times as much per letter as the letters are payable to the Post, and damages to be made good to the party injured in not having his or their letters by any person's default : and public rates to be allowed him, said Petitioner, till the end of the three years mentioned in the law referring to the Post Office.

March 8, 1694-5. Past in the affirmative by the House of Representatives, and sent up to the Honourable Lieutenant Governour and Council for consent.*

NEHEMIAH JEWETT, *Speaker.*

VIII.

To his Excellency Sir William Phips, Knight, Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over their Majesties' Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, the Honourable Council and Representatives now assembled in General Assembly.

Duncan Campbell, in behalf of Andrew Hamilton, Esq. Post Master General of North America,—*Humbly sheweth,*

That whereas their Majesties have been graciously pleased to erect, settle, and establish a Post Office in these parts of America by their letters patents, granted unto Thomas Neale, Esq., which said Post Office has been duly kept and maintained by constant Posts in the trading part of this country for above a twelvemonth, and is of public use, benefit, and advantage, not only to merchants and other traders, but to every respective government, more especially to this Province, by reason that all public letters and expresses have been conveyed and dispatched

* [It does not seem to have been acted on by the Council.]

free of all charge ; and finding so small encouragement by letter that it will not countervail one half of the charge thereof:

Wherefore 'tis hoped this Honourable Court will take the premises into your prudent consideration, and not suffer so general a benefit to fail for want of due encouragement ; but that you will please to appoint and state some salary to be paid out of the public revenue towards the support of the said office for some time, as the neighboring Provinces have done ; that is to say, York hath allowed fifty pounds, and Hampshire twenty pounds *per annum*, for the space of three years.

All which is humbly offered by
Your Excellency's and Honors'
Humble servant,
DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

Read, June 19, 1694.

In answer to the petition of Duncan Campbell, *Voted*, that there be allowed twenty-five pounds *per annum* out of the public treasury of this Province for the two next years ensuing the date hereof, towards the encouragement of the Post Office.

Past in the affirmative by the House of Representatives, and sent up to his Excellency and Council for consent.

NEHEMIAH JEWETT, *Speaker*.

June 20, 1694.

Voted in Council that the sum of twenty-five pounds *per annum* for two years be paid Andrew Hamilton, Esq.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Secretary*.

IX.

To the Right Honourable William Stoughton, Esq., Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, the Honourable Council and Representatives of the said Province convened in General Assembly, May 27, 1696.

The petition of Duncan Campbell, Post Master in the town of Boston, in behalf of Andrew Hamilton, Esq. deputy Post-Master General for and throughout the several

Plantations and Colonies in the main land or Continent of America.—*Humbly sheweth,*

That whereas the Great and General Court or assembly of his Majesty's Province abovesaid, begun and held at Boston on the 31st day of May, 1693, upon application to them made by the said Andrew Hamilton, for ascertaining and establishing such rates and sums of money upon letters and pacquets that shall be received and dispatched by the officer or officers, appointed by the said Hamilton, in the principal ports and places within the Province for the effectual encouragement of the said General Post Office, and for the quicker maintenance of mutual correspondence amongst the neighbouring Colonies and Plantations, and that trade and commerce might be the better preserved, did make and pass an act, entitled *an act encouraging a Post Office*, to continue in force for the space of three years from the publication thereof, which term is near expired—and forasmuch as the said Post office is found to be of very great advantage to the Province, both in respect of the speedy conveyance and dispatch of letters and pacquets to the neighbouring governments, and also for the maintenance of trade and correspondence between particular persons.

Your Petitioner therefore, in behalf of the said Andrew Hamilton, humbly prays this Honourable Court that the aforecited act may be revived and continued for such further time as shall be thought meet, with such further clauses and additions for the obliging masters of Vessels and others to deliver their letters into the Post Office, and to restrain their delivering of them to any other person or persons; under such penalties and forfeitures as this Honourable court shall please to enact.—And whereas for foreign letters the rate now is two pence a piece, out of which the master that delivers the same into the office is to have an half penny, your petitioner prays that the rate for said letters may be advanced to three pence a piece, and the master that delivers them to have a penny thereout, which will be a great encouragement to masters not to deliver them to other persons.

Your petitioner also further prays, that in consideration of the small revenue arising by the said office in conse-

quence of the charge thereof, and of the benefit the same is to the public, and also of its conveying their letters and pacquets free of charge, this Honourable Court would also please to continue a salary, to be paid to the said Andrew Hamilton, towards his defraying the charge of said office, which most of the neighboring Provinces do allow,—the Province of New York paying fifty pounds, and New Hampshire twelve pounds *per annum* towards the same.

And your Petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray.

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

June 6. Read.—10. Read a second time.

In the House of Representatives, *Voted*, in answer to this petition, that the within named Andrew Hamilton, Esq. be paid and allowed, out of the public treasury of this Province, the sum of five and twenty pounds for the year ensuing.

Sent up to the Lt. Governour and Council for their concurrence and consent.

PENN TOWNSEND, *Speaker.*

Voted a concurrence in Council, 11 July, 1696.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

X.

The Memorial of John Campbell, Master of the Post Office of Boston and New England, relating to the Post Office, humbly offered to the Great and General Court or Assembly of his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, now sitting at Boston, the 26th of May, 1703.

Imprimis. That the Patent for the Post Office in the north point of the Continent of America, granted by their excellent Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, in the fourth year of their reign, unto Thomas Neale, Esq. his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, was for twenty-one years from the 17th of February, 1691, to the 17th of February, 1712.

2. That there was an Act passed in the General Court at Boston, for settling a Post Office by virtue of said Patent, in *anno* 1693, granting privileges as by said Act appears,

which was to be in force only three years, viz. to the year 1696; since which time no Act has been revived; for want whereof a great many irregularities are committed, and said office like to drop, and come to nothing.

3. That Col. Hamilton, the Post Master General in this country, deputed thereto by the Post Master General of England, &c. according to a clause in the Patent, being appointed and nominated by Thomas Neale, Esq. to erect and settle said Post Office, which accordingly he did, and is out of purse, several years ago, above £1400 sterling, in settling the same; and to this day is not yet able by the incomes thereof to defray the necessary charge in maintaining the same.

4. That Col. Hamilton, who was at the charge of settling said office, could never be reimbursed by said Thomas Neale, Esq., and was necessitated to take a mortgage of said Patents, else have nothing; so that the privilege of said Patent now devolves upon Col. Hamilton, and his heirs, Executors, &c.

5. That there are now ten years elapsed since the first settlement of the Post Office, and about a year and a half before the settlement, and about a year and a half to run out of the term of the Patent; and since Col. Hamilton is so much money out of pocket already, and the income is not yet sufficient to defray the necessary charge in upholding it, it will be but a just thing to revive the former Act, and to continue it to his Heirs, &c. during the term of the said Patent, with an additional amendment of some Act in several clauses and paragraphs thereof; so much is it advantageous and beneficial to the public, and does at least save the public £150 *per annum*, that otherwise must be paid for expresses if there were no post.

6. That every body carrying of letters to and from towns where Post Offices are settled, is a very great hindrance and discouragement to said office; often thereby letters from Connecticut Colony are carried to Piscataqua, and put into the office there some weeks and months after written and sent, and at last come from Piscataqua to Boston; so that the Office is blamed for it without a cause. And, on the contrary, letters from Piscataqua come in the Western mail.

7. That the letters from Europe and West Indies, and

other places that come in by sea, the one half is not brought to the Office. Those that do come pay but two pence, one penny of which goes to the Master, and those employed to receive them, and the other penny is lost in dead letters (remaining in the several Post Offices) of such persons that are dead and gone,—several letters for England and the West Indies, that we send away gratis,—and several letters that persons will not take up and pay for.

8. That the ferrymen are very backward in carrying those employed in the Post Office, and do require money sometimes ; yea often backward to dispatch expresses when sent by the Government,—do judge it proper that all employed in the Post Office should be ferry-free, both man and horse.

9. That in regard that the Post Master General, as is said, is incapacitated to give such salaries to the several Post Masters, as is requisite to discharge that trust as should be,—all persons concerned in said office should be freed from watchings, trainings, or any other public service ; and, either freed from rates, or excise free, or some other benefit equal to it.

10. That all Masters of Ships, &c. be obliged under a penalty, to deliver their letters at the Post Office, and to call for all letters on board his vessel from passengers and seamen ; which passengers and seamen shall incur the like penalty for not delivering them to the Master. And in case said Master do not deliver them himself at the said Office, but sends them either by one of his servants, passengers, or any other deputed by the Post Master to receive them, then said Master shall seal them up in a bag, always with an alphabetical list fairly drawn up, that no letters may be embezzled, as often they are. And in case the Post Master or Deputy, is necessitated to go on board for said letters, then the Master to have but one half of his allowance, the other half for the said Post Master and his Deputy or deputies.

11. For want of such an Act a great many letters are miscarried, and often letters come into the Office from one and the same ship, some two days after the first, some three or four days ; some two and three weeks ; and some two and three months ; which I can prove to be true.

12. That whereas there was usually allowed from this

Government, the first three years of the aforesaid Act, a salary for encouragement of said office, and nothing has been allowed since, it is requisite (with submission) that said salary may be now granted for the time elapsed, and for the future continued.

13. And that in the sixth paragraph of the former Act the port of Boston be added, and particular offices in other towns of this Colony.

14. That something might be done to cause people to pay for their letters when sent out.

15. That some clause in the Act be made for further encouragement ; that all towns in this Province, under some penalty, where no Post Office is settled, be obliged to call for their letters at the next post town, within some limited time, and pay the Post Master for them.

XI.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, &c., and to the Honourable her Majesty's Council and the Representatives of the same, convened in General Assembly, and now sitting in Boston, the 26th day of May, Anno Domini, 1703.

The humble Petition of John Campbell, Post Master of New England, &c. sheweth,—

That whereas the Post Office within this Province, ever since its first settlement has been found, and still continues to be of great use and service, and almost of absolute necessity to her Majesty's government and the commerce of her Majesty's subjects in this and the neighbouring Colonies ;—and whereas the Act of this Province that first settled the same was but temporary, and expired in the year 1696, without having ever been since revived; whereby the Post Office is now rendered very precarious and uncertain, and labours under so many disadvantagements, that, unless speedily and effectually supported, secured, and advanced by an Act of this Great and General Court or Assembly, it must necessarily fail and come to nothing, to the great hurt and injury of her Majesty's government

in this Country, and the great damage and loss of trade and commerce in these parts,—Your Petitioner being utterly discouraged and incapable of continuing the same, as it is now circumstanced,—your Petitioner, therefore, most humbly prays that your Excellency, and this great and general Assembly will be pleased to take the premises into your most mature and wise consideration ; as also the Memorial which your Petitioner does herewithal most humbly offer ; and for the future, so forward and provide for the Post Office, as that it may attain the end for which it was at first established. And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray ;—being always,

Your Excellency's and Honours',
most humble, obedient
and faithful servant,
JOHN CAMPBELL.

We are humbly of opinion, that an Order be made by this great and general Assembly, that all Masters of Ships and Vessels arriving here, under the penalty of five pounds, deliver their letters to the Post Master, or his deputies ; sealed up in a bag or bundle, with an alphabetical list fairly drawn up ;—for each letter to receive of said Post Master one half penny.

That the non-accustomed rates or prices, be paid for letters.

That a sum be allowed to Mr. John Campbell, for his encouragement to help support his charge ; he having hitherto taken care of public letters which otherwise must have had Expresses provided to forward them, £20 for the past, and £40 for the year ensuing ; and that the said Campbell be freed from impresses, trainings, and watches, during his employment of Post Master.

June 3, 1703.

ELISHA HUTCHINSON.
JOHN FOSTER.

Sent down for concurrence.

IS. ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

Die predict, viz. *June* 3. Read in the House of Representatives. *July* 22*d*, 1703, Concurred ; with an amend-

ment, viz. the sum for the time past to be £10, and for the years ensuing, £20.

JAMES CONVERSE, *Speaker.*

In Council, *July* 22*d*, 1703, read and accepted, and the sums of £20 and £40, inserted by the Council.

IS. ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

XII.

BOSTON, *July* 19*th*, 1703.

Memorandum,

That the present charge to maintain the Post Office between Piscataqua and Philadelphia, for Post Master, riders, and other incidental charges, *per annum*, amounts to about the sum of . . . . . £680,00,0.

of which charge the Post Master of New England paid, will amount to, *per annum*, about 453,06,8.

New York and Philadelphia, ... 226,13,4.

£680,00,0.

Which £453,06,8 is £113,06,8 per quarter, and is per month . . £37,15,6.

whereof received last month by letters inward . . £12,12,8.

and to receive of the several inferior posts outward since 9,04,8.

£21,17,4.

So falls short this month 15,18,2.

£37,15,6.

And as to foreign letters, which pay 2d. and 1-2d. whereof goes to the Master, the other 1-2d. expended on these that bring the letters ashore and to the office, and the other penny lost in dead letters remaining in the several offices; —so that the 2d. for foreign letters amounts in the end to nothing,—only supplies the deficiency of dead letters.

Which £37,15,6. per month is per week,	.	£9,09,0.
whereof received inwards last week,	£2,11,10.	
and to receive sent out last week,	£1,11,00.	
	£4,02,10.	
So falls short this week, . . .	5,06,02.	
		£9,09,00.
and makes short per annum about . . .		£275,00,00.

XIII.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governour in chief in and over her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, &c; and to the Honourable her Majesty's Council and the House of Representatives, convened in General Assembly, and now sitting in Boston, the 10th day of April, 1706.

The humble petition of John Campbell, Post Master of New England, sheweth ;—

That whereas it has been usual for your Petitioner to have an annual allowance from the Province, the better to enable him to a faithful discharge of his office, in which he has now served three years and an half, and has only had one year and an half's allowance as yet granted him;—and that your petitioner has already his petition lying before your Excellency and General Assembly, relating thereto, and to promoting the printing of the Weekly Intelligencer ;*—your Petitioner, therefore, most humbly prays that your Excellency and this Great and General Assembly, will be pleased to take the same into your mature and wise consideration.

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray; being always

Your Excellency's and Honour's,
most humble, obedient
and faithful servant,
JOHN CAMPBELL.

* [Reference is here made to *The Boston News-Letter*, a paper published by John Campbell; the first in the English Colonies, throughout the extensive Continent of North America. It was commenced April 24th, 1704; was printed by Bartholomew Green, and sold by Nicholas Boone, at his shop near the old Meeting-House.—*Pub. Com.*]

April 11*th*, 1706, Read.

12*th*, *Resolved* that the sum of twenty pounds be allowed and paid out of the public treasury to John Campbell, the petitioner, in consideration of his service in conveying of letters on her Majesty's service, by the weekly post, the last year ; and the like sum of twenty pounds for the said service the year current, ending the first day of July next.

Sent up for concurrence.

THOMAS OAKES, *Speaker.*

April 12*th*, 1706. *In Council.* Read and voted a concurrence to the first twenty pounds for the year past ; the other twenty pounds referred to consideration the next session ; the year not being up.

IS. ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

XIV.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over her Majesty's province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, &c., and to the Honourable her Majesty's Council, and the House of Representatives convened in General Assembly, and now sitting in Boston, the 29th day of May, 1706.

The humble petition of John Campbell, Post Master of New England, sheweth—

That whereas it has been usual for your petitioner to have an annual allowance from this Province, the better to enable him to a faithful discharge of his post, (seeing the proprietor thereof is not able by the income of said office, which is less than the necessary charge, to give him any tolerable salary, proportionable to the trouble and charge attending it,) in which he has now served three years and nine months, and has had only two years and an half allowance paid him :—

And that your Petitioner, for a public good, above two years ago, has been at the cost and charge to print a weekly Letter of Intelligence, of both foreign and domestic occurrences, which was set at a more moderate price than

it was in some part of England, notwithstanding the charge here is above four times dearer than it would cost there; yet your Petitioner has not had sufficient encouragement to defray the necessary charges thereof.

Your Petitioner, therefore, most humbly prays that your Excellency and this Great and General Assembly will be pleased to take the same into your most mature and wise consideration, so as to enable your Petitioner to a faithful discharge of both trusts.

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray; being always

Your Excellency's and Honours'
most humble, obedient
and faithful servant,
JOHN CAMPBELL.

In Council, June 14, 1706. Read and sent down.

July 23, 1706. *In the House of Representatives,* read.

October 28, 1706. Read.

In the House of Representatives, October 30, 1706.

Resolved, that the sum of thirty pounds be allowed and paid out of the public treasury to Mr. John Campbell, the petitioner, in full for his service to the Public unto this day.
THOMAS OAKES, *Speaker.*

In Council. Die predict.

Read and concurred.
IS. ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

XV.

Committee for the Post Office.

November 3*d*, 1708. *In Council.*

Ordered, that John Foster, Andrew Belcher, and Edward Bromfield, with such as shall be named by the Representatives, be a Committee to inspect and examine into the rates taken in the Post Office, for letters:—to consider of the alteration of the day of the post coming in; and what

allowance may be meet to be made by the public for encouragement of the office; and report the same.

Is. ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

Sent down for concurrence.

In the House of Representatives.

November 4th, 1708. Read and concurred; and that John Clark, Esq., Captain Charles Chambers, Mr. Nathaniel Blagrove, Mr. William Denison, and Captain Thomas Hutchinson, be a Committee to join in the affair abovesaid.

THOMAS OLIVER, *Speaker.*

XVI.

Memorandum. To his Excellency the Governour, from John Campbell, Post Master of New England.

Boston, November 18, 1709.

Eight years ago, Col. Hamilton, upon the death of the former Post Master, wrote to me to take upon me the management of the Post Offices; and by a letter to your Excellency for approbation, which was granted, I took it. Six months after I represented to the General Assembly that I could not serve, the salary was so small. Upon which, two Gentlemen of the upper house, (who are still of the same,) were ordered to confer with me about it; whose opinion then was, (if they have not forgot it,) to allow me forty pounds *per annum.* Several then, of the lower house, were for allowing thirty pounds. Some were for advancing the price of the postage; which I was not for condescending to. However, the lower house allowed twenty pounds, which was paid until three years ago. [Since which] I have had no allowance. The being of a Post Office saves the Country above £150 *per annum;* which they must needs pay for expresses, besides what they do if there were no Post Office. The public letters I have passed free, yearly, upon the usual allowance, was to a great deal more than was paid me; besides the charge of weekly sending your Excellency's letters to Roxbury, in times of snow or rain. The Queen will not augment the charge of the office to what it was in Col. Hamilton's time.

She is now at above two hundred pounds sterling charges yearly, to support it between New Hampshire and Pennsylvania, above 500 miles; and, had the several officers half salary allowed them, it would cost her Majesty above a hundred pounds sterling more.

And since the Post Master is denied his usual allowance, it is but just the public letters for the time past should be paid for, and the Post Master for sending your Excellency's letters to Roxbury; and, for the time to come, a proper method taken about conveying your Excellency's letters. And if this is denied the Post Master, he must, of necessity, represent it to the Post Master General of Great Britain, &c., which he has forborne to do these three years past, being put in hope by several that the General Court would prevent it.

November 18, 1709. *In Council.* Read and recommended.

XVII.

Copy of a letter from Frankland and Evelyn to Col. Hamilton.

General Post Office, February 20, 1716.

Colonel Hamilton,

We herewith send you the Resolutions of the House of Commons, on the rates of postage proposed for the conveyance of inland and foreign letters, whereby you will observe the rates for the letters to be conveyed through her Majesty's several dominions and governments on the Continent of America. We have sent you a dozen setts, that you may send one to the Governours of her Majesty's several Plantations and Colonies, that they may communicate the same to the respective Councils of State, to inform them of the Act that is likely to pass thereupon in Parliament. We send these by Colonel Nicholson; and are

Your affectionate friends,

THO. FRANKLAND,
J. EVELYN.

Col. Hamilton, at New York.

XVIII.

Votes of the House of Commons.

Mercurij 14. die Feb. 1710.

The orders of the day being read.

Resolved, That this House will, upon *Tuesday* Morning next, at Eleven a Clock, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of the Bill for the better preventing Bribery and Corruption, and other undue Practices in Elections of Members to serve in Parliament.

Ordered, That the Committee of Privileges and Elections be discharged from Hearing any more Causes this Session, than the four next Elections, besides the Election for the County of *Northumberland.*

A Petition of the Minister, Church-wardens, and several other Inhabitants of *Greenwich,* in the County of *Kent,* in behalf of themselves and others, poor Parishioners there, was presented to the House, and read, praying, That the Sum of 6000*l.* or what other Sum the House shall think fit, for rebuilding the Church of *Greenwich,* the Roof whereof lately fell down, (which so shattered the Walls, that the whole must be rebuilt) may be assigned for the Relief of the Petitioners.

Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to a Committee, and that they do examine the Matter thereof, and report the same to the House.

And a Committee was accordingly appointed.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said Committee, That they do enquire what Moneys remain in the Hands of the Commissioners for building the Church of St. *Paul's;* And that they do consider what the Produce of the Duties in Being may amount to, for the time to come, and make an Estimate what will be necessary for finishing and adorning the said Church, and other the Purposes in the Acts mentioned for building the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul's,* and report the same to the House.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the said Committee, That they do consider what Churches are wanting within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster,* and Suburbs thereof.

Ordered, That the Report from the Committee who were appointed to enquire upon what Invitation or Encouragement the *Palatines* came over, and what Moneys were expended in bringing them into *Britain*, and for maintaining them here, and by whom paid, be received upon *Tuesday* Morning next.

Mr. *Conyers* (according to Order) reported from the Committee of the whole House, who were to consider farther of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Resolutions they had directed him to report to the House; and he read the same in his Place, and afterwards delivered them in at the Table, where they were read, and agreed unto by the House, and are as follows, viz.

Resolved, That towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, Her Majesty's Revenues, both Inland and Foreign, to arise in the General Letter-Office, or Post-Office, or the Office of Post-Master General, be increased.

Resolved, That the said Increase be made, by adding One Penny to the present Rate of Two Pence, for every single Letter, carried within 80 *English* Miles distance from *London*, and by adding proportionable Rates for double and treble Letters and Pacquets, carried the same Distance.

Resolved, That the said Increase be also made, by adding One Penny to the present Rate of Three Pence for every single Letter carried in *England*, above 80 such Miles from *London*, or to the town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, and by adding proportionable Rates for double and treble Letters and Pacquets so carried.

Resolved, That the said Increase be likewise made, by adding One Penny to the present Rates of Three Pence and Two Pence, payable for Letters, passing between *London* and *Edinburgh*, or between *London* and *Dumfreize*, or *Cockburn-Speth*, and by adding proportionable Rates for double and treble Letters and Pacquets so carried.

Resolved, That the said Increase be made, by establishing a Rate of Four Pence (in lieu of the present Rates,) for every single Letter carried any Length in *Scotland*, being above 80 Miles distance from *Edinburgh*, and by settling proportionable Rates for double and treble Letters and Pacquets so carried; and that the present Rates for

carrying Letters in *Scotland*, to and from *Edinburgh*, within 80 Miles distance thereof, be continued as they are now.

Resolved, That the present Rates for carrying of Letters and Pacquets, in respect to *Ireland*, be continued.

Resolved, That the said Revenue be increased, by Settling a Rate of One Penny, for every Letter or Pacquet, directed on Board, or brought from any Ship or Vessel, Riding or stopping in any of Her Majesty's Harbours or Ports.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets, passing or repassing by the Carriage, usually called the *Penny-Post*, within eight *English* Miles from *London*, do pay after the Rate of Three Half-Pence.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets, conveyed or re-conveyed in the Cross-Roads, and all By or Way Letters and Pacquets, do pay the same Rates, in Proportion to the Distances of the Places to which they shall be directed from the places at which they shall be put in, as Letters and Pacquets, conveyed and re-conveyed on the several Great Roads, are rated to pay.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets coming from any Part of *France* to *London* (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay Ten-pence for every single Letter, One Shilling and Eight-pence for every double Letter, Two Shillings and Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Three Shillings and Four-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets passing from *London* through *France*, to any Part of *Spain* or *Portugal* (Port paid to *Bayonne*) and from *Spain* and *Portugal* through *France* to *London*, do pay One Shilling and Six-pence for every single Letter, Three Shillings for every double Letter, Four Shillings and Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Six Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets passing from *London* through *France*, to any part of *Italy* or *Sicily*, by the Way of *Lyons*, or to any Part of *Turkey*, by the Way of *Marcelia;* and from any of those Parts through *France* to *London* (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay One Shilling and Three-pence for every single Letter, Two Shillings and Six-pence for every double Letter, Three Shillings and Nine-pence for every treble Letter, and Five Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets coming from any Part of the *Spanish-Netherlands* unto *London* (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay Ten-pence for every single Letter, One Shilling and Eight-pence for every double Letter, Two Shillings and Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Three Shillings and Four-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets passing from *London* through the *Spanish-Netherlands* to any Part of *Italy* or *Sicily*, (Port paid to *Antwerp*) and from any Part of *Italy* or *Sicily*, through the *Spanish-Netherlands* to *London*, (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay One Shilling for every single Letter, Two Shillings for every double Letter, Three Shillings for every treble Letter, and Four Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets passing from *London* through the *Spanish-Netherlands*, to any Part of *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and all Parts of the *North*, and from any of those Parts through the *Spanish-Netherlands* unto *London*, (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay One Shilling for every single Letter, Two Shillings for every double Letter, Three Shillings for every treble Letter, and Four Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, that all Letters and Pacquets passing from *London* through the *Spanish-Netherlands*, to any Part of *Spain* or *Portugal*, and from any part of *Spain* or *Portugal* through the *Spanish-Netherlands* unto *London*, (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay One Shilling and Six-pence for every single Letter, Three Shillings for every double Letter, Four Shillings and Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Six Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets coming from any Part of the *United-Provinces* unto *London* (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay Ten-pence for every single Letter, One Shilling and Eight-pence for every double Letter, Two Shillings and Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Three Shillings and Four-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets passing from *London* through the *United-Provinces*, for any Part of *Italy* or *Sicily*, and from any Part of *Italy* or *Sicily* through the *United-Provinces* unto *London*, (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay One Shilling for every single Letter, Two Shillings for every double Letter, Three Shillings for every treble Letter, and Four Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets passing from *London* through the *United-Provinces*, to any Part of *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and all Parts of the *North*, and from any of those Parts and Places through the *United-Provinces* unto *London*, (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay One Shilling for every single Letter, Two Shillings for every double Letter, Three Shillings for every treble Letter, and Four Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets passing from *London* through the *United Provinces*, unto any part of *Spain* or *Portugal*, and from any part of *Spain* or *Portugal*, through the *United-Provinces* unto *London*, (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay One Shilling and Six-pence for every single Letter, Three Shillings for every double Letter, Four Shillings and Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Six Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets passing from *London* through the *Spanish-Netherlands* or the *United-Provinces*, to *Hamburgh*, (Port paid to *Antwerp* or *Amsterdam*) and from *Hamburgh* through the *Spanish-Netherlands* or the *United-Provinces* unto *London*, (in lieu of the present Rates) do pay Ten-pence for every single Letter, One Shilling and Eight-pence for every double Letter, Two Shillings and Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Three Shillings and Four-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets passing between *London*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*, by Pacquet-Boats, shall pay One Shilling and Six-pence the single Letter, Three Shillings the double Letter, Four Shillings and Six-pence the treble Letter, and Six Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *London* to *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *Antegoa*, *Montserat*, *Nevis* and St. *Christophers*, in *America*, and from any of those places to *London*, do pay the present Rates of One Shilling and Six-pence for every single Letter, Three Shillings for every double Letter, Four Shillings and Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Six Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *London* to *New-York*, in *North-America*, and thence to *London*, do pay the present Rates of One Shilling for every single Letter, Two Shillings for every double Letter, Three Shillings for every treble Letter, and Four Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from any Part of the *West-Indies* to *New-York*, do pay Four-pence for every single Letter, Eight Pence for every double Letter, Twelve Pence for every treble Letter, and One Shilling and Four-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *New-York*, to any Places within 60 *English* Miles thereof, and thence back to *New-York*, do pay Four Pence for every single Letter, Eight Pence for every double Letter, One Shilling for every treble Letter, and One Shilling and Four-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *New-York* to *Perth-Amboy*, the chief Town in *East New-Jersey*, and to *Bridlington*, the chief Town in *West New-Jersey*, and from each of those Places back to *New-York*, and from *New-York* to any Place not exceeding 100 *English* Miles, and from each of those Places to *New-York*, do pay Six Pence for every single Letter, One Shilling for every double Letter, Eighteen Pence for every treble Letter, and Two Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *Perth-Amboy* and *Bridlington*, to any Place not exceeding 60 *English* Miles, and thence back again, do pay Four Pence for every single Letter, Eight Pence for every double Letter, One Shilling for every treble Letter, and One Shilling and Four Pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *Perth-Amboy* and *Bridlington*, to any Place not exceeding 100 *English* Miles, and thence back again, do pay Six Pence for every single Letter, One Shilling for every double Letter, Eighteen Pence for every treble Letter, and Two Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *New-York* to *New-London*, the chief Office in *Connecticut*, in *New-England*, and to *Philadelphia*, the Chief Town in *Pennsylvania*, and from those Places back to *New-York*, do pay Nine Pence for every single Letter, Eighteen Pence for every double Letter, Two Shillings and Three-pence for every treble Letter, and Three Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *New-London* and *Philadelphia*, to any Place not exceeding 60 *English* Miles, and thence back again, do pay Four Pence

for every single Letter, Eight Pence for every double Letter, One Shilling for every treble Letter, and One Shilling and Four Pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *New-London* and *Philadelphia*, to any place not exceeding 100 *English* Miles, and so back again, do pay Six Pence for every single Letter, One Shilling for every double Letter, Eighteen Pence for every treble Letter, and Two Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *New-York* aforesaid, to *Newport*, the chief Town in *Rhode-Island*, and *Providence-Plantation* in *New-England*, and to *Boston*, the chief Town in *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England* aforesaid, and to *Portsmouth*, the chief Town in *New-Hampshire* in *New-England* aforesaid, and to *Annapolis*, the chief Town in *Maryland*, and from every of those Places to *New-York*, do pay One Shilling for every single Letter, Two Shillings for every double Letter, Three Shillings for every treble Letter, and Four Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *Newport*, *Boston*, *Portsmouth*, and *Annapolis* aforesaid, to any Place not exceeding 60 *English* Miles, and thence back again, do pay Four-pence for every single Letter, Eight-pence for every double Letter, One Shilling for every treble Letter, and One Shilling and Four-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *Newport*, *Boston*, *Portsmouth*, and *Annapolis* aforesaid, to any Place not exceeding 100 *English* Miles, and thence back again, do pay Six-pence for every single Letter, One Shilling for every double Letter, Eighteen-pence for every treble Letter, and Two Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *New-York* aforesaid, to the Chief Offices in *Salem*, and *Ipswich*, and to the Chief Office in *Piscataway*, and to *Williamsburgh*, the Chief Office in *Virginia*, and from every of those Places to *New-York*, do pay One Shilling and Three-pence for every single Letter, Two Shillings and Six-pence for every double Letter, Three Shillings and Nine-pence for every treble Letter, and Five Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from the Chief Offices in *Salem*, *Ipswich*, *Piscataway*, and *Williamsburgh* aforesaid, to any Place not exceeding 60 *English* Miles,

and thence back again, do pay Four-pence for every single Letter, Eight-pence for every double Letter, One Shilling for every treble Letter, and One Shilling and Four-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from the said Chief Offices in *Salem*, *Ipswich*, *Piscataway*, and *Williamsburgh* aforesaid, to any Place not exceeding 100 *English* Miles, and thence back again, do pay Six-pence for every single Letter, One Shilling for every double Letter, Eighteen-pence for every treble Letter, and Two Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *New-York* aforesaid, to *Charles-Town*, the Chief Town in North and South *Carolina*, and from *Charles-Town* aforesaid to *New-York*, do pay Eighteen-pence for every single Letter, Three Shillings for every double Letter, Four Shillings and Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Six Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *Charles-Town* aforesaid, to any Place not exceeding 60 *English* Miles, and thence back again, do pay Four-pence for every single Letter, Eight-pence for every double Letter, One Shilling for every treble Letter, and One Shilling and Four-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets from *Charles-Town* aforesaid, to any Place not exceeding 100 *English* Miles, and thence back again, do pay Six-pence for every single Letter, One Shilling for every double Letter, Eighteen-pence for every treble Letter, and Two Shillings for every Ounce.

Resolved, That all Letters and Pacquets to be conveyed by the Post to or from *Donashadee*, or some other convenient Port in *Ireland*, to Port *Patrick*, or some other convenient Port in that Part of *Great-Britain* called *Scotland*, over and above the *Inland* Rates aforesaid, do pay Two-pence for every single Letter, Four-pence for every double Letter, Six-pence for every treble Letter, and Eight-pence for every Ounce.

Resolved, That the Post Master General, and his Deputies, do take the same Rates for furnishing Horses and Furniture to Persons Riding Post, according to the former Act: But if he or they will furnish any Person to ride

Post, without Guide and Horn, he and his Deputies may, in that Case, take Four-pence *per* Mile (in lieu of the present Rates of Three-pence for each Horse *per* Mile.) And if the Poster will ride with a Guide, then such Guide to have Six-pence for the whole Stage he rides, instead of Four-pence allowed by the former Act.

Resolved, That the former Acts made in *England* and *Scotland*, relating to the Post Office, be repealed; and that in lieu thereof, one General Act be made for Establishing a General Post Office for *Great-Britain*, and other Her Majesty's Dominions, and for Foreign Parts.

Ordered, That a Bill be brought in upon the said Resolutions, and that Mr. *Conyers*, Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Thomas Powys*, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, and Mr. *Lownds*, do prepare and bring in the same.

The House (according to Order) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of the Supply granted to Her Majesty; And after some time spent therein, Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair, and Mr. *Conyers* reported from the Committee, That they had come to a Resolution, which they had directed him to report, when the House will please to receive the same.

Ordered, That the Report be received to Morrow Morning.

Mr. *Conyers* also acquainted the House, That he was directed by the Committee to move that they may have Leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this House will, upon *Monday* Morning next, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of the Supply granted to Her Majesty.

Ordered, That the Committee of Privileges and Elections, and all other Committes, which were to set this Afternoon, be adjourned.

And then the House adjourned till to Morrow Morning, Nine a Clock.

By Virtue of an Order of the House of Commons, *I do appoint* Samuel Keble *and* Henry Clements *to Print these Votes; And that no other Person presume to Print the same.*

W. Bromley, *Speaker.*

XIX.

John Campbell's petition.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governour in chief in and over her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, &c., and to the Honourable her Majesty's Council, at Boston, May the 24th, 1711.

The humble petition of John Campbell, Post Master of New England.

Sheweth,—that it has been usual for your petitioner to have an annual allowance from this Province for his care and trouble about the public letters, and especially for forwarding your Excellency's letters every week to Roxbury; which allowance was granted by the General Court, in addition to the small salary he had to uphold the said office, which the Queen is not willing yet to augment, in regard that the incomes of the Post Office General in America are not able to defray the necessary charge of the same; which allowance has not been granted to your petitioner these four years and six months past, notwithstanding he has taken due care of forwarding the public letters, and every year addressed your Excellency and Honourable Council and Assembly for the said allowance, which ought not only to be granted on the aforesaid consideration, but also for his trouble and care in setting up a public Intelligence weekly, found of great benefit and advantage, on several accounts, to the public; the charge and trouble whereof is very considerable, and income very small, seeing he cannot vend two hundred and fifty copies of one impression.

Your petitioner, therefore, humbly prays, that seeing the General Court has hitherto taken no cognizance of his petition, and that he has now laid before your Excellency and Council his account of the public letters, and sending your Excellency's letters to Roxbury every week; your Excellency and Council will be pleased to take the same into your most mature and wise consideration, not only to grant and order the payment of the said account, but also

a further encouragement on consideration of the public Intelligence.

And your Petioner, as in duty bound shall ever pray ; being always

Your Excellency's and Honours'
most humble, obedient
and faithful servant,
JOHN CAMPBELL.

XX.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governour in chief of her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and to the Honourable her Majesty's Council, and the House of Representatives convened in general Assembly, and now sitting in Boston, the 17th day of October, 1711.

The humble petition of John Campbell, Post Master of New England, Sheweth ;—

That whereas your Petitioner has had a yearly allowance from this government the better to enable him to discharge his trust in the management of the said Office, and taking due care of the public letters ; which saves this Colony considerable in a year.

Your Petitioner has also set on foot a weekly Letter of Intelligence, at his own cost and charge, for foreign and domestic occurrences ; which has been found of public use and service on several accounts, particularly to prevent a great many false reports.

And, notwithstanding your Petitioner has annually presented his petition to the General Court for his allowance, he has had none these five years past, nor yet any allowance to encourage the carrying on the Intelligence ; he has herewith presented his account.

And seeing God in his providence has been pleased, by the late awful fire in Boston, to deprive your petitioner, not only of his houses lately re-edified, but of his Printing house, press, and the greater part of his letters, house-

hold goods, &c., and being also indebted to his several workmen : *

Your Petitioner, therefore, humbly prays that your Excellency and this great and general Assembly will be pleased to take the premises into your most mature and wise consideration, and grant your Petitioner his account, and what further encouragement seemeth you meet, to enable your Petitioner to a faithful discharge of his post, and carrying on the Intelligence, which the small incomes thereof are not able to countervail the charge.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray; being always

Your Excellency's and Honours'
most humble, most obedient
and faithful servant,
JOHN CAMPBELL.

October 19, 1711. *In Council*, read and sent down, with a recommendation to the House for allowance of the Petitioner's account to this time of £142. 3. 11.

In the House of Representatives. October 19, 1711, Read. Nov. 6, Read and committed.—March 18, Read.

XXI.

In the Boston News Letter No. 557 from December 13th to December 20, 1714, Mr. Campbell publishes the following.

By order of the Post Master General of North America.

These are to give notice that on monday night last, the sixth of this instant December, the western post between Boston and New York, set out for once a fortnight the three winter months of December, January, and February, and to go alternately from Boston to Saybrook and Hartford, to exchange the mail of letters with the New York rider.

* [For a particular account of this destructive fire the publishing Committee refer to No. 391 of *the Boston News Letter*, October 9, 1711 (Mr. Campbell's paper.) to the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, first series, Vol. III. p. 269; IV. 211. and in V. 62, a circumstantial and affecting narrative.—The Post Office, and Allen's printing house were consumed in the conflagration. The following week the News Letter was again printed at Green's printing house in Newbury street, with this imprint, "Boston: printed in Newbury street, for John Campbell, Post Master."]

The first turn for Saybrook to meet the New York rider on Saturday night last, the 13th current. The second turn he sets out at Boston on Monday night, the 20th current, to meet the New York rider at Hartford, Saturday night the 25th current, to exchange mails.

All persons that send letters from Boston to Connecticut, from and after the 15th instant, are hereby notified first to pay the postage of the same.

The western post comes not in till Saturday next.

XXII.

Public notice given by John Campbell, Post Master, in the Boston News Letter, No. 574, April 18th, 1715.

Complaint being made to the Deputy Post Master General of New England, by several Gentlemen, merchants and others, of sundry persons going on board Vessels at their arrival in the port of Boston, and taking up their letters, pretending to deliver the same on shore according to their respective directions; and others pretending to carry them to the Post Office;—instead of which, the said letters are long detained from the owners; several often lost, and never delivered; others embezzled and opened; to the great loss and prejudice of the merchants by the deficiency of their correspondence and discovery of their secrets.

To prevent which great abuse for the future, notice is hereby given unto all masters and Passengers, arriving in any port in New England, carefully to observe the directions of the Act of Parliament made for establishing a Post Office in all his Majesty's dominions;—which words are to this purpose—"that all Masters and Passengers on their arrival, do forthwith deliver all such letters as they shall have, only at the Post Office, unto the Post Master or his Deputy, upon pain of forfeiting five pounds British money for every such offence in delivering any letters to any other. Upon which delivery the Master is to receive a penny for every such letter, signing a certificate to the Post Master or Deputy of the number of letters delivered, the time when, and the vessel's name they came by."

It is also provided in the same Act, on the like penalty of five pounds, that no person or persons whatsoever shall

convey, carry, recarry or deliver any letters other than the Post Master or his Deputy.

And any who shall for the future inform against the person or persons that go on board vessels to take up any person or persons letters, to detain the delivery of the same, shall be not only entitled to the penalty granted by law against such a person, but be likewise sufficiently rewarded.

And for the benefit and advantage of merchants and others, it is thought very proper for every Master (as it has been usual) to make a fair alphabetical list of the names and number of letters in his bags; which list hung up at the Office door, would soon resolve any persons if they had any letters by such a ship. And such Master as cannot conveniently come with his bag of letters to the Office, may seal the same with the said list in it, and send it by one of his servants; which Master, on demand, shall be paid for each letter at his coming to the Office; as also immediately to his servant as each Master shall direct.

XXIII.

From the Boston News Letter, No. 577. *May* 2, 1715.

Had the undertaker any suitable encouragement either by salary, or any tolerable number to take the Intelligence by the year, he would have printed a sheet weekly, to foward the intelligence. But since he has not, he must do the best he can.

XXIV.

[In 1718, Campbell was removed from the Post Office; and the Right Honourable the Post Master General in England named Mr. Philip Musgrave to succeed him; but the appointment itself being assigned to Andrew Hamilton, Esq., Deputy Post Master General for North America, on the 13th of September, 1718, he placed Mr. William Brooker in the office.

In the News Letter of March 7, 1728, is this obituary notice; "on Monday evening last, the 4th current, about eight o'clock, died here John Campbell, Esq. age 75 years; formerly Post Master of this place, publisher of

the Boston News Letter for many years, and one of his majesty's justices of peace for the County of Suffolk."

In 1725, HENRY MARSHALL was appointed Post Master. *Pub. Com.*]

XXV.

To the Honourable William Dummer, Esq., Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief, the Honourable the Council and House of Representatives for the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in General Court assembled at Boston, the 22nd day of November, 1727.

The Memorial of Henry Marshall, Post Master, residing at Boston, aforesaid—

Humbly sheweth, That whereas your Memorialist hath kept the said office for two years past, or thereabout, and hath at all times taken care of the public letters belonging to the Government, for which service his predecessors, as he has been informed, used to be paid by order of the General Assembly; but the memorialist having never yet received any thing, and the other governments on the Continent making an allowance for services of the like nature; he, therefore, most humbly prays your Honours, that you will be pleased to allow him for his said service what in your great wisdom you shall see fit.

And as in duty bound, the memorialist shall ever pray.

H. MARSHALL.

In the House of Representatives, December 2nd, 1727. Read and committed to the Committee for petitions.

The Committee having considered this memorial, are of opinion, that the sum of two pounds be allowed and paid out of the public treasury to Henry Marshall for his past service in taking care of the public letters; and that hereafter a particular account of service of the like nature be laid before this Court, before any thing be allowed therefor.

JOHN QUINCY, *per order*.

In the House of Representatives, January 4th, 1727. Read and accepted, and resolved that the sum of forty shillings be allowed and paid out of the public treasury to the Memorialist, Henry Marshall, for his past service in taking care of the public letters ; and that hereafter a particular account of his service of the like nature be laid before this Court, before any allowance be made therefor.

Sent up for concurrence.

WILLIAM DUDLEY, *Speaker.*

In Council. January 5, 1727. Read and concurred.

J. WILLARD, *Secretary.*

Consented to.

WILLIAM DUMMER.

XXVI.

Secretary's certificate relating to Head Lynch, Esq.

Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

These are to certify whom it may concern, that there is delivered into my hands a Bond, or obligation, under the hands and seals of Ellis Huske and William Pepperrell, Esq. in the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, to be paid to Head Lynch, Esq. deputy Post Master General of North America, in case the said Ellis Huske shall not faithfully discharge the Office of Deputy Post Master of Boston, and the district thereto belonging, as particularly expressed in the said Bond.

J. WILLARD, *Secretary.*

Boston, March 7, 1742–3.

XXVII.

Establishment for a Carrier.

In the House of Representatives, June 18th, 1760.

Voted, That a carrier be employed to ride from Boston to Albany, and back again to Boston, once every fortnight, during the present campaign, to carry the several public dispatches, that may be necessary to be sent. And, also,

that the said carrier carry to and from the soldiers in the service of the Province, such letters as they may write home, and as may be sent to them.—And that such carrier be allowed for every such journey and duly performing the same, the sum of six pounds out of the public treasury.

Sent up for concurrence.

JAMES OTIS, *Speaker.*

In Council, June 18, 1760.

Read and concurred.

A. OLIVER, *Secretary.*

Consented to.

T. HUTCHINSON.

XXVIII.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Halifax to his Excellency the Governour, dated St. James's, August 11*th*, 1764.

SIR,

It being of great importance and advantage to his Majesty's service, and to the commercial interests and general convenience of his Majesty's subjects in North America, that the conveyance of letters by the Post should be facilitated and extended throughout the Colonies upon that extensive Continent, his Majesty's Post Master General is concerting measures for those purposes: and, as it cannot be doubted but the Legislatures of the several Colonies will readily and cheerfully contribute to the success of a plan, from which they may expect to derive the benefit of a regular, safe, and speedy correspondence:—I am commanded to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you should recommend it to the Assembly of the Colony under your government, to provide for the establishment of ferries, and erecting proper buildings on the water side, wherever the same may be found necessary, that the Posts may meet with no delays or interruptions in passing.

His Majesty's Post Master General having also represented that a Map of the Province under your Government,

with the present course of the Posts throughout the same clearly marked out, would be of great use to him in the present undertaking ; I am to desire that you will procure and transmit such a Map, together with a state of such alterations, as you apprehend to be wanting for the better regulation and improvement of the said Posts. And you will give your constant aid and support to the Post Masters, within your Government, in the execution of their office, which is so immediately calculated for the public benefit.

XXIX.

Petition of David Hyde.

To his Excellency Sir Francis Bernard, Baronet and Governor in Chief, the Honourable the Council, and House of Representatives in General Court assembled.

The petition of David Hyde, of Boston, Post rider, *humbly sheweth,*—

That he was in the month of September last employed by the selectmen of Boston, to carry Expresses to the selectmen of the other towns in this Province, relative to matters of a public and important nature, which required the greatest dispatch ; he, therefore, thought himself obliged in faithfulness to his employers, to ride from Belchertown to Montague on the 18th of September, being Lord's day ; for which he was brought before the Honourable Court of Sessions for the County of Hampshire, convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine to the King of ten shillings, and had costs taxed at eighteen shillings, which with the expenses and loss of time, has been a considerable damage, as well as trouble to your petitioner.

Your petitioner .presumes not to make any reflections upon the treatment he has received ; but throws himself upon the favour of the Honourable Court, praying that his case may be considered, and such redress given, as to your Excellency and Honours may seem meet. And, as in duty bound, shall ever pray. DAVID HYDE.

BOSTON, *July* 1, 1769.

In the House of Representatives, July 13*th*, 1769.

Resolved, that the sum of one pound eight shillings be allowed and paid out of the public treasury of this Province, to the petitioner, David Hyde, in full consideration of his extraordinary expenses in the foregoing petition mentioned.

Sent up for concurrence.

F. CUSHING, *Speaker.*

In Council, July 13, 1769. Read and non-concurred.

JOHN COTTON, *D. Secretary.*

XXX.

Annals of Salem, p. 487. *March* 28, 1774. A committee of correspondence in Salem receive a communication from a similar body in Boston, on the subject of establishing Post Offices and Post riders independent of Parliament.

Ibid. p. 495. *May* 25, 1775. The Provincial Congress take the concerns of the Massachusetts Post Offices into their own hands.

XXXI.

In Committee of Safety.

CAMBRIDGE, *April* 28, 1775.

Voted to recommend to the Colony Congress now sitting in Watertown, and it is recommended accordingly, to make an establishment for post riders between the Massachusetts forces and the town of Worcester ; also, that the said Congress take such order as they may think proper, to prevent any town or district taking any notice of his Excellency General Gage's precepts for calling a general Assembly.

WILLIAM COOPER, *Secretary.*

PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE RIVAL CHIEFS,

D'AULNEY AND LA TOUR,

GOVERNORS OF NOVA SCOTIA.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

[There is a romance of History as well as a History of Romance.—To the former class, belong many incidents in the early periods of New England and its adjacent Colonies.—The following papers pertain to events of a similar order. They refer to two persons; D'Aulney* and La Tour. These were individuals of respectable intellect and education,—of noble families and large fortune. While the first was a zealous and efficient supporter of the Romish Church, the second was less so, from his frequent connexion with others of a different faith. The scene of their immediate jurisdiction, their prominent actions, their exhibition of various passions and talents, their conquests and defeats, their career and end, as exerting an influence on their associates as well as themselves, on other communities as well as their own,—was laid in Nova Scotia. This phrase then comprised a Territory vastly more extensive, than it does now, as a British Province. It embraced not only its present boundaries, which were long termed Acadie, but, also, about two thirds of the State of Maine. So large a district reached as far Westward as Kennebeck, or, as the parlance then was, to the Virginias. It was a portion of the domain claimed by the Court of St. Cloud and called New France. Its Latin etymology was derived from its being denominated New Scotland, when granted to Sir William Alexander, in 1621, by James First of England, as a Palatinate of his maternal kingdom.

The ensuing letters and documents, concerning the previous subject, are from the archives of Massachusetts. They appear either to have escaped the searching operation of Hutchinson, while collecting materials for his History of this Province; or, if copies of them were taken by him, they were probably lost, when a mob threw his papers into the street and destroyed a large portion of them. It will be perceived, that they, like most of the compositions in their day, are not remarkable for polish and perspicuity of style. It will, also, be evident, that the French papers, which came to our hands in an English dress, retain too much

* [Some communications, to and from Aulney, are spelt Aulnay, having the vowel *a*, in the last syllable instead of *e*. Others have Aunay, leaving out the consonant, *l*. This mode of orthography is retained by Dictionnaire Historique par Chaudon et Delandine. Winthrop, Hubbard, Hutchinson, Hazard and others have Aulney. This American method of writing the name, will be adopted in the subsequent pages. *Pub. Com.*]

of their own idiom, and thereby read heavily. Two of the letters,—III and X,—one in French and the other in Latin, were found untranslated, but are here presented in our language. *Pub. Com.*]

I.

We, Charles De Menou, Knight, Lord of Aulney, Lieutenant General for the King in all the coasts of Acadie, under the charge of my Lord, the most eminent Cardinal Duke of Richelieu, great Master, Chief and Superintendent General of the Navigation and Commerce of France, having judged meet for the service of his Majesty of my said Lord, and for the advancement of the French Colonies, to send unto our habitation of La Heve, one of our Barques of the burthen of twenty four tons, and therein to place a faithful person, as well to command as for to receive the merchandize of trade, which we will to be delivered unto him by the commissioner of the said place, from thence to go to Campseau,* the Bay of Island,—and further so far as our power doth extend to trade and hold commerce with savages, and during the said voyage to employ themselves unto fishing of Cod for the aliment and nourishment of Colonies of the said Country. For these causes, upon the confidence which we have in the person of Pilot Mutton, of his capacity and experience in sea affairs, and of the faithfulness, manners and wisdom of the above said, we have ordained, committed and deputed, and do ordain, commit and depute for Master and Commander in the said Barque, and to take such merchandise as shall be unto him delivered by the commissioner of the said La Heve, according unto the invoice, which hath been unto him given, concerning the said trade and fishing, and this being done, to return unto us unto Port Royal, to give unto us a faithful account of his voyage. We, also, give in charge unto all his company, that they yield obedience unto him under the said quality, as unto our own person, upon pain of contrary walking unto the ordinances of his Majesty. We, also, pray all Lieutenant Generals, Sea Captains, Chiefs of Squadrons, Guards of Forts, Havens and passages, and all other officers of His Majesty above said, and all the allies of the crown of France, that they lend unto him strong

* Canso.

hand and assistance in case of need, promising the like on our behalf, occasion presenting. In witness hereof we have signed these presents and caused the seal of our arms to be set hereunto at Port Royal, the place of our residence, Monday this ninth of March, one thousand six hundred forty and three. Caused to be signed by our Secretary,

MAILLET, *Secretary.*

AULNEY.
By my above said Lord.

II.

Sieur D'Aulney's letter to Mr. Endecott, Governor, by Mr. Allen, who carried our letter to Monsieur D'Aulney, when he took him at Sea.—To the Sieurs, the Gentlemen, Magistrates of the Great Bay, at Boston.*

SIRS,

Having (according to the express order which I received from the King, my Master,) dispatched a Shallop unto the Bay to give you knowledge of his pleasure, concerning a subject of his, who, by means of assistance received from you, hath, to this present, continued in formal rebellion; I thought good by the same, a person of trust, who, being fully informed of my apprehensions, might satisfy you by the discourse you might have with him, and demand justice and due reason in all kind, for certain grievances, wrongs, and injuries, which mine and myself have received from yours. It is that, which caused me to make choice of Mr. Marie, my experienced, faithful friend, to come unto you, and we knowing that letters and paper bear not such discourse nor reply, to content those that read them, by that, which I have learned from Mr. Allen, you will not take in ill part this my visit per Mr. Marie, seeing it tendeth to no other thing, than that whereof yours is full. It makes me hope for (joining therewith the great order, which you observe in your Government and that civility, which is natural unto you, also, your generousness towards all your neighbours and allianced) all that satisfaction, which I can desire to all those complaints, he may make unto you about

* Captain John Allen.

what is past. Sirs, it is that, which makes me cut short all that, which may concern the interest either of my master or myself, referring it to Mr. Marie and Mr. Allen, with whom I have had, since his abode with me, divers discourses and hath in part given me to understand the particulars, which have troubled you. He will tell you (as much as his memory will bear) the reasonings I have had with him. And, as for the particulars wherein yours maketh instances, fearing lest Mr. Marie should not give you all that contentment, which you and I might wish, I shall, according to your desire, endeavour to satisfy you with all genuity to each article,—beseeching you to give credit thereunto, and, for the time to come, not so easily receive impressions to the prejudice of what light those may give, which make profession of honour and set an high price upon your friendship.—To the first I answer, that Captain Rose* only hath lost the goods of Monsieur Richard Saltonstall, making shipwreck upon the Isle of Sables, whereunto neither the deceased Monsieur, the commander of Razilly, then Lieutenant General for the King in all the extent of New France, nor myself did in any measure contribute, seeing that we were so far asunder and that the said Captain Rose, being through storm of wind by hazard put into the Harbour of La Heve, where then he was unacquainted, was kindly received and entertained by the said Sir, in the said place ; the ship being then returned to France, the year ensuing all his company were delivered unto him, and a thousand crowns, which he had in his coffer ; and for certain cables and sails, which he had saved of the wreck of his ship, the said Sir, the commander of Razilly, gave him, in payment, seven or eight hundred buttons of massive gold, which he caused to be taken off from one of his suits, drawing Bills upon me, who then was at Rochelle, to discharge the said sum, for which he had given them, which I accepted, and two days after, paid him his money. He did ill to make use of such kindness, shewed unto him, to colour over to his owners the losses, which he put them unto, (through his ill managing of their Estate). He thought hereby to excuse himself and to obtain yet another ship by their means. It is usual with such

* John Rose.

rude persons with like coin, to repay the assistances and kindnesses showed unto them in their sreights. To the second, I answer, that when the said deceased commander of Razilly came into this country, he had order by his commission to withdraw Port Royal out of the hand of the Scotts, and that by an article contained in the treaty of peace, made between the French and English after the taking of Rochelle. You have but little knowledge of the Letter, still drawn upon Mr. de Boulemaky for satisfaction of certain Indian corn, cattle and ordnance, which the said Scotts left with us. The like command, also, he had to clear the coast unto Pemaquid and Kenebeck of all persons whatever, and to cause them to withdraw, if there were any habitation seated on this side. It was myself, who received order to execute the total, and met with Thomas Willet placed at Pemptagoiett.* I prayed him to be gone, giving him to understand with as much civility as I could, that it was not a place for him to inhabit. He carried away what he could, and of what remained there was an inventory made; which he and I signed unto, and in the upshot I gave him a bill to make him payment upon demand. A month after, he came to the said place, with a ship and pinnace to fire ordnance upon them, who were there, without asking what was due unto him. I believe, if any had cause to complain, that, before all men, who were not interested herein, I should be received to make my grievances appear, having received a thousand detriments for the kind usage, which he received from me for having no right to place himself in that place. I did him no wrong to force him to depart,—seeing he possessed another's right. I asked a reason of this action of him, who then held the Government of your Commonwealth, who washed his hands of it, and wrote me, that he knew not of it, and, as for them, that they desired to continue alliance, and to maintain free commerce between the two nations; but matters were not cleared since I made him answer,—that, in good time, I should account it a glory favourably to receive those, who should avow themselves to be under his authority, and told him, that when they would come, they should be welcome to Penobscot, but no further. See, I beseech you, if, after the carriage of matters in this

* [Sometimes written Pentagoiett in these papers. It is called Pentagonett in Winthrop. It formerly signified Penobscot. *Pub. Com.*]

sort, either I ought or could have done otherwise. I think I have answered your third article by the end of this second, further, adding that all was to avoid the disorders, which formerly have fallen out until there might be further clearing of the intentions one of another. For the fourth, I might go for a senseless beast, if after all those arts of hostility, received from yours,— without giving them the least occasion myself or those whom I have left this winter to command in my absence in those places, if we should not have given the like commission. You are so well versed in warlike design, and understand so well points of State, and that which concerneth justice, as to judge therein ;—behold the truth in his brightness, as I have known it. Moreover, with your favour, I should crave answer to the articles, which Mr. Marie shall perpound unto you about those things, which do concern me ; but, above all, how you desire to act for the future towards the said Sir—de la Tour. For my part and all those which do belong unto me, you shall always find such readiness, as you can desire. If I can but obtain from you this request as to desist from fomenting the rebellion of the said Sir de la Tour, I engage any word from this hour by these, that whatever troubles may fall out, yea, between the two crowns of France and England (which I heartily pray God not to permit), to keep inviolably with you and those which are under your authority, that peace and intelligence, which are requisite in these beginnings. I shall end with this assurance, whereupon you may rest, that any interests shall never be considered by me when use may be made of my Master's and your rest ; for my Prince having commanded me to live with you as if nothing had been questionable, (provided that you hearken to reason), I shall keep it with the peril of a thousand lives, and promise you to forget what is past, if you afford me half that justice, which you would demand if you were in my place. I shall shut up all at this time, assuring you that if you think meet, I shall never be other than

Your most humble and most affectionate Servant,

AULNEY,

Governour and Lieutenant General for the King, in all the Coasts of Acadie, Country of New France.

From *Port Royal*, this 21*st Oct.*, 1644.

III.

[The subsequent letter is translated from a copy, taken in the French of nearly two centuries ago, by Secretary Willard, as denoted at the close. As the readers of it, in this age, cannot be acquainted with every particular circumstance, under which it was first composed, some parts of it do not appear completely lucid. *Pub. Com.*]

GENTLEMEN,

I could not know how to divest myself of the deep feelings, with which your kindness has filled me, nor to deprive myself of the confidence with which your generosity has furnished me, nor do I believe, that however my enemy may have gone to Boston to deceive you and make me pass for a traitor, you will condemn me without a hearing or abandon me because he would invade my interests. He is a man of artifice, and who, knowing that you esteem good men, will assume all the grimaces and similarities of piety, (but not in essence), who will strive to give you the impression, that you ought to abandon me, but he will not tell you that it is to fortify himself by my disaster and afterwards make you difficulty, as he has already shown by the injustice and perfidy, committed in the affair of Penobscot. He supposes, (so very vain is he), that your opinions will be swayed by his, and provided that he shows some decrees, you will give me up. But you have been too conversant with state matters not to be aware, that England answered to the complaints which the King of France made on the subject of England's importing into Spain all sorts of Merchandize ; that they did not pretend, because of an alliance with France, to deprive themselves of commercial advantages. And, moreover, that the King of England assisted the Hollanders with men, money and arms, notwithstanding the confederation of Spain. And the King of France protects the same Hollanders in a similar manner, for that, which the said King had with this Republic, was prior to that, which they have contracted with the King of Spain, and that, for the same reason, the late Queen of France, Marie de Medicis, regent during the minority of her son, and he, namely, Lewis XIII., lately deceased, protected the Republic of Geneva against the

arms of the Duke of Savoy, son in law of the Queen, and brother in law of the King. And, therefore, Gentlemen, your reason will not oblige you to leave me unprotected. I promise myself, that you will not allow it. For that which concerns his decrees, I could not better enable you to perceive the injustice of them, than to place in your hands that, which contains the crimes, that they impute to me. You will see them in this, as if I prevented by my bad deportment the progress of the service of God and of the King, and the advancement of the Colony. And when it is asked of them whether they are not his evil deeds, they say, instead of alledging the course of my vicious life, that I have done nothing in the country. But, mark the false testimony, which consists in not being able to prove, that I impede, by my vicious conduct, the progress of the service of God among the savages, and, instead of proving it, he goes to allege, that I have done nothing in the Country, which is an irrelavent point and still false. For, I have built two Forts, and he himself has burnt one of mine, and he has not built another for it, nor cleared up only seven or eight acres of land. He has also burnt the Monastery Church contrary to the tenor of the decree, which ordered him to put in those places men, who were able to answer for them, and, by consequence, to preserve them. And this wretch, to justify his Atheism, alledges, that the Indian females have been corrupted in the Church, which is as false, as it is true, that he burnt the wigwam of a Savage at Cape Sables, to carry off his wife from him. And that the commander de Razilly, his late master, held him a long time in prison for this cause. And that this last winter Father Vincent de Paris, a Capuchin, did all in his power to be heard against him in Council, to prove his Atheistical hypocrisy, showing, that for six months, he had criminal connexion in Port Royal with a woman, being a communicant, with this horrible crime, all the eight days. But, gentlemen, to prove his perfidy, consider only the capture of Penobscot and the payment of Thomas Ouillet* and you will see, at the same time, his destitution of faith and his rage against the English Nation. Whatever relates to myself, do not account me so unprincipled a man,

* Willet.

nor such an enemy as he, until I shall have as much deceived and offended you, as he has. But, especially, consider my inclinations by my obligations, and believe me, Gentlemen,

Your very humble,
affectionate Servant,
De la Tour.

At St. John's River
Fort, the 27 of Oct., 1644.

A true copy taken from the original now sent to Great Britain. Examined pr.

J. Willard, *Secretary.*

IV.

[The subsequent petition, having no date, seems to have been presented in 1644. *Pub. Com.*]

To the right worshipful, the Governour, Deputy Governour, the worshipful Assistants, with the Deputies, now assembled in a General Court in Boston,—these be presented as the humble petition of John Bayley and Isaac Barkeley. Whereas there was an account lately commenced against your Petitioners by Madam La Tour, alias Frances Mary Jaquelins, upon pretence of breach of a Charter Party, which Charter Party was fraudulent, and made only to be shown in case they should have met with the King's Ships, and your Petitioners being for the present not able to prove it, their witnesses being in England, they were condemned to pay her twenty hundred pounds sterling, and since that time, execution is granted, and seizure made on all the goods and Merchandise, which came in the ship Gilliflower to the great prejudice of Alderman Barkeley of London, Mr. Henry St. Johns, Merchant, and Captain John Bayley, owners of the said goods, your Petitioners, therefore, humbly request this honoured Court to grant them such convenient time for the review of this account as in which the testimony may be brought out of England for clearing the truth, and that, in the mean time, the goods may not be delivered in to the Custody of the said Lady or her agent, and one of your petitioners will remain here,

and the whole cargo of Goods, or good security for such part thereof, as shall be disposed of to the full value of the sum aforesaid, shall also be left in deposite until the time appointed for the review shall come, the Lady La Tour giving such security, as to your wisdoms shall seem fit to prosecute the action then and to pay such damages, as may then be given us from her for so molesting of us,—by granting of which request you will much engage the aforesaid Merchants in England, and oblige us ever to remain,

Your Worships'
Servants to command,
JNO. BAYLEY.
ISAAC BARKELEY.

V.

The Magistrates' answer to this petition is, that the court, that heard the cause never heard of any just ground as yet of a review, but only pretences of a ground. Yet seeing Madam La Tour hath made voluntarily these two proffers ;—1st, that she is content to put in good security for the whole cargo, or so much thereof, as she hath a judgment for (if she may have said goods delivered), to answer to a review within thirteen months ; or, 2dly, that if she may have delivered unto her five hundred pounds of the said goods, she giving security for the same, she will stay for the rest till the time aforesaid, so as the defendants put in good security to be responsible for so much, as make up the judgment of damages, if they reverse not the judgment within the time aforesaid. This offer of the Lady, the Magistrates do conceive, may give satisfaction to all ; yet if it should not be accepted, the defendants are at liberty to bring their review.

JNO. ENDECOTT, *Governour.*

VI.

Governour and Council's Letter to Mons. D'Aulney, from Salem.

SIR,

Upon the request, lately presented unto us by Sieur de la Tour, to yield him assistance of men and ammunition, against your forces, which he was in fear of, we have had

occasion tendered us seriously to consider how matters have passed between you and us, and among other things many injuries which sundry of our people and friends have, at several times, suffered from you and yours since your coming into these parts,—and, particularly, certain commissions lately given forth to Captain Le Boeuf* to take our vessel and goods, which might have given us occasion to have yielded unto the request of the said Sir—and to have sought for satisfaction in another way; but, upon consideration of the tender of friendship and the desire of the continuance of mutual correspondency between us, held forth in a letter, sent from yourself to John Winthrop, Esq., then being our Governor, which hath been shewed unto us, to the end, that you and all the world may know the delight, which we take to live in peace with all, (and as far as we can) to avoid all occasions of difference and contention, (highlier esteeming of peace than war, if upon just and equal terms we can obtain it);—we have taken this present opportunity to write unto you, that (if it may be), we may truly understand one another, that all occasions of wrong, offered or received (wheresoever they be) may righteously be removed, and for time to come, that rules of love and peace may carefully be attended to, and, in this way of the tender of love and peace, and removal of whatsoever may hinder it, we shall readily first walk in, although, we be ignorant of any wrong, which we or any of our people have at any time done; yet if there be any, which we have not the knowledge of, for which you have just cause to complain, we are prompt and ready to hear and redress the same; and, as for that which was done the last year by our people in the design, wherein they were employed by the said Sir de la Tour, that it may not be misconstrued, we do hereby in words of truth assure you, that they did not act either by command, counsel or permission of the Government here established, they went volunteers without any commission from it; and, as we are in part ignorant of what they did, so it was done without our advise, and for any unlawful action, which any amongst them might possibly commit, (if there be any) we do not approve of, and shall be facile and ready (in case it shall

* Frequently written Beuf by French authors.

appear) to our power so to demean ourselves, as due satisfaction shall be rendered unto you; for as we are not willing to bear injuries whilst we have in our hands to right ourselves, we ever desire to be conscientiously careful not to offer any ourselves nor to approve of it in any of ours. For the present, the particulars wherein we conceive ourselves, friends and confederates to be by you injured, and for the which we never yet received satisfaction, are ;—

First,—Your taking of the goods of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knight, and the imprisoning of his men, who suffered ship wreck upon the Isle of Sables eight years past.

Second,—Your taking of Penobscot from those of our nation and league of Plymouth.

Third,—Your refusal of traffic with us at Port Royal, and threatening to take our Vessels, which should go beyond Pemptagoiett, and accordingly, your staying of one of our Vessels, though afterwards you released her.

Lastly; Your granting of Commissions to take our Vessels and Goods this last Autumn, as is above mentioned.

To the above said particulars, we desire and expect your clear and speedy answer, that so we may understand how you are at present disposed, whether to War or Peace,—and accordingly steer our course, as God shall direct, and, as for the present, we have not granted the said request of the said Sir De la Tour, but, on the contrary, upon this occasion, we have expressly prohibited all our people to exercise any act of hostility either by Sea or Land against you, unless it be in their own defence, until such time, as they shall have further commission. A copy of the present we have sent unto you, here enclosed. Also, upon the reception of these presents, we desire and expect, that all such commissions shall be without delay called in, which have been given forth by you or any of yours against us and our people, and, forasmuch as our merchants are entered into a way and form of commerce with said De la Tour, which firstly, they tendered to yourself, but according as we have been informed, you refused; nevertheless, we see not just reason (wherein we are cordial and candid) to hinder them in their just and lawful callings, nor to hinder their own defence, in case they shall be assaulted, either by you or yours, during their trade with the said Sir. We leave them to Divine Providence, and to the dictate of

their own conscience, to regulate them according to right reason in such a case. For the full expediting and accomplishing of our faithful and unfeigned desires of amity and peace for the time to come, and the removal of whatsoever might intervene, we have sent you those two, to return your answer and resolution about that, which is above, desiring the God of peace to guide us all in those paths which may reach it and rest,

Sir, etc.

VII.

Copy of a Letter sent from Monsieur Aulney to our Governour, by Mr. Hawthorne, filed 31*st August,* 1645.

Sir,

The honour of yours by Mr. Hawthorne hath fully confirmed to me the esteem, which Monsieur Marie gave me of your deserts, and after I had considered the face and drift of your reasons, I felt myself swayed so much the more willingly to receive satisfaction, because your courtesy and honesty are such, as would obtain the like from those, that are of the least sociable disposition. As for the first, you have just cause to say, that I cherish a true and perfect alliance; for if it were not true, and that there were any mixture of deceit, I pray you to believe, that I had rather perish in a good and just War, than to lead a life altogether unworthy of my breeding. Upon this occasion, I will candidly tell you, that Mr. Marie had assured me, that none of yours should undertake the affairs of Sir De la Tour until you had returned me an answer by the last resolution, to know whether you would be at peace or war with me, and in the mean while, I understood by Mr. Allen the last Autumn, that you were to convoy the wife of the said De la Tour, with three Ships into the river of St. John. I know not how you will name such kind of dealing. As for me, I should rather perish than to promise that, which I would not perform. To say, as Mr. Hawthorne, that they were Merchants of London, whom you cannot hinder from trading with whom they please, this were good, if we did not well know, that La Tour, being worth nothing, and altogether unknown to your said Merchants, they would never trust such persons,—if you

(or) other Gentlemen were not his security. Moreover, that persons who desire peace with their Neighbours, as you say you do, would have hindered such proceedings if they had pleased,—it being easily done in such places, as we are in. For the second, that you are not accustomed to meet until the month of September. That doth not concern me. I shall constantly wait until the said time, according to your desire, although Mr. Marie did believe that you would have answered me in the Spring, as he did apprehend you. Once more, I engage you my word, that I will not stir nor give any answer to my king in France, until I have yours, or that you make it appear, that you despise the amity of the French. For the third, that you did believe, that you had given satisfaction to the demand, which Mr. Marie made unto you on my behalf, by the answers given in writing by yourselves, which are the very same with those, which newly you sent me. If you call that satisfaction unto a Governour for the King, after sending with strength of arms even unto his port, without declaration of war, or giving any other reason than by lively force to kill his men, burn one mill, slay cattle and to carry away a Barque, laden with Peltry and other goods, to say that your English, who have done such acts of hostility, were not sent by you; pardon me, Sir, if you please, if I tell you this is the mocking of a Gentleman to render such answers. Consider a little the two letters, which then were written unto me by Mr. Winthrop, then your Governour, and Mr. Hawkins the commander of your English Ships, and the answers, which I then made. I send you the copies of all, and you will see, that the goodness of your Judgment will oblige you to acknowledge what I say. If you love not to say better than so to act in like case, it is to make use of tricks of sleight; for it is evident, that if you would meddle with that, which doth not concern you, at least, in justice, you were bound to give as much credit to the amicable, voluntary and true answers, which I returned unto you, as unto the falsehoods of the said Sir De la Tour, and his folks. But will you, that I tell you, that is not the winding up of the business. The truth is, you thought, by surprising me, to have swallowed me up without Justice or any reason on your part, but pretended and coloured over. Believe it, Sir, that if you had

come to the end of your designs, you have to do with a king, who would not so easily have let you digested the morsel, as you might be given to understand. The example of Quebeck and of the same Port Royal where I am,—taken by the English from the French in the time of a lawful War, and afterwards surrendered to the same French joining thereunto ;—what is past between the French and English in St. Christopher's Island is sufficient to assure you of this truth, if you will. It is true, that I shall die, but the kings of France die not, and their hands are always long enough to maintain their subjects in their right, in which part soever they be in. So much for the chief article. As for the rest, I will tell you, that if you desire so to accomplish them according as Mr. Marie hath presented them unto you, you will find them upon due consideration, so reasonable and not less necessary than the satisfaction, which I demand of you therein, for the maintaining of good and faithful peace. Furthermore, Sir, I know not whether this honest man, who delivered me yours, did well understand the apprehensions of your Assembly, whereunto he hath told me he did assist ; but his reasons are very weak—to make believe, that Sir De la Tour had any appearance of Justice by saying, that one might have such arrests for twenty crowns in France, as Mr. Marie left the original with yourself. So to speak is to testify slender understanding in affairs. This makes me believe, that neither yourselves nor your Gentlemen of the Magistracy have such apprehensions. I pursuade myself you should have taken sounder advice, and that you should have taken a surer course and more reasonable not to have been deceived, which were to have sent the said arrests into England, that you might have tried the truth of them. I should have been very glad, and that those to whom you had sent them, had caused them to be presented to Monsieur Sabran, Embassador extraordinary for our King in England. You should have been fully satisfied and then you would have known, that I am a man of truth and without fraud in my proceedings. Mr. Marie hath told me, that he informed you, that the said Embassador had charge from his Majesty to speak unto your Sirs of the Parliament of England, concerning the differences, which are between you and us. I beseech you not to for-

get to send me the said arrests when you shall vouchsafe me the honor to send a man expressly to treat about and conclude of a league, and believe, Sir, that while I live, I shall cherish the occasion, that I may testify how much I desire to be,

Your more affectionate,
and more humble Servant,
AULNEY,

Governour and Lieut. General for the King in the Coast of the Acadie, Country of New France.

From Port Royal, the last of March, 1645.

VIII.

To the Honoured Governour, Deputy Governour, Magistrates, and Deputies of the General Court.

The humble petition of Stephen Winthrop, and Joseph Weld, Sheweth;—

That whereas your petitioners, being in England about their occasions, were by Alderman Barkley arrested in 4500 pounds action, wherein he laid no personal cause against your petitioners, but only to recover thereby his damages for the goods, which were by Judgment of Court attached for Mr. De la Tour, the which suit he presented, not only in the Admiralty, but, also, in the Parliament, and when your petitioners were coming thence, he preferred a Bill in Chancery, and there obtained a *Ne exeat regno*, whereupon your petitioners were again arrested upon the Exchange to your discredit and damage, and were forced again to put in security of able Merchants for 4000 pounds more, to redeem their persons from Prison. The prosecution to answer and defend these actions, took up their time from their other occasions to their very great distruction, besides the great charges your petitioners were put to for the defence of the said suits, and after your petitioners' credit was much impaired thereby, because many feared our estates would be weakened by maintaining suit against so potent an adversary, and in damage to be utterly ruinated, if by any means he should obtain Judgment

against us. In tender consideration hereof, and for prevention of the utter ruin of your petitioners, their Wives and Families in defending this suit, which wholly concerns the maintaining of the just proceedings of the court,—this General Court will be pleased to take it into consideration, how your petitioners may be secured for the future, and repaid their charges already disbursed, and the rather for that your petitioners are upon their occasions shortly bound to repair thither again, and they shall pray, &c.

JOSEPH WELD,
STEPHEN WINTHROP.

The Magistrates know no way to help the Petitioners, but to certify the truth of the proceedings of the Court between Madam La Tour, Bailey, and Barkley, which they are ready to do and to leave them to take their lawful remedy against Alderman Barkley.

THOMAS DUDLEY, *Governour.*

Consented to by the Deputies.

EDWARD RAWSON.

Captain William Hawthorne being thought a meet person to go to Monsieur D'Aulney, is accordingly chosen by the house of Deputies, who desired our honoured Magistrates' consent thereto.

EDWARD RAWSON.

The Magistrates desire the Deputies to make choice of Captain Bridges or Major Denison to go to Mr. D'Aulney about this business, and the Magistrates will consent to either of them.

THOMAS DUDLEY, *Governour.*

The house of Deputies consent with our honoured Magistrates' choice, that Capt. Bridges to be sent to Monsieur D'Aulney.

EDWARD RAWSON.

IX.

The two papers sent herewith were drawn up to the end, that the state of the case, concerning Monsieur La Tour, may be represented with such relations, by which this Colony may be concerned in it, which the Magistrates desire the Deputies to take into serious and speedy consideration, so as (if they shall concur with us herein), they may be forthwith sent to the Elders for their further advice.—4, 16, 1645.

JOHN WINTHROP, *Deputy Governour.*

The Deputies conceive that but few of the Elders meet at Cambridge this week, besides Mr. Allen being not yet returned, our main business being the making of laws and many other businesses now in transaction in Court, they judge it not convenient to take this business into consideration at present.

ROBERT BRIDGES.

Mr. Allen being now returned and the Elders assembled, the Magistrates think meet the whole case should be sent to the Elders and desire the Deputies to consent thereto.

THOMAS DUDLEY, *Governour.*

We assent, that the two papers be sent to the Elders, if this may be sent, also, that we conceive the whole case is not contained in either of them, but do desire of them, that they will return us their thoughts according as they shall find.

ROBERT BRIDGES.

The Magistrates desire the Deputies to make up the whole case, that it may be sent to the Elders, otherwise they think it will be to little purpose to trouble them with it.

THOMAS DUDLEY, *Governour.*

The house of Deputies conceive the case cannot be stated in one day, and, therefore, desire, that there may be

commissioners appointed by the Court, and Commission granted them to examine witnesses thereabouts and prepare the same against the next session of a General Court, and they have nominated our honoured Governour and Lieutenant Atherton, Mr. Pelham and Captain Cook, Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Hawthorne, who hereby have power to summon witnesses in their several shires, and a part to examine them and search out the truth of the case, as they shall see cause.

EDWARD RAWSON.

The magistrates consent to what the Deputies desire, touching the substance thereof, but do forbear to consent, that the Magistrates should take commission to take Oaths, but think it meet they should practice as they have done hitherto till it be ordered otherwise; also, they desire that the Deputies would presently send up five or six, whom they think most meet to confer with the Magistrates about a matter, which concerns the good of us all, which requires expedition.

THOMAS DUDLEY, *Governour.*

X.

[The ensuing letter was originally written in Latin. Supposing that a translation of it, more literal than free, would better convey the meaning of its author, we here present it in English accordingly.—*Pub. Com.*]

Most meritorious and equitable President. The delegate of yourself and of your confederates, Mr. Robert Bridges, I have received, as I could, with a pleasant and cheerful disposition, especially without delay, as I understood, that he had so come, that he might treat with us about peace and tranquility, which is of great importance among the French and English inhabitants of these Colonies. But when I read your letters and heard your Mr. Bridges, plainly did I perceive, that you were not yet disposed for a firm and stable peace; but only to ask something, in the meanwhile, until (as you say) there may be opportunity to satisfy my just complaints, thus far described to you by Mr. Marie, my dear and confidential messenger, to whom I gave all the power, I had, for treat-

ing with you, when I sent him to you, because, surely, if you had granted the same power to your delegate, there is no doubt but that by this course, peace would have been confirmed between us. But I pray, that you will permit me to open my mind, that I may speak sincerely. It seems to me, unless I am deceived, that it is your desire to defer from year to year, even while you can elude the just satisfaction, which I seek from you. Therefore, I close with you in one word, namely, that you may declare to me sincerely and without any equivocation, the first of the Spring and no longer, (because I shall expect so much as this), whether you will give satisfaction or not, as I have ingenuously signified to your delegate, Mr. Bridges. In the mean while, I engage to you, that I will commit no aggression against you until I shall have your consent or negative; nor, moreover, can you be ignorant as to the justice of my petition, since sufficiently thus far it has been made known to you as well by my Mr. Marie, as through the injuries of Mr. Hockin and his people; nor yet does it weary me to instruct your delegate, Mr. Bridges, again about the same things, that I may comply with your wish, and that you may better discern me desirous not only altogether for peace and common tranquility between us, but, also, to be the friend of you all and of you in particular.

Most deserving and equitable
Governour, or President,
* Sincerely your humble servant,
——— AULNEY,

Governour Lt. General for the King, in the Coast of Acadie, country of New France.

Dated at Fort St. John,
Nov. 3, 1645.

[The superscription of this letter was as follows: Mr. Winthrop, most

* [This phrase as far as Aulney, in the original, is "Demitum fore usque ad aras." If demitum be instead of demissum,—as it probably is, and construed "humbly minded," according to Cicero de Orat. 2; and fore signify to be;—and usque ad aras may be rendered "as far as conscience permit,"—according to Gellius; we suppose that the phrase may be properly expressed as it is above. Even if demitum be defined,—sent from,—and fore be called,—door,—the collective idea would not be essentially different. It is not unlikely, that Aulney used these Latin words in connexion with each other,—as a modus loquendi,—common in his day; but the classic rendering of which we have not been so favored as to find. *Pub. Com.*]

worthy and most equitable President of the Confederate† Convention of New England. In Boston—Marked, per Capt. Bridges.]

XI.

Commission of the French King to D'Aulney, Feb. 1647.

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all People present and to come—*Greeting:*

Being well informed and assured of the laudable and commendable affection, trouble and diligence, that our dear and well beloved Charles de Menou, Knight, Lord D'Aulney Charnizay, appointed by the late King of blessed memory, our most honoured Lord and Father (whom God absolve), Governour and our Lieutenant General in the Country and Coast of L'Acadie in New France, hath used both to the conversion of the Savages in the said Country to the Christian Religion and Faith; and the establishing of our authority in all the extent of the said Country, having built a Seminary under the direction of a good number of Capuchin Friars for the instruction of the said Savages' children, and, by his care and courage, driven the foreign Protestants out of the Pentagoiett Fort, which they had seized to the prejudice of the rights and authority of our Crown, and by our express commandment taken again by force of Arms and put again under our power the Fort of the River St. John, which Charles of St. Etienne, Lord De la Tour, was possessed of, and, by open rebellion, endeavoured to keep against our will and to the great contempt of the declarations of our Council by the help and countenance of Foreign Protestants, with whom he had made a confederacy for that purpose, and that, moreover, the said Lord D'Aulney Charnizay hath happily begun to form and settle a French Colony in the said Country, cleared and improved great parcels of land, and, for the defence and conservation of the said Country, under our authority and power, built and strenuously kept against the endeavour and assaults of the said Foreign Protestants, four Forts in the most necessary places, and furnished them with a sufficient number of Soldiers, sixty great Guns

† United Colonies.

and other things requisite to that,—all with great and immense charges, the which to bear, he hath been forced to borrow of several persons great sums of money, we not having been able to give him all the assistance in that occasion, that we had given, if the necessity of our affairs had permitted us,—make known, that we desire, with all our heart, for the glory of God, the increasing of the Christian Faith and Religion, the salvation of these poor Savages' souls, who live in ignorance, without any Religion and knowledge of our Maker, as, also, for the honour and greatness of our crown,—that so pious and honourable a work be carried on and finished as perfectly as possible, fully trusting in, and assured of the zeal, care, industry, courage, good and wise behaviour of the said D'Aulney Charnizay, and being willing as it is but reasonable to reward his good and faithful services,—have, by the advice of the Queen Regent, our most honoured Lady and Mother, and with certain knowledge, full power and Royal authority, the said Lord D'Aulney Charnizay, confirmed and do confirm anew as much as need is, or might be, and have appointed and do appoint, by these presents, signed by our own hand, Governour and our Lieutenant General, representing our Person in all the above said Countries, Territories, Coasts, and bounds of L'Acadie, beginning from the brink of the great River St. Lawrence, both along the Sea Coast and adjacent Islands and inner part of the main land, and in that extent, as much and as far as can be, as far as the Virginias,* to settle and make known our name, power and authority, and submit to it the People that dwell there, to bring them and cause them to be instructed in the knowledge of the true God and light of the Christian Religion and Faith, and command there upon the sea as well as upon the land, to order and put in execution, all that he knoweth that can and ought to be done for the maintaining and keeping the said places under our authority and power, with power to appoint and settle all officers, both civil and military, for the first time and afterwards, name them to us and present them for our confirmation, and to give them our Letters to that necessary; and, according to the occurrences of affairs, with the advice and

* A Word formerly used to denote New England as well as more Southern Colonies.

counsel of the wisest and ablest persons, make laws, statutes, and ordinances confirm to ours as much as it is possible; make peace and alliance and confederacy with the said people, their Princes and others, having power and commandment over them, to make open war against them, to establish and maintain our authority and the freedom of trade and commerce between our subjects and them, and, in other cases, as he will think fit to grant our said subjects, who may live and trade in the said country and to the natives thereof, privileges, places and dignities, according to the qualities and merits of persons, all under our good pleasure. We do will that the said D'Aulney Charnizay may, and we give him power to keep and appropriate to himself what he will think most convenient and proper to his settlement and use of the said countries and places, and to distribute such parts thereof, as he pleaseth, both to our said subjects, that will settle there, and to the natives, and to grant them such titles, honours, rights, powers and faculties, as he will think fit according to the qualities, merits, and services of Persons; to cause the mines of gold, silver, copper and other metals and minerals to be carefully sought after and to put them in use as it is prescribed by our declaration. We reserve only the tenth part to ourselves of the profit arising of the gold, silver and copper ores, and leave to him what might belong to us as to the other metals and minerals, to help him to bear the other expences of his Government. We do grant to the said Lord D'Aulney Charnizay, leave to build towns, forts, harbours, and other places, that he thinketh to be useful for the abovementioned purposes, and there to set such Officers and Garrisons, as need shall be, and generally to do for the settlement, habitation, and conservation of the said countries, lands, and coasts of L'Acadie from the said River St. Lawrence as far as the Virginias, their appurtenances and dependencies under our name and authority all, that we could do ourselves, if we were there in person, giving him to that end all power and authority and special commission by these presents. And for as much that the only way, that he hath hitherto had and hath now and may for the time to come, to bear part of the great charges, that he hath been and is still at, the said Lord D'Aulney Charnizay for the keeping both of the said four Forts and Garri-

sons there, and the Colony that is forming there, and the Friars and Seminary abovesaid, all which things are maintained and do subsist at his own charge and cost, no body else having contributed to it any thing,—is the trade and traffic of furs with the said savages, without which he could not maintain himself, and would be fain to leave and abandon all to the prejudice of God's honour and our crown's and the savages' souls, who have already embraced Christianity, we have graciously given and granted the said Lord D'Aulney Charnizay exclusively of all others, and, by these presents, do give and grant in confirming his actual possession of the same, the privilege, power and faculty to traffic and trade in furs with the said savages throughout the said country of main land and coast of L'Acadie from the River St. Lawrence to the sea, and as far as the said countries and coasts may be extended to the Virginias, to possess it as well as the lands, gold, silver, and copper mines and other metals and minerals and all other things, above mentioned, himself, his heirs and assigns, and make homage of them to us either in person or by an attorney, considering the distance of the places and the danger, by reason of his absence to cause the said trade of furs to be managed by those, he will appoint and give power to do it. We do expressly forbid all merchants, masters and captains of ships and others, our subjects, and the natives of the said country of whatsoever condition and quality they be, to trade in the said furs with the said Indians without his special leave and permission—on pain of disobedience and entire confiscation of their vessels, victuals, arms, munition, and goods for the said Lord D'Aulney Charnizay, and thirty thousand livres of fine. We do permit the Lord D'Aulney Charnizay to hinder them by all means, to stop the offenders, their vessels, arms and victuals, in order to deliver them into the hand of justice, to be proceeded against, the persons and goods of the said offenders and in order that our intention and will be known, and nobody may plead ignorance, we command all our justices and officers, every one in his place, that, at the request of the said Lord D'Aulney Charnizay, they shall cause these presents to be read, published, and registered, and what is contained in them to be kept and observed, punctually causing to be posted up the contents thereof in

the sea-ports, havens, and other places of our kingdom—lands and countries of our Dominions, where need shall be, willing that credit be given to the copies well collated by one of our beloved and faithful Councellors and Secretaries or Notary Royal, required to do it as to the present original, for much is our pleasure; in witness whereof we have caused our seal to be set to these presents—given at Paris in the month of February in the year of grace, one thousand six hundred and forty-seven, and the fourth of our reign. Signed

LOUIS.

By the King, the Queen Regent his mother being present. DE LOMENIE.

XII.

SIRS,

After I understood the death of my son, Monsieur D'Aulney, the late Governour and Lieutenant to my sovereign Lord, the King, within all the country and coast of Acadie in New France,—and that, in the issue, many of the chief Lords of the crown, my kinsmen, had chosen me tutor over the children of my deceased son, proprietary of the said country, the king honoured me with the government of all the said country until such time of my deceased son's eldest son should be of age, to take upon him the execution of the said trust, and in as much, Sirs, as I am not ignorant of the amity, which you bear to my said deceased son in embracing his interest, as soon as he made that esteem appear, which the king had of him by the grant, which his Majesty gave unto him of the said country, I have ever since desired, with great care, to maintain the same good intelligence with you; yea, and better than my deceased son did. If I possibly could, therefore, it is that I wrote unto my daughter in law by Monsieur De Saint Mas, a gentleman of honour and quality, whom the King thought meet I should send thither in quality of my Lieutenant General, that immediately upon his arrival, she should send towards you to convey this letter and to renew with you a good and perfect alliance, friendship and confederation, with protestation, that it shall not be violated in any of those things, which should be kept between good

friends allianced and neighbours. It is the affectionate prayer, which I make unto you, Sirs;—and believe, that in all places and upon every occasion, wherein I may do you service, I shall as cordially perform it, as I am truly, Sirs,

Your very humble,
and most affectionate Servant,
CHARNIZAY.

From Paris, 2d of March, 1651.

XIII.

At a council held at Boston 10th, 4th Month, 1651. Monsieur Belile * coming from Port Royal, brought three letters from Madam D'Aulney, Monsieur De Saint Mas, and Monsieur Charnizay.—To Madam D'Aulney's letter, which was as followeth,—superscribed to the Gentlemen, Governour and Magistrates of New England at Boston.

SIRS,

God having, somewhat above a year since, as you may have understood, disposed of by death Monsieur D'Aulney of happy memory, my most honoured lord and husband, I was left under uncomfortable displeasure, and saw no means in the world to mitigate my grief in such a troublesome state; but the King, out of his bounty, casting his eyes upon my family, was pleased to consider me and my children in the person of Monsieur De Charnizay, father of the deceased Monsieur D'Aulney, and to gratify us with his letters patents of confirmation in the propriety and government of all the Acadie and Islands adjacent, to this purpose, promising us his royal protection and the succour of his power as already it doth appear by the notable assistance of victuals and men, which are come unto us, under the conduct of Sieur De Saint Mas, our Lieutenant. And, I believe, Sirs, that, as you, under the relation of good neighbours and allianced, would have taken part with me in my desolation, it was just, I should give you to understand the favours, which I received from God and his

* [Contraction for Bell' Ile: as applied to one of the Foucquets by Dictionnaire Historique par Chaudon et Delandine,—it is Belle-Ile. *Pub. Com.*]

Majesty, and this is the only occasion of this present and of the message, which I send unto you by Sieur De Belile, a man of quality and desert, in whom I do confide, who will assure you of the good intentions, which I have to do you service, and of my purpose to maintain that good intelligence, which was between us in the time of Monsieur D'Aulney. Thus, praying God to preserve you, I rest, Sirs,

Your most affectionate
and good friend,

JANE MOTIN,
Widow of the deceased Monsieur D'Aulney.

From Port Royal this 27 *May*, 1651.

XIV.

SIR,

By the letters, herewith joined, from my Lord De Charnizay and from Madam D'Aulney, it will be facile for you to understand the sincerity of their actions, as, also, more easy to conceive, that there will be no stick from any but yourselves, that we may maintain a faithful and perfect correspondence, the honour, which I have to command in this country, on the behalf of the King, my master, in quality of Lieutenant General unto my said Lord Charnizay, furnisheth me with power thus to write unto you and to assure you of my friendship, if it be acceptable unto you, in expectation of news from you, I rest, Sirs,

Your most affectionate Servant,

DE SAINT MAS.

At the Castle of Port Royal, the 29*th May*, 1651.

XV.

Council's Letter to Mons. Charnizay.

SIR,

We received yours from Paris, dated the 2*d of March*, 1651,—by which we perceive the King of France hath invested you with power, as his Lieutenant, to govern in all the country and coast of New Acadie in New France,

in the behalf of the son of the late Lieutenant Monsieur D'Aulney and therein, also, an intimation of your desire of a continuance of all faithful, neighbourly correspondency with us, which we have been forward to embrace and keep with all men, as we take ourselves in duty bound, and, unless ought shall proceed from such, as yourself hath impowered to govern in that place or from the People thereof towards us contrary thereunto, we shall still hold and maintain the same, and in the mean time remain, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN ENDECOTT, *Governour.*

By consent of all the Magistrates.

Boston 14*th*, 4*th Month*, 1651.

XVI.

Council's Letter to Madam D'Aulney.

MADAM,

We received yours—dated 27 *May*, 1651, in which you intimated your ready inclination to hold a continued, firm, neighbourly correspondency with us, as usually is between good friends, which hath been always grateful to us to entertain with all men, as much as in us lieth, nor do we know or intend any thing but all neighbourly, loving and friendly compliance with you, unless ought shall proceed from yourselves towards us contrary thereto, and, in the mean-time, subscribe ourselves, Madam,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN ENDECOTT, *Governour.*

With consent of all the Magistrates.

Boston 12*th*, 4*th Month*, 1651.

XVII.

Council's Letter to Mons. St. Mas.

SIR,

We received yours dated 27*th May*, 1651, in which you intimate your readiness respecting the place, over which you govern by power derived to you from Monsieur Char-

nizay to maintain a sincere and friendly correspondency with us, as usually is between good friends, which is always acceptable to us to entertain with all men, as much as in us lieth, nor do we know or intend anything, but all loving neighbourly and friendly compliance with you, unless ought shall proceed from yourselves towards us contrary thereto, and in the meantime subscribe ourselves, Sir,

Your humble servant,

JOHN ENDECOTT, *Governour.*

By consent of all the Magistrates. Delivered to Monsieur Belile the same day.

Boston 12th, 4th Month, 1651.

XVIII.

Monsieur De La Tour oweth—*May* 13:

To balance of account then drawn up between us, as by the mortgage appeareth	£2084,00,00.
Nov. 19.—To goods shipped in the vessel he went to Canada in, ...	216,08,08.
1654–24–8. To interest upon the preceding sums due to me 9 years, 5 months, at £8 pr. £100, ...	1723,14,06.
To charge of demanding payment, twice	40,00,00.
To what is due to my assignees, . . .	82,05,00.
2084,00,00.	
216,08,08.	
1723,14,06.	
122,05,00.	
Sum, £4146,08,02. whole amount,	£4146,08,02.
Per Contra: Ought to have pr. 164 3-4 pounds of Beaver received from Monsieur Prevost at 10s. pr. lb., ...	£82,07,06.
24, (8) pr. Balance of this account as appeareth, ...	4064,00,08.
whole sum,	£4146,08,02.

This is to testify before whom it may concern, that upon the Letter of Attorney vouchsafed unto me by Major General Edward Gibbons.—I made two voyages, once to St. John's River, and another time to Port Royal, to demand of Monsieur De La Tour, both the money due from him to the said Major Gibbons upon Mortgage, and also for a parcel of goods shipped for him upon the Vessel he went to Canada in. The charge of which two voyages amounted to above forty pounds. Furthermore, that the said De La Tour is indebted more to assignees of the said Major Gibbons, for goods, then delivered unto himself and order, eighty-two pounds five shillings. Witness my hand, made at Boston, this 25*th* (8) *ber.*, 1654.

JOSHUA SCOTTOW.

Sworn before the Court.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

This is to testify before whom it may concern, that the Mortgage of Monsieur De La Tour's fort, &c. was by himself signed and delivered by him, the said De La Tour, unto Major Edward Gibbons, in presence of us and divers others and the testimony, which therein we do bear, we do by these presents confirm, and, in case of need, shall further testify, if called therunto. Witness our hands made at Boston, this 25*th* (8) *ber.*, 1654. This is testified upon oath by Mr. Valentine Hill and Joshua Scottow, before the Magistrates, assembled in General Court.

JOHN ENDECOTT, *Deputy Governour.*

I, Samuel Maverick do hereby testify, that in Anno 1645, there was shipped aboard the Barque Planter by Major General Gibbons, several parcels of goods, all valued at two hundred and sixteen pounds, eight shillings and eight pence, and committed to the charge and disposal of Monsieur La Tour, of which, as also of a greater sum, adventured by myself with the said La Tour in that voyage, we never had to this day any return made. Witness my hand this 28*th day of October*, 1654.

SAMUEL MAVERICK.

Sworn before the Court.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

XIX.

Letter from Mr. Thomas Lake, in Boston, to Captain John Leverett, Merchant in London. Dated Sept. 2, 1657.

EXTRACT.

"The 29th of August, Mr. Scottow tendered £210 for Monsieur La Tour, and demanded two original Deeds, which he said are by contract to be delivered upon payment of the £210, and would not pay anything without the receipt of the Deeds. Now I shall inform Captain Breaden fully, of the whole action; and Mr. Usher, when he comes, will inform you, so as at present I shall not trouble you further with."

"How matters are at the Fort, I suppose Captain Breaden will inform. Col. Temple saith he is resolved to comply with Col. Crowne on some terms, to have his interest. Col. Temple was honourably received ashore by the Governour and Company's soldiers. He hath a noble spirit, answering what you wrote of him in Mr. Brown's letter, to whose house he went at Sudbury. I fear his noble spirit will not suit with Acadie, or at least the profit of Acadie will not maintain his post. Myself and some other friends, have spoken seriously to him for a frugal management of the same. He accepts of advice and saith he will by degrees clear himself of the unnecessary charge, which he is at by many servants, that he brought over, who will be as drones to eat up all the honey, that others labour for, and that he will have but two at most, to wait upon himself."

XX.

The deputies understanding by good information, that Captain John Allen hath several times been employed by order from this Court, viz., ten days to look after a French ship upon the coast, as also a voyage to Monsieur D'Aulney, both himself and ship, for the space of near twenty

days, besides a second voyage to the aforesaid D'Aulney, wherein he was absent six weeks; to which may be added, his lending Mr. Winslow for the Country's use, £100 in England, which was not paid in seven years after, and then but in Country pay, all which considered, the Deputies' judge meet, as a manifestation of their acceptance of such his good service, which hitherto hath not been taken notice of, so as to render him any answerable recompense, to grant him a thousand acres of land where he can find it according to law, so as he take it not up in above two places. Desiring the consent of our honoured Magistrates hereto.

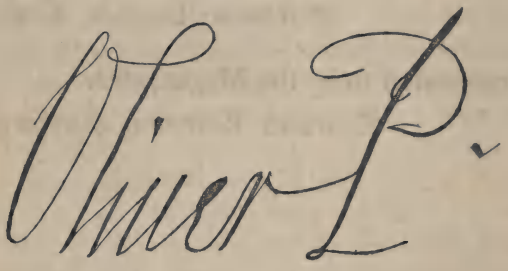
WILLIAM TORREY, *Clerk.*

27 (8) 1668, consented to by the Magistrates.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

HIS HIGHNESS THE LORD PROTECTOR'S ORDER.

To Captaine JOHN LEVERETT, *Commander of the Forts, lately taken from the French in America.**



WE have received an Account from Major Sedgwick, of his taking several Forts from the French in America, and that hee hath left you to Command and secure them for Us and this Commonwealth: and although WEE make no doubt of your fidelitie and diligence in performance of your trust, yet WEE have thought it necessarie to let you know of how great consequence it is, that you use your utmost care and circumspection, as well to defend and keep the Forts above said, as also to improve the regayning of them into Our hands, to the advantage of Us and this State, by such wayes and meanes as you shall judge conducible thereunto. And as WEE shall understand from you the state and condition of those places, WEE shall from tyme to tyme give such directions, as shall be necessarie.

Given at Whitehall, this third of Aprill, 1655.

* [As this is printed from the original, we give an engraved copy of the autograph of the Protector.]

I.

[As the excerpta of what remains after the full gleanings of Hutchinson and Stiles,—the subsequent items, relative to Whalley and Goffe,—are here presented.—*Pub. Com.*]

Governour of New England, to apprehend Whalley and Goffe.

To our trusty and well-beloved the present Governour, or other Magistrate or Magistrates of our Plantation of New England.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved,—Wee greete you well. Wee being given to understand that Colonell Whalley and Colonell Goffe, who stand here convicted for the execrable murther of our Royall Father, of glorious memory, are lately arrived at New England, where they hope to shroud themselves securely from the justice of our lawes;—Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby expressly require and command you forthwith upon the receipt of these our letters, to cause both the said persons to be apprehended, and with the first opportunity sent over hither under a strict care, to receive according to their demerits. We are confident of your readiness and diligence to perform your duty; and so bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the fifth day of March, 1660–1.

By his Majesty's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

That this is a true copie of his Majesty's original letter, as it came and was presented to the Governour of the Massachusetts' jurisdiction, and was subscribed as on the other side, being compared therewith.

Attests,

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Boston, May 6, 1661.

JNO. ENDECOTT, *Governour.*

II.

Order to search for Whalley and Goffe.

May 17, 1661. For the Marshall or Deputies at Milford.

You are to make diligent search, by the first, throughout the whole towne of Millfoord, and the precincts thereof, taking with you two or three sufficient persons, and calling in any other helpe you shall see need of, who are hereby required to attend for your assistance upon call; and this to be in all dwelling houses, barnes or other buildings whatsoever, and vessels in the harbour, for the finding and apprehending of Colonell Whalley and Colonell Goffe, who stand charged with crimes, as by his Majestie's letter appears; and being found, you are to bring them to the Deputie Governour, or some other Magistrate, to be sent over for England, according to his Majestie's order.

Hereof faile not at peril.

By order of the General Court,
as Attest,
William Leete, *Deputie Governour.*

Jasper Crane,
Matthew Gilberte,
Robert Treatt.

In the Marshall's absence, I doe appoint and impower you, Thomas Sanford, Nicholas Campe, and James Tapping to the above named powers, according to the tenour of the Warrant; and to make a returne thereof, under your hands to me, by the first.

Robert Treatt.

Wee, the said persons, appointed to serve and search, by virtue of this our Warrant, doe hereby declare and testifie that to our best light, we have the 20th of May, 1661, made diligent search according to the tenour of this warrant.

As witness our hands,

Thomas Sannford,
Nicholas Campe,
James Tapping,
Lawrence Ward, *his* ⁋ *mark,*
} *Searchers.*

III.

General Court Records.

June 10, 1661.—Report of Committee to the General Court.

"We further judge, that the warrant and letter from the King's Majestie for the apprehending of Colonell Walley and Colonell Goffe ought to be diligently and faithfully executed by the authority of this Court. And also that the General Court may doe safely to declare, that, in case (for the future) any legally obnoxious and flying from the civil justice of the State of England, shall come over to these partes, they may not heer expect shelter."

This, as well as other partes of the said Report—was approved by the Court.

IV.

"This Court do order that the Councill may dispose of 1000 acres of land in any place, not formerly graunted by this Court for the gratuity of such as have or may further be imployed by the authority of this Country; any other law or costome to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Magistrates haue past this with reference to the consent of theire brethren, the Deputies hereto.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

19 *June*, 1661.

The Deputyes consent hereto, provided it hinder not a plantation.

WILLIAM TORREY, *Clerk.*

Consented to by the Magistrates.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*"

V.

1661, *June* 19.—General Court, being on the point of adjourning, pass the subsequent vote. "If in this vacancy any opertunity present to write for England, the Gouernour is desired by the first conueyance to certify his Majesty or the Secretaries of State, what himselfe and the

Councill haue acted touching serching for Colonell Whalley and Colonell Goffe, in the prosecution of his Majesty's warrant."

VI.

"At a Councill held at Boston, in New England, 4*th July*, 1661. Whereas the General Court by theire order, bearing date the 19*th* of *June*, 1661,—did give and graunt a thousand acres of land to be at the Councill's disposall, for the gratuity of such as have or may be further imployed by the authority of this Country. The Councill considering the service of Mr. Thomas Kellond and Mr. Thomas Kirke,* performed in goinge to Connecticutt, New Hauen and Monhatoes in order to his Majesty's service for searchinge after Col. Whalley and Goffe, and judgeth it meete to giue and graunt to each of the sayd gentlemen, Mr. Kellond and Mr. Kirke, two hundred and fifty acres of land for a farme in any place, not formerly graunted, as a small recompense for theire paynes therein.

By order of the Councill.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

VII.

1662.—*June* 28. *From his Majesty's Letter to the Authorities of Massachusetts.*

After declaring his forgiveness to all who had rebelled against him in the late difficulties of his kingdom,—he says, "excepting only such persons who stand attainted by our Parliament here of high treason ; if any such persons haue transplanted themselves into those parts, the apprehending and the transporting into this kingdome and delivering them into the hands of justice, we doe expect from the duty, affection and obedience of our good subjects of that our Colony, if they are found within the limits and jurisdiction thereof."

* [These were two young merchants, who came from England with a Royal Commission,—for the express purpose of searching out and apprehending Whalley and Goffe. They are fully spoken of in Hutchinson's Massachusetts, and in Stiles' Judges.—*Pub. Com.*]

VIII.

[The following extract affords a specimen of the wild reports, circulated in London to injure the credit of New England,—already the object of much suspicion and aversion with the supporters of Charles II.,—because they had not withstood the Cromwell administrations. It is from a letter of Col. Temple,—written from that metropolis to the Massachusetts authorities,—respecting the policy and disposition of the Court at St. James; March 4, 1662–3. *Pub. Com.*]

It says, relative to the slanderers of this Country,—

"The Lord Say declared them rogues, and told one of them publickly at the Councill, that he belyed the Country;—he knew that New England men were of another principle, when it was vrged, that Whalley and Goffe were in the head of an army in New England."

IX.

Instruction given to his Majestie's Commissioners—Richard Nichols, Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick.

April 25, 1664. "You shall make due inquiry whether any persons, who stand attainted here in Parliament of high treason, haue transported themselues thither; and doe now inhabit or reside or are sheltered there, and if any such persons are there, you shall cause them to be apprehended and to be put on ship board and sent hither, to the end that they may be proceeded with according to lawe; and you shall likewise examine, whether any such persons haue been enterteyned and received there since our returne into England, and what is become of them, and by whom they were received and enterteyned there, to the end, and for no other (for wee shall not suffer the act of indemnity to be in any degree violated), that those persons may be taken the more notice of, and may hold themselves to take the more care for their future behaviour."

[This instruction, having been presented among others, by the King's Commissioners, to the General Court,—received the reply of the latter body, in 1665,—as contained in our Collections, VIII. Vol. 2s. pp. 67, 68.—*Pub. Com.*]

X.

The deposition of John Coney, aged fourty and five years, or there abouts,—testifieth and sayeth, That being in Company with Mr. Thomas Kirk and Mr. Thomas Kellond at severall times, have heard them discourse about land that the General Court gave them about looking after Goffe and Whalley; and did positively heare the said Kirk and Kellond, before their going to sea,—say the longest liver should have both parts of the said land graunted, and that John Bushnell, if in being, could testify the same, which was then present at severall times. And further sayeth not.

Taken upon oath 12th of the third mo., 1670.

Before mee,

ANTHONY STODDARD, *Commiss.*

Boston, 12th May, 1670.

XI.

[Among the objections, exhibited against Massachusetts by the Lords for trade and Plantations, was one "about abetting the murtherers."—— In reference to this subject, our General Court, under date of Oct. 2, 1678,—express themselves as follows, to their agents.—*Pub. Com.*]

"The Court adds to what you answered therein, viz. Mr. Thomas Kirke, related to Sir David Kirke, and Mr. Thomas Kellond yet liuing, will testify the same, nor were Whalley and Goffe knowne here to vs to be such offenders, till his Majestie's Proclamation came ouer; nor doe wee know, nor could be informed, that they were in any part of this Colony after the said Proclamation came ouer; and, therefore, doe humbly beseech his Majestie and the Honourable Privy Councill to give full credence to what is here asserted by his Majestie's dutifull subjects, and that there was no neglect, much less contempt of his Majestie's command in this matter."

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COMMISSIONERS TO

EDWARD RANDOLPH, ESQ.

COLLECTOR, SURVEYOR, AND SEARCHER, OF HIS MAJESTIE'S CUSTOMS IN NEW ENGLAND.

[The subsequent instructions were the occasion of much litigation and other difficulty in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.—Randolph let no opportunity escape of demonstrating his resolution to have them executed to the very letter. Nor was he any less backward to make his complaints known both here and in England, when they were disregarded,—as was frequently the case. On the other hand, our civil authorities were far from wishing him success in carrying his purpose into all the effect, which he desired and sought. They looked on the instructions, as trenching too much on their Charter privileges. As a matter of course,—such clashing views and sympathies rendered these instructions an object of deep attention and of prominent importance with the supporters and opposers of full Royal Prerogative.

It will be observed, that one of the signatures,—as made by the Commissioners of the Customs in London,—is that of Sir George Downing. The last gentleman's history is particularly interesting to New England, as one of their greatest friends and as a member of the first class, who graduated at Harvard College.—*Pub. Com.*]

Instructions from the Commissioners for managing, leauying, and causing to be collected his Majestie's Customes, Subsidies, and other Duties in England, to Edward Randolph, Esq., Collector, Surueyor, and Searcher of his Majestie's Customes, in New England, in pursuance of the direction of the Right Honourable Thomas, Earle of Denby, Lord High Treasurer of England.

First,—Whereas, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, made in the twenty-fifth year of his Majestie's Reign, entitled "An Act of better securing the Plantations' Trades," which we herewith deliuer to you,—we have deputed you to be Collector, Surueyor, and Searcher of all the Rates, Duties, and Impossisions arising, and growing due to his

Majestie, by virtue of the said Act, in his Majestie's Colonye of New England, (that is to say) the Massachusetts' Colonye, Plymouth Colonye, Connecticutt Colonye, Rhode-Island, the Prouince of Mayne, and New Hampshire, and all other his Majestie's Colonys, and Islands in New England, which you are by the best wayes and means, you can to leauy and collect according to the tenour of the said act. And because the said act hath settled the Collection of the said Duties, under such penalties as by seuerall Lawes are inflicted for non-payment of, or defrauding his Majestie of his Customes in England, wee doe therefore deliuer to you a Book of Rates, wherein are the principall Lawes relating to the management of the Customes in England, and the Plantation Trades; videlicet, the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, the Act of Navigation, the Act for preuenting Fraud, the Act for Encouragement of Trade, and the Act for better regulating the Plantation Trade, and the said Act for the better securing the Plantation Trade; and you are to conforme yourselfe to the seuerall rules for managing the Customes according to the said Lawes, in all things wherein the same may be practicable with you, and to inform vs, or the Commissioners of his Majestie's Customes in England for the time being, what power, authoritie, or direction may be further necessary for the carrying on this his Majestie's seruice in the said Colonys.

2. You are before your goeing out of England, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy before one of the Barons of the Exchequer, or the Lord Mayor of London, and the vsuall Oath for the faithful execution of your office before vs.

3. Having soe done you are forthwith to repaire to the said Colonye in New England, and to settle your vsuall Residence in the Port of Boston, in Massachusetts Colonye.

4. You are to appoint one Deputy att least in each of the aforementioned Colonys by Commission under your hand and Seale, and for whome you will be answerable; who are to take the vsuall Oaths for the faythfull execution of their employments before the Gouernour, or Deputy Gouernour, of such Colonye, respectively, before they enter upon the same, and then you are to furnish them with Copyes of your Instructions and some of the forementioned

Acts for their better information and guidance in the performance of their Duties.

5. You are to take care that noe Ship doe trade in his Majestie's Colonys in New England, but such as are by Lawe permitted to trade there, and you are to take care that all Ships and Vessells which by Lawe may trade in any of his Plantations that shall desire to ship and take on board any of the Plantation Commodities enumerated in the aforesaid Act of the twenty-fifth yeare of the King, doe not lade the same vntill it appears to you or your Deputy, that such Ship has giuen bond for carrying the same to England, Wales, or Berwick only, or to England, Wales, or Berwick or to some other of his Majestie's Plantations; and in case her bond be to carry the same to England, Wales or Berwick, or to some other of his Majestie's Plantations, in such case you are diligently to examine whether she take in any Tobacco of the growth of New England, as also in case she take in any Tobacco or other of the enumerated Goods which have not payd his Majestie's Customes at the Plantation, from whence the same came, to collect his Majestie's Dutyes for the same, according to the said Act of the twenty-fifth yeare of the king. And you are further to take care that before they take in any part of these sorts of Goods they make entry of the Ship with you or your Deputy, and also before their clearing, make report upon Oath of the contents of their Lading as to those sorts of Goods, both as to quantity and quality, to the best of their knowledge with the name of the Master that Laded the same,—and if any ship shall take in any of the said sorts of Goods chargeable with the Dutie aforesaid, before such entrye made as aforesaid, the Master thereof is liable to the penalty of one hundred pounds according to the Act for preuenting fraud, and the Statute made the first of Eliz. Chapt. 11. And, moreover, in case any such Ship shall take in any Goods chargeable with the Duties impossed by the said Act of the twenty-fifth yeare of the King before bond giuen as aforesaid, you are to make seizure of the said Ship and Goods, and proceed against the same according to Lawe.

6. In case any ship which by lawe may trade in any of his Majestie's plantations, shall ariue in any of his Majes-

tie's Colonyes in New England, with any of the said sort of goods of the growth of any of his Majestie's Colonyes, you are carefully to examine whether such ship had before lading, giuen bond according to law, and in case she had giuen no bond, then you are to make seizure of her and her lading according to lawe. And if it appeare she has giuen bond, you are to examine whither such bond was to come to England, Wales, or Berwick only, or to goe to England, Wales, or Berwick, or to some other of his Majestie's plantations, (formes of which bonds will be herewith deliuered to you), and, in case her bond was giuen to come to England, Wales, or Berwick only, you are to forbid her to vnload with you; and in case, (notwithstanding thereof) she shall putt any of the said goods on shoare, you are to keepe an exact account, and take good proof upon oath, of the quantity and qualitie of the said goods put on shoare, and transmit the same to vs, that we may take care for the suing and recouering the penalty and forfeiture of the bond giuen for such ship; and in case such bond was giuen in any of his Majestie's plantations, you are also with the first conveniency to giue notice, and the proof thereof to the Gouernor of such plantation and our Collector there, that they may take care for the speedy putting such bond in suit; but if her bond was to come to England, Wales, or Berwick, or to some of his Majestie's plantations in such case, you are to permit her to vnlade, examining the certificates from our officers, in the place where she laded, whereby to satisfie yourselfe, that his Majestie's duties were payd for the same, according to the aforesaid act of the 25th of the King; and in case it shall appeare that such ship hath any of the goods for which his Majestie's customes are not payd, you are to make seizure thereof, according to the lawes and rules for collecting his Majestie's customes in England.

7. You are to take notice, that the payment of the respective rates imposed by the Act of the 25th yeare of the King, vpon the several plantation Commodities therein named, that shall be shipped or laden on board any ship or vessel, (for which bond shall not be first giuen, to bring the same to England, Wales, or Berwick only), doth not giue liberty to carry the same afterwards to any other

place, than to some of his Majestie's plantations, or to England, Wales, or Berwick, and that notwithstanding the payment of the said duties, they are to giue bond to carry all the said goods to England, Wales, or Berwick, or to some of his Majestie's plantations, and not to be permitted to be laden vntil such bond giuen as is directed in the next preceding instruction.

8. And because there is no duty imposed by the said act vpon such ships, for which bond shall before lading be giuen to come to England, Wales, or Berwick only, you are to take spetiall care that none of the said goods which shall be pretended for any of the shipping bound to England, Wales, or Berwick, be vnder that colour stolen on board ships bound elsewhere, that haue not giuen bond as aforesaid, and so evade the Duties Chargeable by this Act to which end it will be necessary not only frequently to Visit all Ships or Vessells which haue not given bond as aforesaid, to come to England, Wales, or Berwick only, but allso where you find it necessary to put men on board such ships or vessells, to take an accompt of all goods laden on board them, and if anye of the aforesaid sorts of goods shall be found on board for which is noe warrant, you are to seize and prosecute the same according to law.

9. You are to take notice, that if the duties appointed by the act of the 25th of the king and certifyed to haue been payd before the said goods were brought into New England; in such case, there is nothing more to be payd for the same, neither vpon their landing in New England, nor vpon theire shipping out againe, but in case any thereof shall be shipped out, you are to take care that the ship doe first giue sufficient bond with one surety as aforesaid, to carry the same to England, Wales, or Berwick only, or to England, Wales, or Berwick, or some other of his Majestie's plantations aforesaid.

10. You are to keep exact accompts of all moneys by you received, or goods in lieu thereof, for his Majestie's customs, or vpon the accompt of seizures and forfeitures of ship or goods, and to make perfect inventory thereof into a booke to be kept for that purpose, with the names of the respective merchants entering the same with the Ship's names and their Masters, and the burthen of the

Vessells, and to what place bound,—and you are to take espetiall care to inform yourselfe rightly the true names of the Vessells and their Masters, because many falacies haue been committed and fraud practiced by changing their names, and obtruding ficticious names.

11. You are to vse youre vtmost endeauors to collect the duty in money, and not in goods, and what of necessity you must take in goods, you are to endeauor to sell to the best aduantage, and you are to remit the money you shall receiue for the said dutyes, by good bills of exchange or in ready money, to Richard Kent, Esq., his Majestie's receiuer generall and cashier of his customes, or to the receiuer generall and cashier of his Majestie's customes, for the time being, residing in London, and to send duplicates of such bills of exchange to vs. And such goods as you cannot dispose of, you are to ship at the best conuenience and cheapest rates, and to consigne them to Gay Moleworth, Esq., his Majestie's Warehouse keeper in the Port of London, or to the warehouse keeper in the same port, for the time being, and you are to send duplicates of the enuoyces of all such goods.

12. You are at the end of every six months, videlicet, the 25th March, and the 29th of September in euery year, to make vp a general accompt of all the whole management of this business, and by the first opportunety of shipping send the same to vs together with your accompt current, and the ballance thereof either in moneye, bills or Goods, directed or consygned as aforesaid, and duplicates thereof by some other Ship, for fear of miscarriage.

13. And for the further aduantage of his Majestie's seruice and reuenue of Customes in this Kingdome, you are to informe yourselfe whether the following Lawes relating to the Plantation trade, as to so much thereof as is to be performed within the seuerall Collonyes of New England, bee put in effectuall execution; videlicet, the Act of Nauigation made in the 12th yeare of his Majestie's Reigne,—the Act for regulating the Plantation trade made in the 22d and 23d yeares of his Majestie's Reigne,—the Act for encouragement of Trade made in the 15th yeare of his Majestie's Reigne, particularly for all Ships and Vessells that shall proceed to any of the Colonyes of New England

from this kingdome, the dominion of Wales or towne of Berwick vpon Tweed, whether Certificate be produced to the Gouenours of the respective Colonyes, or some person appointed by them to receiue the same from some Custome house of England, Wales, or Berwick, vnder the hands and Seales of the Customer, or patent Collector and Comptroller, or their Deputies, or the hand of the Commission Collector, or his Deputy, or two of them, that such Ship or Vessell hath giuen bond according to Lawe in the Port from whence she sayled, that in case she shall lade any of the Commodities, enumerated by those Lawes, the same shall be by such Ship brought to some Port of England, Wales, or Berwick, and there put on Shoare, and for such Ships or Vessells which shall come to your Plantation from any other port or place, which are by Lawe permitted to trade there, whither sufficient bond with one suretie, if giuen to the said Gouenour, or whome he appointes to receiue the same with condition that such Ship or Vessell shall bring all such of the said Goods or Commodities as she shall lade to England, Wales or Berwick only, or to England, Wales, or Berwick or some other of his Majestie's Plantations, and if contrary hearevnto, such Ship shall lade any of the said Commodities before such Certificate produced, or bond giuen as aforesaid, you are to take care that she be seized and prosecuted according to the said Act of Nauigation, and the Act for regulating the Plantation trade, and you are to vse your vtmost Care that the securities that are taken by the respective Gouernours in New England be of some sufficient, able persons and inhabitants of that Countrey, and you are not to permitt any Ship to load any of the enumerated Goods in any of his Majestie's Colonyes in New England, vpon anye Certificate of bond haueing been giuen in Ireland, but in that case before they lade anye of the said Plantation Commodities they are to giue bond to the Gouernour, or Deputy Gouernour of the respectiue Colonyes of New England, in which such Ship is with good security as aforesaid, and for the better auoyding false and counterfeit Certificates, you are to admit of noe Certificate of any Ships haueing giuen bond, nor of anye Ships haueing discharged her lading in England, Wales, or Berwick, but such as shall come to you vnder the hand

and seale of the Customer, or Patent Collector and Comptroller, or their Deputyes, or the hand of the Commission Collector, or his Deputy, or two of them of the Port where they gaue bond or unladed respectiuely, we haueing required the said respectiue officers, both in the Port of London, and the out ports, to signe and seale such Certificates accordingly, and we herewith deliuer to you one of each of the Impressions for each Colonye in New England, for the better detecting of svch fraud.

14. You are to take notice, that although by the Act of Navigation, the word Ireland is inserted in the condition of the bond with England, Wales, or Berwick, and permission thereby giuen to bring the Plantation Commodities to Ireland as well as England, &c. Yet by the Act for better regulating the Plantation Trade, the word Ireland is wholly repealed, and the condition of all such bond must be to bring theire respectiue ladings to England, Wales, or Berwick only, or to England, Wales, or Berwick, or some of his Majestie's Plantations.

15. You are carefully to inform yourselfe whether anye of the commodities of the growth, production or manufacture of Europe are imported into any of the Colonyes in New England, other than such as shall be brought directly from this Kingdome, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick, and in such shipping and soe nauigated as by Lawe is directed, except Wine shipped or laden in the Medeiras or Western Islands, or Azores, of the growth of either of them,—seruants and horses shipped and taken in in Scotland or Ireland of the growth or production thereof respectiuely in Ships qualifyed and nauigated as aforesaid, and you are to be the more carefull in regard to the French trade, as to the principall commodities thereof with England is prohibited, and therefore that endeavours will be vsed to furnish the Plantations therewith by indirect wayes and means, and if any Ship or Vessell shall import any other commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe of which due proofe shall not be made that they were shipped and laden in some port of England, Wales, or Berwick, the same Ship or Vessell, is forfeited with her guns, tackle, apparell, &c.: and also all such European commodities which you are to take care be seized and prosecuted according to Lawe and his Majestie's Proclamation,

pursuant therevnto of the 24th Nouember, in the twenty-seventh yeare of his Majestie's reign ; (Copy whereof we herewith deliver to you), and you are to vse your vtmost diligence so as those matters be managed according therevnto, and to giue vs notice of any failure therein.

16. And for the preuention of fraud, you are further to inform yourselfe whether any Ship or Vessell coming to any of the Colonyes in New England, lade or vnlade any commoditie whatsoeuer, vntill the Master or Commander thereof shall first haue made known to the Gouernour, or Deputy Gouernour of such Colony, or whome he shall appoint to that purpose, the arriuall of such Ship or Vessell, with her name and the sirname of the Master, and have sheued him that she is an English built Vessell, or otherwise quallifyed and nauegated as aforesaid, and to deliuer to him, a true and perfect inuentory of her lading, together with the place or places where such Goods were taken in.

17. And for the better preuention of Ships trading in his Majestie's Colonyes in New England, which by Lawe ought not to trade there, and for preuenting the importation of European Goods thither, contrarye to Lawe, and also for preuenting Ships laden with the enumerated Plantation commodities going to Scotland or Ireland, or anye other parts, but to England, Wales, or Berwick, or to some other of his Majestie's Plantations,—you are with your Accompt which you are to send to vs euery six months, to transmit to vs also an Accompt of each Vessell, that during such six months hath entered inwards and outwards in the respectiue Colonyes in New England, according to the forme herewith deliuered to you.

18. In all cases where bond hath been giuen by anye Ship or Vessell to the Gouernour, or Deputy Gouernour, in anye of his Majestie's Colonyes in New England. If you can discouer and make proof that anye such Ship or Vessell hath discharged her Lading contrary to her bond, or that a conuenient time hath passed in expectation of the returne of a certificate, after vnlading, according to tenor of her bond, and that noe certificate is returned, you are to take care that the bond be put in process, and if a certificate be produced, you are well and carefully to examine such certificate as aforesaid.

19. You shall, after Lady Day in every yeare, giue vs an Accompt what Commodities and Manufacture are rayseed and made in his Majestie's seuerall Colonyes in New England, and what Ships and Vessells doe belong to each of the said Colonyes, with their respective burthens, and to what Townes or Places they belong, and what nature, videlicit, whether Ships, Pinckes, Ketches, &c.: broad stern or narrow stearn, forecastle or noe forecastle, English built or foreign built, and what trade or trades to sea, are principally driven in each of the said Colonyes.

ED. DERING,
CH. CHEYNE,
G. DOWNING.

Custome House, London,
9th July, 1678.

[About to introduce the Commission to Sir Edmund Andros, we would remark, that few events in our Colonial History, were regarded by our fathers with more intense anxiety, than the changes produced in their political concerns, by the administrations of Dudley and Andros. On the 15th of May, 1686, the Rose Frigate arrived with a commission from James II, for the former of these two persons, as President of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Narraganset. On the succeeding December 20th, the latter landed in Boston, and published his commission from the same monarch. This instrument gave him jurisdiction over the territory, just mentioned, with the addition of the Plymouth Colony. In a few days, it was applied to Rhode Island, and, the next year, to Connecticut. Under its authority, Sir Edmund subverted the foundations of our Charter government, and exhibited the spirit of his Royal Master in acts, which were considered exceedingly oppressive by a large majority of the Colonists. It served as the chief Constitutional law for New England,—till it was succeeded by another in 1688, which was so extended as to embrace New York and New Jersey. And even when thus formally nullified, its influence lived, and its effects were widely realized. It was the stimulus, by which Andros pursued the course, that brought him to the overthrow of a sudden Revolution on the 18th of April, 1689. Thus connected with vicissitudes and relations of no ordinary character, as to the past condition and experience of our country, we have thought it desirable for such a document, to hold a place among the pages of our Collections. *Pub. Com.*]

COMMISSION TO SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

James the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty and wel beloved Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Greeting.

Whereas the Government of that part of our Territory and Dominion of New England, hereafter mentioned, is now in our hands, and being minded to give all protection and incouragement to our good subiects therein, and to provide in the most effectual manner, for their security and welfare; We therefore, reposing especial trust and confidence in the prudence, courage and loyalty of you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, out of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have thought fit to constitute and appoint, and by these presents do constitute and appoint you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, to be our Captain General, and Governour in Chief in and over all that our Territory and Dominion of New England in America, commonly called or known by the name of our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, our Colony of New Plimouth, and our Provinces of New Hampshire and Main, the Narraganset Countrey, otherwise called the King's Province, with all the Islands, Rights, and Members to the said Colonies and Territories in any wise appertaining. And for your better guidance and direction, we do hereby require and command you to do and execute all things in due manner, that shal belong to the said office, and the trust we have reposed in you, according to the several powers, instructions, and authorities mentioned in these presents, or such further powers, instructions and authorities, as you shal herewith receiv, or which shal at any time hereafter be granted or appointed you, under our Signet and Sign manual, or by order in our Privy Council, and according to such reasonable Laws and Statutes as are now in force, or such others as shal be hereafter made and

established within that our Territory and Dominion aforesaid. And our wil and pleasure is, that you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, having (after your arrival in New England, and publication of these our Letters Patents) first taken the oath of Allegiance, together with the oath of duly executing the office of our Captain General and Governour in chief of our said Territory and Dominion, (which our Council there, or any three of them, are hereby required, authorized and impowered to give and administer unto you), you shal administer unto each of the Members of our Council, as well the oath of allegiance, as the oath of the due execution of their places and trust. And we do hereby give and grant unto you fful power and authority, to suspend any member of our Council, from sitting, voting and assisting therein, as you shal find iust cause for your so doing. And if it shal hereafter at any time happen, that by the death, departure out of our said Territory, or suspension of any of our Counsellors, or that otherwise there shal be a vacancy in our said Council, (any five whereof we do hereby appoint to be a Quorum), our wil and pleasure is, that you signify the same unto us by the first opportunity, that we may, under our Signet and Sign manual, constitute and appoint others in their room: but that our affairs at that distance may not suffer for want of a due number of counsellors, if ever it shal happen that there are less than seven of them residing upon the place, we do hereby give and grant unto you, fful power and authority, to choose as many persons out of the principal inhabitants thereof, as wil make up the fful number of our Council to be seven, and no more; which persons, by vertue of such choice, shal be to all intents and purposes, our Counsellors within our said Territory, until they be confirmed by us, or that by nomination of others by us, under our Sign manual and Signet, the said Council shal have seven persons in it. And we do hereby give and grant unto you fful power and authority, by and with the advice and consent of our said Council, or ye maior part of them, to make, constitute, and ordain Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, for ye public peace, welfare and good government of our said Territory and Dominion, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, and such others as

shal resort thereto, and for the benefit of us, our heirs and successors, which said Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, are to be as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this our Kingdome of England. Porvided, that all such Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, of what nature or duration soever, be within three months, or sooner, after the making of the same, transmitted unto us under our seal of New England, for our allowance or disapprobation of them ; as also duplicates thereof by the next conveyance. And we do by these presents give and grant unto you, fful power and authority, by and with the advice and consent of our said Council, or the maior part of them, to impose and assess, and raise and levy such Rates and Taxes, as you shal find necessary for the support of the government within our Territory and Dominion of New England, to be collected and levied, and to be imployed to the uses aforesaid, in such manner as to you and our said Council, or the maior part of them, shal seem most equal and reasonable. And for the better supporting the charge of the government of our said Territory and Dominion, our wil and pleasure is, and we do by these presents authorize and require you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, and our said Council, to continue such taxes and impositions as are now laid and imposed upon the inhabitants thereof, and to levy and distribute, or cause the same to be levied and distributed to those ends, in the best and most equal manner, until you shal by and with the advice and consent of our Council, agree on, and setle such other taxes, as shal be sufficient for the support of our Government thereof, which are to be applied to that use and no other. And our further wil and pleasure is, that all public money raised or to be raised or appointed for the support of the Government within our said Territory and Dominion, be issued out by warrant or order from you, by and with the advice and consent of our Council, as aforesaid. And our wil and pleasure is, that you shal and may keep and use our Seal appointed or to be appointed by us for our said Territory and Dominion. And we do further give and grant unto you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, fful power and authority, from time to time, and at any time hereafter, by yourself, or by any other to be authorized by you, in that behalf, to

administer and give the oath of allegiance now established within this our Realm of England, to all and every such person as you shal think fit, or such as shal at any time or times pass into our said Territory, or shal be resident or abiding there. And we do by these presents ordain, constitute and appoint our Governor and Council of our said Territory and Dominion for the time being, to be a constant and setled Court of Record for the administration of justice to all our subiects inhabiting within our said Territory and Dominion, in all causes as wel civil as criminal, with ful power and authority to hold pleas in all cases from time to time, as wel in pleas of the Crown, and in all matters relating to the conservation of the peace, and punishment of offenders, as in civil causes or actions between party and party, or between us and any of our subiects there, whether the same do concern the realty, and relate to any right of freehold and inheritance, or whether the same do concern the personalty, and relate to matter of debt, contract, damage, or other personal iniury: and also in all mixt actions, which may concern both realty and personalty; and thereinafter due and orderly proceeding and deliberate hearing of both sides, to give judgment, and to award execution, as wel in criminal as in civil cases, as aforesaid: so always, that the forms of proceedings in such cases, and the judgments thereupon to be given, be as consonant and agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this our Realm of England, as the present state and condition of our subjects, inhabiting within our said Territory and Dominion, and circumstances of the place wil admit. And we do further, hereby give and grant unto you, fful power and authority, with the advice and consent of our said Council, to erect, constitute and establish, such and so many Courts of Judicature and public justice within our said Territory and Dominion, as you and they shal think fit and necessary for the determination of all causes, as wel criminal as civil, according to Law and Equity, and for awarding of execution thereupon, with all reasonable and and necessary powers, authorities, ffees and privileges, belonging unto them; as also to appoint and commissionate fit persons in the several parts of our said Territory, to administer the oath of allegiance unto such as shal be

obliged to take the same. And we do hereby grant unto you fful power and authority, to constitute and appoint Judges, and in cases requisites, Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, Justices of the peace, Sheriffs, and all other necessary officers and ministers within our said Territory, for the beeter administration of justice, and putting the Laws in execution ; and to administer such oath and oaths as are usually given for the due execution and performance of offices and places, and for the clearing of truth in judicial causes. And our further wil and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare, that all actings and proceedings at Law or Equity, heretofore had or done, or now depending within any of the Courts of our said Territory, and all executions thereupon be hereby confirmed and continued, so far forth as not to be avoided for want or defect of any legal power in the said Courts ; but that all and every such judicial actings, proceedings and executions, shal be of the same force, effect and vertue, as if such Courts had acted by a iust and legal authority. And we do further by these presents wil and require you, to permit appeals to be made, in cases of error, from our Courts in our said Territory and Dominion of New England, unto our Governor and Council in civil causes ; provided the value appealed for, do exceed the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, and that security be first duly given by the appellant, to answer such charges as shal be awarded in case the first sentence shall be affirmed. And whereas we iudg it necessary, that all our subiects may have liberty to appeal to our Royal person, in cases that may require the same, our wil and pleasure is, that if either party shal not rest satisfied with ye judgment or sentence of our Governor and Council, they may then appeal unto us in our Privy Council, provided the matter in difference exceed the real value and sum of three hundred pounds sterling ; and that such appeal be made within one ffortnight after sentence; and that security be likewise given by the appellant, to answer such charges as shal be awarded in case the sentence of the Governor and Council shal be confirmed, and provided also, that execution be not suspended by reason of any such appeal unto us. And we do hereby give and grant unto you, fful power and authority, where

you shal see cause, and shal iudg any offender or offenders in capital and criminal matters, or for any ffines or fforfeitures due unto us, fit obiects of our mercy, to pardon all such offenders, and to remit such ffines and fforfeitures ; (treasons and wilful murder only excepted.) In which cases, you shal likewise have power, upon extraordinary occasions, to grant reprievs to the offenders therein, until, and to ye intent our pleasure may be further known. And we do hereby give and grant unto you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, by yourself, your Captains and Commanders by you to be authorized, fful power and authority to levy, arm, muster, command, or imploy all persons whatsoever, residing within our said Territory and Dominion of New England, and as occasion shal serv them, to transfer from one place to another, for the resisting and withstanding all enemies, pirates and rebels, both at land and sea, and to transfer such fforces to any of our plantations in America, as occasion shal require, for ye defence of the same, against the invasion or attempts of any of our enemies, and them, if occasion shal require, to pursue and prosecute, in or out of the limits of our said Territory and Plantations, or any of them ; and, if it shal so please God, them to vanquish, and being taken, either according to the Law of arms, to put to death, or to keep and reserve alive at your discretion : as also to execute Martial Law in time of invasion, insurrection, or war, and during the continuance of the same, and upon souldiers in pay ; and to do and execute all and every other thing which to a Captain General doth, or ought of right to belong, as fully and amply as any our Captain General doth, or hath usually done. And we do hereby give and grant unto you, fful power and authority, to erect, raise and build, within our said Territory and Dominion aforesaid, such and so many fforts, platforms, castles, cities, burroughs, towns and ffortifications, as you shal iudg necessary ; and the same, or any of them, to fortify and furnish with ordinance, ammunition, and all sorts of arms fit and necessary for ye security and defence of our said Territory ; and the same again, or any of them, to demolish or dismantle, as may be most convenient. And we do hereby give and grant unto you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, fful power and

authority, to erect one or more Court or Courts Admiral, within our said Territory and Dominion, for the hearing and determining of all marine and other causes and matters proper therein to be heard and determined, with all reasonable and necessary powers, authorities, ffees and privileges. And you are to execute all powers belonging to the place and office of Vice Admiral of and in all the seas and coasts about your Government, according to such commission, authority and instructions, as you shal receiv from ourself under the seal of our admiralty, or from our High Admiral of our plantations, for ye time being. And forasmuch as divers mutinies and disorders do happen by persons shipped and imployed at sea, and to ye end that such as shal be shipped or imployed at sea, may be the better governed and ordered; we do hereby give and grant unto you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, our Captain General and Governor in Chief, fful power and authority to constitute and appoint captains, masters of ships and other commanders, and to grant unto such captains, masters of ships and other commanders, Commissions to execute the Law Martial, and to use such proceedings, authorities, punishments, correction and execution, upon any offender or offenders, that shal be mutinous, seditious, disorderly, or any way unruly, either at sea, or during the time of their abode or residence in any of the ports, harbours, or bays of our said Territory and Dominion, as ye cause shal be found to require, according to Martial Law. Provided, that nothing herein contained, shal be construed to the enabling you, or any by your authority, to hold plea or have jurisdiction of any offence, cause, matter or thing, committed or done upon the seas, or within any of the havens, rivers or creeks, of our said Territory and Dominion under your Government, by any Captain, Commander, Lieutenant, Master, or other Officer, Seaman, Souldier, or person whatsoever, who shal be in actual service and pay, in and on board any of our ships of war, or other vessels acting by immediate Commission or Warrant from ourself, under Seal of our Admiralty, or from our High Admiral of the time being; but that such captain, commander, lieutenant, master, officer, seaman, souldier, and other person so offending, shal be left to be proceeded

against and tried, as the merit of their offences shal require, either by Commission under our Great Seal of England, as the Statute of the twenty-eighth of Henry the Eighth directs, or by Commissioners from our High Court of Admiralty, according to the Act of Parliament, passed in the thirteenth year of the Reign of the late King, our most dear and most intirely beloved brother of ever blessed memory, intituled an Act for ye establishing articles and orders for ye regulating and better Government of his Majestie's Navies, Ships of War, and fforces by sea, and not otherwise: saving only, that it shal and may be lawful for you, upon any such Captain or Commanders refusing or neglecting to execute, or upon his negligence or undue execution of any of the written Orders he shal receiv from you, for our service, and the service of our said Territory and Dominion, to suspend him the said Captain or Commander, from the exercise of his said office of Commander, and commit him into safe custody, either on board his own ship, or elsewhere, at the discretion of you, in order to his being brought to answer for the same, by Commission either under our Great Seal of England, or from our said High Admiral as is before expressed: in which case our wil and pleasure is, that the Captain or Commander so by you suspended, shal during such his suspension and commitment, be succeeded in his said Office by such Commission, or Warrant Officer of our said ship, appointed by ourself or our High Admiral of England for the time being, as by the known practice and discipline of our Navy doth and ought next to succeed him, as in case of death, sickness, or other ordinary disability happening to the Commander of any of our ships, and not otherwise: you standing also accountable to us, for the truth and importance of the crimes and misdemeanours, for which you shal so proceed to ye suspending of such, our said Captain and Commander. Provided, that all disorders and misdemeanours committed on shore by any Captain, Commander, Lieutenant, Master or other Officer, Seaman, Souldier, or person whatsoever, belonging to any of our ships of war, or other vessels acting by immediate Commission or Warrant from ourself under ye Seal of our Admiralty, or from our High Admiral of England, for ye time being, may be

tried and punished according to ye Laws of the place, where any such disorders, offences and misdemeanors shal be so committed on shore, notwithstanding such offender be in our actual service, and born in our pay on board any such our Ships of War, or other vessels acting by immediate Commission or Warrant from ourself or our High Admiral as aforesaid: so as he shal not receiv any protection for ye avoiding of justice, for such offences committed on shore, from any pretence of his being imployed in our service at sea. And we do likewise give and grant unto you, fful power and authority, by and with the advice and consent of our said Council, to agree with the planters and inhabitants of our said Territory and Dominion, concerning such lands, tenements and hereditaments, as now are, or hereafter shal be in our power to dispose of; and them to grant unto any person or persons for such terms, and under such moderate quit-rents, services and acknowledgments, thereupon to be reserved unto us, as shal be appointed by us; which said grants are to pass and be sealed by our Seal of New England, and (being entred upon record, by such officer and officers as you shal appoint thereunto), shal be good and effectual in Law against us, our heirs and successors. And we give you fful power and authority, to appoint so many ffairs, marts and markets, as you, with the advice of our said Council, shal think fit: as likewise to order and appoint within our said Territory, such and so many ports, harbours, bays, havens and other places, for the convenience and security of shipping, and for the better loading and unloading of goods and merchandizes, as by you with the advice and consent of our Council, shall be thought fit and necessary; and in them or any of them, to erect, nominate and appoint, Custom houses, Warehouses, and Officers relating thereunto; and them to alter, change, place or displace from time to time, as with the advice aforesaid, shal be thought fit. And above all things, we do by these presents wil, require and command you, to take all possible care for the discountenance of vice, and incouragement of vertue and good living, that by such example, the infidels may be invited, and desire to partake of the Christian Religion. And for the greater ease and satisfaction of our loving

subiects in matters of religion, we do hereby wil and require, and command, that liberty of conscience be allowed to all persons, and that such especially as shal be conformable to the rites of the Church of England, be particularly countenanced and incouraged. And forasmuch as, pursuant to the laws and customes of our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, and of our other Colonies and Provinces aforementioned, divers marriages have been made and performed by the magistrates of our said Territory, our Royal wil and pleasure is, hereby to confirm all the said marriages, and to direct, that they be held good and valid in the same manner to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as if they had bin made and contracted according to the Laws established within our Kingdome of England. And we do hereby require and command all officers and ministers, civil and military, and all other inhabitants of our said Territory and Dominion, to be obedient, aiding and assisting to you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, in the execution of this our Commission, and of the powers and authorities herein mentioned; and upon your death, or absence out of our said Territory, unto the Commander in chief: to whom we do therefore by these presents, give and grant all and singular, the powers and authorities aforesaid, to be exercised and inioyed by him during our pleasure, or until your arrival within our said Territory and Dominion; and, if in case of such death or absence, there be no person upon the place appointed by us, to be Commander in chief; our wil and pleasure is, that the then present Council of our Territory aforesaid, do take upon them ye administration of the Government, and execute this Commission, and the several powers and authorities herein contained, and that ye first Counsellor, who shal be at ye time of your death or absence, residing within the same, do preside in our said Council, with such powers and [preheminences] as any former President hath used and inioyed within our said Territory, or any other our plantations in America, until our pleasure be further known, or your arrival as aforesaid. And lastly, our wil and pleasure is, that our Commission bearing date the seven and twentieth day of September, in the ffirst year of our Reign, constituting our trusty and wel beloved Joseph Dudley, Simon Broadstreet, and Wil-

liam Stoughton, Esqs., and others, to be our President and Council of our Territory and Dominion of New England, do, from the publication of these presents, cease and become void. And that you, the said Sir Edmund Andros, shal and may hold, execute and inioy, the office and place of our Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over our Territory and Dominion aforesaid, with all its rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever; together with all and singular the powers and authorities hereby granted unto you, for and during our wil and pleasure. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself at Westminster, the third day of June, in the second year of our Reign.*

Per bre de Privato Sigillo.

BARKER.

[In copying original documents, we have deemed it proper to follow for the most part, the ancient orthography of words; but in the foregoing Commission, the words ending in *tion* and *sion*, being written *con*, with a circumflex over the syllable, and the Printer not having type with such a mark, or notation, we have given the usual spelling. *Pub. Com.*]

[The following Papers, relative to the period of Usurpation in New England, are on various topics. They constitute but a small part of those, which refer to the governments of Dudley and Andros. Their value is enhanced by the fact, that they help to form the principal documentary history of New England,—which is to be obtained on this side of the Atlantic. They were left, while the regular journals of the Government, were either concealed or destroyed, or carried out of the country after the Revolution of 1689. It is however some consolation,—that, in view of this lamentable event, copies of such journals had been periodically sent to the Plantation office in London,—and that we may yet have transcripts of them returned to our own shores.—*Pub. Com.*]

* [James the Second began to reign February 6, 1684-5, so that the date of this Commission is June 3d, 1686.]

PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE PERIOD OF USURPATION

IN NEW ENGLAND.

I.

CASE OF JOHN GOULD, CHARGED WITH TREASON.

NEW ENGLAND, SC.

Rex Contra Gould in Sessione Speciali, 19th Aug. 1686.

The Jurors for our Sovereign Lord, the King, do upon their oaths present, that John Gould, sen., otherwise called Lieutenant Gould of Topsfield, in the County of Essex, husbandman, by force and arms, that is to say, between the 23d and 30th of May, in the second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, &c., being evilly affected against our most sacred Lord the King aforesaid, his supreme and natural Lord, and devising with all his might, and intending to disturb the peace and common tranquillity of this his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England, as the same is now settled by his Majesty's Royal Commission under his great Seal of England, and the introducing again of the late Government dissolved by law, at a Riotous Muster of armed men gathered together by him, the aforesaid John Gould as their pretended officer, at Topsfield aforesaid, in the County aforesaid, in the year aforesaid, he the said John Gould as aforesaid, then and there being, did against the duty of his Allegiance, and in terror of his Majesty's liege People, maliciously, wickedly, seditiously, treasonably, and advisedly, speak and utter these malicious, treasonable, and seditious* speeches following,

* [Hutchinson, 1 v. p. 326, 3d edition, 1795, says, "one John Gold of Topsfield, was tried and convicted of treasonable words; what they were is not mentioned." Such words we have in the present document.—*Pub. Com.*]

viz.: If the Country was of his mind, they would keep Salem Court with the former Magistrates, and if the Country would go the Rounds, he would make the first, and would go and keep Salem Court, and would have his Company down to do it. And, further, he, the said John Gould as aforesaid, on or about the 11th day of July, at Topsfield aforesaid, in the County aforesaid, in the year aforesaid, maliciously, advisedly, and treasonably, did, say and utter, these malicious, treasonable, and seditious words following, viz.: That he was under another Government and had sworn to another Government, and did not know this Government, and this in manifest contempt of his Majesty's laws and Government here in New England, to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and dignity.

JOHN WILD,
JOHN HOWE,
ISAAC CUMMINGS,
EPHRAIM HOW. } *Witnesses.*

II.

BOSTON, Sc.

To the Keeper of his Majesty's Jail in Boston.

The President of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England, with the Deputy President and others of his Majesty's Council, in Council assembled, the 5th day of August, 1686, having received information upon the oaths of Isaac Cummings, John Wild and John How, of several treasonable and seditious words, spoken by John Gould of Topsfield, against our Sovereign Lord the King, &c. These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to require you to take into your Custody the body of the said John Gould, and him safely keep until he shall be delivered by due course of Law, and for so doing this shall be your warrant, given at the Council House in Boston, the said 5th day of August, Anno Dom. 1686, Anno que, R. R. Jacobi Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c.—secundi.

Vera Copia.

ED. RANDOLPH, *Sec.*

III.

By the President and Council of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England.

Upon reading the petition of John Gould, now prisoner in the Jail of Boston, desiring liberty of the Prison yard to walk in, by reason of his indisposition of body. It is Ordered,

That the Prison keeper do permit the said John Gould, to have the benefit of the Prison yard, to walk in during his sickness, (the keeper taking care the said Gould make not an escape), till further order.

ED. RANDOLPH, *Sec'ry.*

Council House, Boston, }
August 12, 1686. }

IV.

Rex versus *Gould.* A bill of costs at a special court of Oyer and Terminer, holden in Boston, for his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England.

Aug. 19*th*, 1686.

The Judge's fee, ...	£1,00,00.
Drawing the Indictment, ...	0,02,06.
Filing the Indictment, ...	0,01,00.
Taking 4 Recognizances in Court, . . .	0,08,00.
Filing the same, ...	0,01,00.
For the *venire facias* to the Justice and Marshal, ...	0,02,00.
For reading the Evidences, No. 4, . . .	0,01,00.
For taking and entering the verdicts, . . .	0,02,00.
For entering the Judgment, ...	0,02,00.
For the Discharge, ...	0,02,00.
The Attorney General's fee, for pleading on the indictment, ...	1,10,00.
Ipswich Court Charges, ...	0,17,06.
Charges of witnesses at Boston, ...	2,12,00.
Paid in Court to 4 persons, ...	1,00,00.
Marshal Green's Journey, ...	2,00,00.
	£10,01,00.

V.

To the honourable, the President and Council of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England.

The humble petition of John Gould humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner shall ever pray for your Honour's prosperity, as in duty bound, for your favourable answer to his late petition; which, if he were able, he would readily embrace without further troubling your honours; but his fortune being very inconsiderable and that incumbered; and being uncapable to get a penny toward the support of his wife and eight children. He, therefore, most humbly prays, that your honours will be pleased to take his deplorable condition into further consideration, (he being heartily sorry for the idle words he uttered) that, on his payment of twenty pounds, fees of Court, and giving sufficient security for his good behaviour, he may be freed from his imprisonment. And your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

JOHN GOULD.

Ordered, that upon the petitioner's payment of the sum of twenty pounds to the Treasurer, and Prison fees and fees of Prosecution, that he be discharged his imprisonment upon giving bond for his good behaviour.

ED. RANDOLPH, *Secretary.*

Aug. 15, 1686.

VI.

By the President and Council of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England.

Upon reading the petition of John Gould, and considering the poverty of his family, it is ordered,

That upon the payment of Fifty Pounds in money, and charges of Prosecution, the remainder of his fine be respited and he be released of his imprisonment, he giving bonds for his good behaviour, according to order of Court.

ED. RANDOLPH, *Secretary.*

Aug. 25*th*, 1686.

VII.

Know all men by these presents, that I, John Gould senior, otherwise called Lieutenant Gould, of Topsfield, in the county of Essex (in his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England), husbandman, am holden and firmly bound unto the most Illustrious Prince, James II, of England, &c., King &c., his heirs, or lawful Attorney in the sum of one hundred pounds, to the which payment, well and truly to be made, I bind myself firmly by these presents, sealed with my seal, dated the twenty-fifth day of September, in the 2d year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lord, James II of England, &c., and in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred eighty and six. The condition of this obligation is such, that if the above bounden John Gould senior, do well and truly keep the peace of our Sovereign Lord, the King aforesaid, and shall, also, be of good behavior towards our said Lord, the King, and all his liege people, especially to the inhabitants of Topsfield aforesaid, then this recognizance to be void and of none effect, or otherwise to be and remain in full force, power and virtue.

JOHN GOULD, *Senior.*

Signed, sealed and delivered to the use of our said Sovereign Lord, the King, in the presence of Benjamin Bullivant.

VIII.

Letter from Edward Randolph to the Lord Treasurer.

Boston in New England, Aug. 23, 1686.

May it please your Lordship,

By the blessing of God and your Lordship's favour, I have performed his Majesty's commands, and brought this people to a nearer dependence upon the Crown. I have likewise served 2 writs of *Quo Warranto*, upon the other 2 Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, who are preparing to make their humble submission to his Majesty.

But unless his Majesty please, in a very short time, to send us over a General Governor from England, all that is already done, will be of little advantage to his Majesty's interest. The independent faction still prevails, and persons of dangerous principles from England, Ireland and other places, are here received and highly encouraged. They have put Captain Blackwell Oliver, treasurer in London, son in law to Lambert, excepted in the Act of Indemnity, and a violent Commonwealth's man, to be of the commission of the peace, and a man consulted with in all public affairs. The independent ministers and others, make every ill use of his Majesty's indulgence and liberty of conscience, some of them have spoken treasonable words in their pulpits, of which (to no purpose) I have complained to the President and Council, so that I am humbly of opinion, that liberty of conscience will much obstruct the settlement of this place, unless duly regulated by the authority of a prudent Governor sent hither. Your Lordship may please to remember, that this commission was but temporary, and served only to unhinge the Commonwealth, which, for many years, was usurped and managed by a faction. All the members of the present Council, Mr. Mason and myself excepted, are either Church members, or strong abettors of that party, and even Mr. Dudly, our President, was not long since a zealous preacher amongst us, and though, while in London, he pretended to be of the Church of England, yet, since he is made President, courts and keeps private cabals with these factious ministers and others, who, in the time of Monmouth's Rebellion, refused to pray for his Majesty. His Majesty hath been graciously pleased to make me Secretary of his Council here, but the accounts of the late Treasurer and whatever relates to the discovery of his Majesty's Revenue, is kept from my knowledge. The public records, and all the grants and settlement of lands in this country, which ought to be lodged in my office, are otherwise disposed of, not being willing to intrust them with me, who have been, and (as they say), am still the grand enemy of their country. Mr. Wharton, a member of the Council, did openly declare, that his Majesty, in appointing me his Secretary and Register, intended to inthrall this people in vassalage. I have proposed the raising a rev-

enue, yet cannot be heard in Council. I have likewise pressed the making of strict orders to prevent the irregular trade of this place, but some of the Council are traders, and others by marriage or otherwise so nearly related, that, without a General Governor, interlopers will be countenanced, notwithstanding all my endeavours to the contrary. Here have been five or six ships seized and condemned, which inflames the people's malice against me. And the President, who by his office and duty is obliged to assist me, has openly refused, to his Majesty's great disservice. I question not but by his Majesty's uniting the several Colonies under one Government, to raise his Majesty a considerable revenue by quit rents towards the support of the Government, which will yearly increase. Of this the President, Mr. Wharton and several others, who have engrossed great tracts of land are sensible, and are, therefore, unwilling to admit me to discover their Estates. It was by your Lordship's favour, that his Majesty, in consideration of my past services, was pleased to grant me the office of Register and Secretary of this Government, a place in his Majesty's other plantations of considerable advantage; but they have taken so great prejudice against me, that they have disposed of the perquisites of that office to persons of their own stamp, so that, for all my trouble and attending the Council here, I am not like to make £20 a-year. My earnest expectation of a General Governor, supports me under all these difficulties and disappointments, and though they treat me so rudely, yet I shall continue to assert his Majesty's interest in the station I am placed in, and ever remain, Right Honourable,

Your Lordship's
most humble,
and most obedient Servant,
ED. RANDOLPH.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer.

IX.

ABDUCTION BY PIRATES.

To the honourable Joseph Dudly, Esq., President, and the Council of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England.

The humble petition of William Douglas sheweth,

That by reason of your petitioner's being brought from Carolina by Henry Holloway, the Pirate, contrary to your petitioner's will, whereby your petitioner has been greatly damaged, by his absence from Mr. Richard Daysey's plantation at Carolina, whereof your petitioner was overseer, and since the escape of your petitioner from the said Holloway when he rode in Casco, your petitioner was put to great streights both for food and linen, &c., whereupon he applied himself to the worshipful Edward Randolph for relief, who kindly ordered Erasmus Stevens to take care of him, to help him to what your petitioner wanted, till he had an opportunity, humbly to lay my condition before your honours. Therefore, your petitioner humbly prays your honours to take my condition into your consideration, and, also, desire your honour's order to let him depart this place and go to Mr. Richard Daysey's of Barbadoes, and likewise with all humility, does desire your honours to order Erasmus Stevens 40 shillings, which he laid out in necessaries for me, and your petitioner shall, &c.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS.

X.

A TEACHER OF FENCING.

To the honourable President and Council of his Majesty's Territory of New England.

The humble petition of Richard Crisp, humbly sheweth,

That whereas there are several gentlemen in this town, that are desirous your petitioner should instruct them in the use of weapons, and whereas there is a law, that forbiddeth the building of any edifice with wood, above such

a bigness as the said law permits, I humbly pray your honours, that you will please to grant me liberty to build a low, slight house for that purpose, of about twenty feet broad and 24 or 25 feet long, and about 10 feet high, with a flat roof of wood for that use, at the lower end of my garden, a convenient place for that purpose, being a great distance from any house, so that it can be neither dangerous for fire, nor offensive to any neighbors. The granting of this my request, will oblige me to pray for your honour's prosperity and be your humble servant.

Council House, Sept. 15, 1686.

Upon reading this petition,

License is granted to Mr. Crisp, to build a house as desired; provided it be not converted to any other use, and may be taken down when it appears to be of ill consequence to the town.

By order of the President and Council.

Ed. Randolph, *Secretary.*

XI.

RESPECTING THE ELEUTHERIANS.

To the honourable, the President and Council. The humble petition of Jeremiah Dummer, Simeon Stoddard, John Foster and Walter Gendall, in the behalf of themselves and sundry others, sheweth,

That Mr. Danforth, late President of the Province of Maine, formerly granted to your petitioners, Gendall and others, a tract of land for a Township in Casco Bay, on which some settlement and improvements are begun, and the town called North Yarmouth. But in regard to the poverty of the people, now concerned, and the sundry grants of farms in the said town and lands adjacent, and the proprieties of Mr. Gedney and Mr. Wharton, the said Town is not like to arrive to any considerable growth nor sustain the charges incident, without assistance and enlarge-

ment ; and whereas most of the distressed people, that are come from Eleutheria,* are rather willing, (if any will venture for their supply and accommodation), to settle in the country than to transport themselves.

And your petitioners, who have some of the best and most accommodable farms for the said Town, being not only willing to annex the same thereto, but otherwise to concern themselves for promoting a settlement, and hoping Mr. Gedney and Mr. Wharton may be prevailed with, upon condition that the waste and interjacent lands and islands may also be added thereto, to afford further enlargement and accommodation.

Your petitioners humbly pray, that all the waste lands between Mr. Wharton's land, (being about 3 miles to the westward of Puggamugga river) and Mr. Gedney's, bordering upon the former grant, together with the Islands before the same, being not impropriated, may be granted to your petitioners for themselves and such as may be willing to concern themselves with them, in planting and peopling the said Town, and that the said Puggamugga River, if Mr. Wharton shall consent thereto, may be the stated Easterly bounds of said Township ; or, otherwise, that meet persons may be appointed to run the line between such land, as you shall be pleased to allow to the said Town, and Mr. Wharton's land, that the present settlement may not be discouraged,—addition to a new plantation may not be driven away for want of those supplies, your petitioners are willing to add to the public charity and benevolence. And your petitioners ever pray, &c.

JERIMIAH DUMMER.
SIMEON STODDARD.
JOHN FOSTER.
WALTER GENDALL.

In answer to this Petition,

The President and Council do approve of, and allow of the petitioners removing the distressed Eleutherian people into Casco Bay, for their settlement and support, and will

* One of the Bahama Islands.

recommend their prayer for the grant of their lands, desired unto his Majesty for his Royal favour therein. By the President and Council.

ED. RANDOLPH, *Secretary.*

Council House, Sept. 15, 1686.

Also at the motion of the petitioners, it was further consented to by Richard Wharton and Bartholomew Gedney, Esqrs., that they will annex their lands in or near said Town to the same, and as improvement shall be made on their respective lands, to contribute to Town charge and in improvement, and Mr. Wharton consented, reserving his propriety, that the town bounds shall extend Eastwardly as far as Puggamugga River.

ED. RANDOLPH, *Secretary.*

XII.

Order that the Jurisdiction of Pemaquid be in the hands of Sir Edmund Andros.

JAMES R. Trusty and well beloved. We greet you well. Whereas we have thought fit to direct, that our Fort and Country of Pemaquid, in regard of its distance from New York, be for the future annexed to and continued under the Government of our Territory and Dominion of New England. Our will and pleasure is, that you forthwith deliver or cause to be delivered, our said Fort and Country of Pemaquid with the great guns, ammunition and stores of war, together with all other utensils and appurtenances belonging to the said Fort, into the hand of our trusty and well beloved Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, our Captain General and Governor in chief of our Territory and Dominion of New England, or to the Governor or Commander in Chief there, for the time being, or to such person or persons, as they shall impower to receive the same, and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Windsor, this 19th day of September, 1686,

in the second year of our reign. By his Majesty's command.

SUNDERLAND P.

Col. Dongan to deliver Pemaquid Fort to Sir Edmund Andros.

XIII.

Commission to Edward Randolph.

JAMES REX.

James the second by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas we have thought fit to appoint a President and Council, until we shall send over a Governor in Chief to take care of all our Territory and Dominion in New England, commonly called or known by the names of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, the Province of New Hampshire and Maine, and the Narraganset Country, otherwise called the king's Province, with all the islands, rights and members thereunto belonging, Know ye, that we reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty and abilities of our trusty and well beloved Edward Randolph, Esq., have given and granted, and, by these presents, do give and grant unto him, the said Edward Randolph, the several and respective places and offices of Secretary and sole Register of our Governor and Council, and of our government there, for the time being, of and in our Territories and Dominion aforesaid, and him, (the said Edward Randolph, Secretary and Register of our said Territory and Dominion), we do, by these presents, make, ordain and constitute, to have, hold, exercise and enjoy the said places and offices, or to him, the said Edward Randolph, by himself or his deputy or deputies during our pleasure, together with all fees, rights, privileges, profits, perquisites and advantages, to the said places and offices, or either of them, belonging or in any wise appertaining in as full and ample manner to all intents and purposes, as the Secretary and Register of our Island of Jamaica, or of any other

our Plantations in America, have had or do now receive and enjoy. And hereof all persons, whom it may concern, are to take due notice, and yield obedience thereunto accordingly. Given at our Court at Windsor, the 21st day of September, 1685, in the first year of our reign.*

XIV.

Order for the preservation of the Colony Records.

At a Council held in Boston, New England, on Wednesday, the 8th of December, 1686. Ordered,

That Wait Winthrop, Esq., Simon Lynde, Esq., Benjamin Bullivant, Mr. Isaac Addington, and Mr. Daniel Allen be a committee, with the Secretary, to receive and sort and form the records of the country, now in the hand of Mr. Edward Rawson, late Secretary, that so they may be apt and ready for service; and that the persons above named, be all sworn to the faithful discharge of their trust in this matter, and, to the end it may be forthwith proceeded in, Mr. Lynde and Mr. Bullivant are empowered, and hereby ordered to take the same from Mr. Rawson tomorrow, and remove them in the posture they are now in, into the Library Chamber, and that there go forth a strict warrant to Mr. Rawson, to deliver them accordingly. And it is further ordered, that two locks be put upon the Office where such papers shall be lodged, and that Mr. Bullivant or such other person, as Mr. Randolph shall depute to that service, shall keep the key of one of the locks, and Capt. Winthrop, Mr. Lynde, or Mr. Addington the other.

XV.

Instructions to Sir Edmund Andros, concerning the surrender of Rhode Island and Connecticut Charters.

James R.

Additional powers and instructions for our trusty and well beloved Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, our Captain

* [Though this commission is dated before the suspension of our Charter government, yet it was prepared for the Usurpation Administration,—and, therefore, is located with its documents. *Pub. Com.*]

General and Governor in Chief in and over our Territory and Dominion of New England in America, given at our Court at Windsor, this 13th day of September, in the second year of our reign, 1686.

Whereas we have been presented with the humble address of our Governor and Company of our Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation within our Territory and Dominion of New England, bearing date the 3d day of June last, wherein they take notice of our writ of *quo warranto* against their Charter, and thereupon declaring their resolution not to stand suit with us, have submitted themselves and their Charter to our Royal determination. Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby authorize and empower you, upon your arrival in those parts, to demand, in our name, the surrender of their said Charter into your hands, in pursuance of their said declaration and address, and, taking our said Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, under your Government, to exercise the like powers and authorities in reference to the same, as we have given and granted unto you by our commission under the great Seal of England, for the Government of other Colonies, within our said Territory and Dominion of New England, assuring our good subjects of our Colony and plantation aforesaid, of our Royal countenance and protection in all things, wherein our service and their welfare shall be concerned, and giving us by the first opportunity, an account of their behavior and of your proceedings in obedience to these our commands. And, in case it shall happen, that upon the like writ of *quo warranto,* issued against the Charter of our Government and Company of our Colony of Connecticut, they shall be induced to make surrender of their Charter, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby authorize and empower you in our name, to receive such surrender, and to take our said Colony of Connecticut under your Government, in the same manner as before expressed. By his Majesty's command.

SUNDERLAND P.

XVI.

Confirmation of Colonial Officers.

By his Excellency, the Governor in Council. These are to declare and publish, that all officers civil and military, and the officers of his Majesty's Revenues, together with all duties and imposts, as now settled in this town of Boston, and other parts of this Government, are continued till further order, and all persons are required to conform thereunto accordingly.

E. RANDOLPH, *Secretary.*

Council House, Dec. 20th, 1686.

XVII.

Order for the first Council Meeting under Sir Edmund Andros.

SIR,

His Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Captain General and Governor in Chief, arrived here yesterday, at which time his Majesty's commission, bearing date the third of June last, was published, his Excellency has appointed a General Council, to be holden here on Thursday the 30th of this instant, December, and directed me to acquaint all the members thereof, that they may be present accordingly. His Excellency presents his humble service to you, and would be glad to see you at Boston.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

EDWARD RANDOLPH.

XVIII.

Letter of Sir Edmund Andros, written probably to the Governor of Rhode Island, concerning the surrender of their Charter.

Boston, Dec. 22, 1686.

SIR,

This is to acquaint you, that I arrived yesterday, at which time his Majesty's Commission, bearing date at Windsor, the third day of June last, in the second year of

his reign, appointed me Captain General and Governor in Chief of his Territory and Dominion of New England, and his Majesty having, upon the address and submission of the Charter, accepted thereof, hath commanded and authorised me upon my arrival in these parts, to demand in his Majesty's name, the actual surrender of the said Charter, and to take the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation into my care, as part of the government, and to assure his good subjects in your parts of his Majesty's countenance and protection in all things, in which his Majesty's service and your welfare shall be concerned, and hath constituted and appointed you, Walter Clark, Jo. Sandford, John Coggeshall, Walter Newbury, John Greene, Richard Arnold and John Alborough, Esqrs., to be members of the Council for the said Government. And I, having appointed a general Council to be held in this place on Thursday, the 30th of this instant December, you are to communicate this to the above named members of the Council, and, together with them, to give your attendance for his Majesty and Country's service as above. I am your very affectionate friend, and desiring to hear from you in the mean time.

XIX.

Letter from Sir Edmund Andros, respecting the surrender of Connecticut Charter.

Boston, in New England, December the 22d, 1686.

Sir,

This is to acquaint you, that I landed yesterday, and all well here. His Majesty, having been pleased by his Letters Patents, bearing date at Windsor, the third day of June, in the Second year of his Majesty's Reign, to constitute and appoint me to be Captain General and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England. And by his Majesty's order of the 13th of October last, I am particularly empowered and authorised to receive the surrender of your Charter, if tendered by you, and to take you as part of this his Majesty's Government, to enjoy all the benefits and advantages granted in his Majesty's said Letters Patents, in which and in all

things else relating to your welfare, I am ready to contribute. Therefore desire to hear speedily from you, being

Your very affectionate friend,

E. Andros.

To Robert Treat, Esq., Governor of Connecticut.

XX.

Petition to Sir Edmund Andros, by Richard Smith, that the Island hereinafter mentioned, may be restored. Dated Dec. 22d, 1686.

The Humble Petition of Richard Smith, of Rochester, within the Narragansett Country, Humbly sheweth,

That there having been long hanging in contest and suit between some of the inhabitants of Rhode Island and your Petitioner, a claim and pretence of title made by them, unto a small Island lying near the Town of Bristol, commonly called Hog Island, alias Chesawanoch, which your petitioner many years since purchased of the Indian Natives, and had confirmation thereof from the General Court of New Plymouth. But of later time hath been forcibly kept out, and interrupted in his peaceable possession and improvement thereof, by the Rhode Islanders, from which tiresome contest and unjust molestation, your petitioner hopeth, by your Excellency's happy access to the Government, speedily to be relieved, and to have a just and final issue put thereto.

XXI.

The first Meeting of the Council under Andros.

At a Council held in Boston, New England, on Thursday, December 30th, 1686, present,

His Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, *Knight, Governor.*
Joseph Dudley,
Thomas Hinckley,
Wait Winthrop,
Jno. Usher,

Barnaby Lathrop,
John Walley,
John Coggeshall,
Richard Arnold,
William Stoughton,
Richard Wharton,
Edward Tyng,
Jonathan Tyng,
William Bradford,
Daniel Smith,
Nathaniel Clark,
Walter Newbury,
John Alborough,
Edward Randolph, *Secretary.*

Upon opening of the Council, his Excellency commanded the members to be called over by their names, and take their places, as set down in certain articles of instruction from his Majesty, to his Excellency the Governor.

The members of the Council, being accordingly seated, his Majesty's commission for government of this his Territory and Dominion of New England, was read, and also, the instructions under his Majesty's sign Manual, empowering his Excellency to receive the Charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, was likewise read.

His Excellency proceeded to administer the oath of allegiance, and the oath, also, for the due administration of justice, and commanded such persons of the Council, as had not already taken these oaths, to stand up and answer to their names. Viz., Thomas Hinckley, Walter Clark, Barnaby Lathrop, William Bradford, Daniel Smith, Jno. Walley, Nathaniel Clark, John Coggeshall, Walter Newbury, Richard Arnold and John Alborough, who (all of them), Walter Clark and Walter Newbury excepted, did take the oaths, and showed assent thereto, by holding up their right hands.

Walter Clark and Walter Newbury, gave also their express consent to the oath of allegiance, and the oath for the administration of justice in the Government, according as directed in his Majesty's late commission to the President and Council, professing themselves obliged in all good conscience before God so to do, and that, under the utmost penalties of perjury in all respects, the members of the

Council being severally asked their opinion, did allow of their protestation. His Excellency in a short discourse, encouraged the members to freedom in debates. Walter Clark and Walter Newbury, acknowledge the surrender of the Charter made to his Majesty at Windsor, but fearing that surrender was not effectual for avoiding all mistakes, they had presented another humble address to his Majesty under the public Seal of their Colony, and had sent over agents to pray his Majesty's favor towards them, and W. Clark further added, the Charter of Rhode Island was in his custody at Newport. It was moved, that a Proclamation should be made through all the Colonies and Provinces of this Government, that all Officers both Civil and Military, should be continued in their places of trust, and that the laws not repugnant to the laws of England in the several Colonies, should be, and observed during his Excellency's pleasure.

Ordered, That the proclamation be drawn up and presented to his Excellency in Council, tomorrow by nine of the clock, in the morning.

On Friday, John Fitz Winthrop and John Jenks took their seats, as members of the preceding Council.

XXII.

[Eleutherians, see page 158 of this volume.]

His Excellency the Governor, Sir Edmund Andros.

The Petition of Jeremiah Dummer, Simeon Stoddard, and Walter Gendall, Humbly Sheweth,

That in July last past, arrived at this Town of Boston from Eleutheria, one of the Bahama Islands, many families, having been spoiled by the Spaniards, of all they possessed, and driven off naked and destitute, who, on arrival here, were like to be a continual charge unto this place. Your Petitioners considering the same, made application unto the President and Council, offering, that if the interjacent land at the head of Casco Bay, situated between Mr. Wharton and Gedney's lands in that place, might be granted unto us, who have each of us some land upon the place, that we would advance money for their support and supply and settlement on said land, who were pleased thereupon, to pass an order for removing the said distressed

people unto that place, declaring they would recommend our request unto his Majesty, for his Royal favor therein. Whereupon we were at the charge of removing about nine families of the said distressed people, and have been at considerable charge, in furnishing them with necessaries for their supply and support this winter. And must further disburse for their future settlement, if we are encouraged therein. And being informed that your Excellency hath direction and power from his Majesty, to confirm such lands under the Seal of this, his Majesty's Dominion of New England, your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that your Excellency would please to grant and confirm the said tract of land, with all its appurtenances and privileges, unto us, our heirs and assigns for ever, and we shall be ready further to disburse for the settlement of these and such others, as we shall obtain to settle on the place, who, without further aid and assistance, will be under utter discouragements, and not be able to proceed any further. And we shall also yield such reasonable acknowledgment as is fit, and subscribe ourselves, your Excellency's

Most Humble Servants,
JEREMIAH DUMMER.
SIMEON STODDARD.

Boston, January 6th, 1686-7.

XXIII.

Quit Rents in Maine, as introduced by the Usurpation, and effects of them.

To his Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion in New England. May it please your Excellency,

The late Government of the Massachusetts Company, having purchased the land and title of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in the Province of Maine, and upon such purchase, designing and intending to give all encouragement to all persons, that incline to go and set down, and settle themselves and families in and upon the said Province of Maine, the said late Government did, by Commission under the seal of the late Government, empower Thomas Danforth,

Esq., to lay out and appoint places for Townships in the said Province, and, also, to grant power unto such Townships or Inhabitants, or the selectmen of all such Townships, to give and grant land to any persons whatsoever, that would settle themselves and families, in the said Province under such quit rent, as did then seem good unto the said Thomas Danforth. In pursuance whereof, several persons and their families have sat down in several Townships, in and upon the said Province, with great charge, trouble and expense, and many more in probability would, had not the burden of quit rents discouraged. It is therefore humbly prayed of your Excellency, that such Townships and settlements, so made as above, may have your Excellency's confirmation of their titles, obtained as above; and the quit rents, appointed to be paid as above, for such lands, being experimentally found to lie heavy upon the inhabitants there residing, may receive some abatement.

And your petitioners of the whole Province aforesaid, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

EDWARD TYNG.

XXIV.

A Specimen of Licenses for Marriage.

Know all men by these presents, that we, Nathaniel Peck of Boston, and William Coggeshall of the same Town, in his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England, are firmly bound unto Edward Randolph, Esq., Secretary of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion, in the sum of fifty pounds, current money of New England, to which payment well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves jointly and severally, our heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, firmly by these presents. Witness our hands and seals, this 11th day of January, 1686-7, in the second year of his Majesty's reign.

The condition of the above obligation is such, that if the above bound Nathaniel Peck and William Coggeshall, shall sufficiently keep and save harmless, the aforesaid Edward Randolph, Esq., from all troubles, which may or shall any way so arise by the said Edward Randolph's granting a license to the aforesaid Nathaniel Peck, to be joined in

matrimony, that then this obligation to be made void, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

NATHANIEL PECK.
WILLIAM COGGESHALL.

Signed, sealed and delivered, in the presence of us,

John Clarke, Mary her mark Peck.

XXV.

Extract relative to a Tax, which, on account of the mode of its being assessed, produced great excitement.

That a single country rate of one penny in the pound, be served and collected in all the late Colonies and Provinces, towards defraying the public charges of this Government, according to former usage. *January* 13, 1686-7.

XXVI.

License for the Press, according to previous Colonial custom.

January 28, 1686-7.

Ordered, that copies of books, &c., to be printed, be first perused by Mr. Dudley, late President, and upon his allowance of them for the press, that one copy thereof so allowed and attested by him, be brought to the Secretary's office, to be left on record, and receive from him an imprimature.

XXVII.

Petition of Bristol to be excused from the Tax recently ordered.

May it please your Excellency,

Whereas a warrant from the Treasurer is come to us, and another to the Constable, for a single country rate of one penny in the pound, to his Majesty for support of the Government, to be assessed and levied on our inhabitants, as per said warrant more fully expressed :—

We humbly offer to your consideration, this small Isthmus or Neck of Land, on which our Town is now settling, was purchased not long since by some of us, at a very dear rate, being a little spot, wanting many advantages of other plantations, our neighbors, of which our first purchasers and the Committee, appointed for the sale thereof, were very sensible. Our purchasers having therefore paid a considerable sum of money, and under strict obligation to settle a town in a short time, and so necessarily to conflict with many and great charges, and unavoidable difficulties, the ordinary and sure concomitants of young plantations, on these considerations, and to encourage us in our beginning, the aforesaid Committee by the order, and having the approbation of the General Court of New Plymouth, sold and warranted to us, as far as they could, some privileges, of which this was one and not the last, viz., that we should be exempted from all public country rates, charges, levies or assessments for seven years, it being an exemption or privilege usual to be given, though by us bought, at the first settling of Towns, which term is not yet expired, something more than a year yet to come. Sir, we humbly hope for, and beg your ratification of these our purchased privileges. Be pleased to look upon us, as we are, a poor infantine place, struggling with many difficulties and discouragements, not only wanting your favor in this particular affair, but further begging your Excellency's benign goodness and gracious encouragement to be extended to us, as your wisdom shall direct for our increase, and that our plantation, though small at present, may grow up and thrive under the happy cherishing and enlivening influence of your good Government. Sir, we dare not further trouble you at present, but humbly beg pardon for these rude lines, which we justly fear divert you from much more weighty affairs.

Your Excellency's
Unworthy Servants,
Benjamin Church.
John Rodgers.
Thomas Walker.

Selectmen for the Town of Bristol.

Bristol, New England, February 18, 1686-7.

XXVIII.

Fees for the Custom-House.

Vessels inward bound.

Every vessel exceeding 40 Tons, . . .	£00,3,06
If above 40 Tons, ...	5,00
For a permit or license to unload, . . .	1,00
For an oath upon a Majesty's entry and clearing, ...	0,06

Vessels outward bound.

Every vessel's entry to load, ...	1,00
Every vessel's clearing not exceeding 40 tons, ...	3,06
If above 40 tons for clearing, ...	5,00
For a bond for his Majesty's use, . . .	5,00
For a certificate when the bond is given,	5,00
For a certificate to take up a bond, . .	5,00
For registering and discharging a bond,	0,06
For registering a certificate, ...	0,06

For coasting vessels and wood boats.

Outwards.—To entering bond once a year, not to carry European or plantation commodities without entry, ...	5,00
For entry of every coasting vessel loading European commodities, or of the plantations, ...	1,06
For a license to deliver their loadings, .	1,06
For all coasting vessels, trading to and from the neighboring Colonies, . . .	2,06
For a bond for coasting vessels carrying any of the enumerated commodities out of this Government, ...	1,00

ED. RANDOLPH, *Collector.*

XXIX.

Commercial Orders to Governor Andros.

Sir,

Having notice that under color of a trade to Newfoundland for fish, great quantities of wine, brandy and other European goods, are imported from thence into his Majesty's plantations, particularly New England, on an allegation, that the said New Foundland is accounted as one of the said plantations. To which purpose, it is now become a Magazine of all sorts of goods brought thither directly from France, Holland, Scotland, Ireland and other places, which is not only contrary to law, but greatly to the prejudice of his Majesty's Customs, and to the trade and navigation of this Kingdom. To the end, therefore, that so destructive and growing an evil may be timely prevented, we desire you, for his Majesty's service, to give public notice to all persons concerned within your government, that the New Foundland is not to be taken or accounted a plantation, being under no Government or other regulation, as all his Majesty's plantations are. But that all European goods, imported from thence, will be seized, together with the ships importing the same, as forfeited by the act of trade, made in the 15th year of his late Majesty's reign, and his said Majesty's Proclamation pursuant thereunto. And you are strictly to give in charge to all his Majesty's officers, that they be very careful not to suffer any European goods, other than what are by the aforesaid law and Proclamation accepted, to be imported into New England. But such as shall appear by coquets or authentic certificates from some port of England, Wales, or Berwick, to have been there duly shipped and put on board, under forfeiture of ships and goods as aforesaid. And, in order to prevent the acceptance of forged coquets or certificates, which have been heretofore practised, you are, according to his Majesty's particular instructions to you, to give effectual orders that the coquets for such goods be produced

to the collector of the Customs in New England, or to his deputies there, for the time being, before the unloading of the goods; and that no European goods be landed, but by warrants from the said Collector or his Deputies, in the presence of one or more officers, appointed thereto. And that for the better prevention of frauds of this kind, no ship or vessel do load or unload any goods or commodities whatsoever, until the master or commander thereof has first made known to yourself, or the person appointed by you, the arrival of such ship or vessel, with her name and size, name of the master, and has shown that the ship or vessel is duly navigated and otherwise qualified according to law, and hath delivered a true and perfect inventory of her lading, together with the place or places, in which the said goods were laden and taken into the said ship or vessel, under forfeiture of such ship and goods. We are frequently informed from our agent in Scotland, of several ships coming thither with the innumerated plantations' commodities, without touching to clear in any port of England, Wales, or Berwick, being generally ships, that pretend to belong to, and give bond in the plantations; which are plain instances of the great neglect or corruption of the officers, employed in executing the laws, without which we think it almost impossible, that ships should take in their whole lading, and not be discovered either at their arrival or departure. Wherefore, we desire you, for his Majesty's service, not only to make a strict and speedy examination of these and the like frauds, tending so apparently to the prejudice of his Majesty's revenue, and the trade of this kingdom; but to take care and give effectual orders, that the like may be prevented for the future, which may be done these two ways; first, by your care, that all ships, not producing certificates of bond given in England, Wales, or Berwick, be obliged to give bond to yourself or Naval officer according to law, before they load or take on board any of the innumerated commodities under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof; second, that such ships having so given bond, you use your utmost care and diligence to discover whether the conditions thereof are performed, and certificate thereof produced in a convenient time after, or,

in failure thereof, that the said bonds be effectually prosecuted. We are

Your most humble Servants.

T. CHUDLEIGH.
CH. CHEYNE.
D. NORTH.
JO. WENDEN.
J. BUTLER.
BUCKWORTH.

To Edmund Andros, Governor of New England.

Custom House, London, 12th January, 1686-7.

XXX.

Petition about Lands and Indian Hostilities.

To his Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, &c.

The petition of John Maine, of Casco Bay, Humbly Sheweth,

That your petitioner about 30 years since purchased a house in Casco Bay, with 60 acres of land adjoining, situated near the middle of Casco Bay, on the Westerly side of "Westgostuggo" River, at a certain place there, commonly called and known by the name of Maine's Point, also, he took up about six acres of salt marsh, and hath enjoyed the same, as it is situated near the head of the Eastermost branch of "Westgostuggo" River, until the late war with the Indians, at which time two of his sons in law were slain, his evidences for his housing and land were burnt ; and he with his wife and the rest of the family, hardly escaped with their lives. And some years after the war was ended, he returned, and ever since his return, hath kept his portion of said lands, and some, that were strangers there before the war, and have since settled there, have laid out sundry lots on your petitioner's upland, have taken the said marsh land into their hands, and refused your petitioner the improvement thereof. Your poor petitioner, therefore, humbly prays, that your Excel-

lency will please to pass an order to Captain Edward Tyng to see, that he may be settled in his just right, so shall he ever pray, &c.

JOHN MAINE.

1687.

XXXI.

Letter from Sir Edmund Andros to the Governor and Council of Connecticut, relative to their Charter.

Boston, June 13, 1687.

By my several letters and advice from England, I am assured that by this time, there would be an issue put to, and judgment entered upon the *quo warranto*, against your Charter, and soon expect his Majesty's command accordingly; of which I doubt not but you are advised, as many of your friends in these parts, who have prevailed with me on your Assembly's meeting, to express my inclinations. Still not to be wanting for your welfare, if you yet give me opportunity, by accepting his Majesty's favor, so graciously offered you, in a present compliance and surrender, and not with vain hopes to delay until execution be served upon you, when too late to acquit yourselves of your duty to his Majesty and trust reposed in you by the Colony, which, being of such importance, deserves your best considerations and resolves accordingly. This is by Edward Randolph, Esq., to whom you may give entire credence in any thing relating to this matter from

Your very affectionate friend,

E. ANDROS.

To the Honorable, the Governor and Council of Connecticut, at Hartford.

XXXII.

Account of Disbursements of his Majesty's Government.

	Dr.
Dec. 20, 1686.—To cash paid John Marsh, sent post to Dunstable to give an account of the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros, to Jonathan Tyng, Esq., one of the Council,	£00,10,00
Dec. 30.—To cash paid John Perry, as post to Connecticut, carrying letters from his Excellency to that Government, . . .	00,10,00
Feb. 25, 1687.—To cash paid John Blake, coroner, for inquiring into the death of Grace Peter, who was found dead in the dock at Boston, being customary according to former laws, but now ended, . . .	00,13,04
To cash paid for beer and cider, to the drummer and soldiers at Charlestown, expended at an extraordinary meeting of the militia, his Excellency visiting the Town, . . .	01,15,00
To cash paid Edward Crocket, executioner in Boston, for his quarter's salary, commencing the 20th of November last past, and ending the 20th instant, being according to agreement of former government, .	05,00,00
March 16.—To cash paid Edward Gale for piloting his Majesty's frigate, the King Fisher, from Cape Ann to Nantasket Roads near Boston, and, also, the attendance of said Gale's Ketch on the Frigate, to assist in case of any disaster, ...	10,00,00
March 19.—To cash paid John Cornelist for the passage of sundry soldiers from the Castle near Boston, to the fort at Pemaquid, as per receipt, ...	06,00,00
To cash paid John Perry, post to Connecticut, with letters from the Governor and Council,	00,10,00
To 2 yards of Duffles delivered an Indian Sachem, per the Governor's order, . .	00,09,00
To cash paid George Monck, at the sign of the Blue Anchor, for his entertainment of	

the Council at sundry times, from the 20th of December to the 22d of March following, being in attendance on Council, and as a committee for drawing an abstract of the former laws, to be presented to the Governor and Council, as appearing per account, it being according to former custom, though for the future to cease, . .	51,03,04
April 12.—To cash paid Florence Kane for sundry disbursements, per order of his Excellency the Governor, which account was presented to the Council, and allowed of, ...	48,08,02
To cash paid William Smith, joiner, for work done in the Town House, as per his account,	14,04,09
June 25.—To cash paid Nathaniel Homes, gunner at the Castle, for one quarter's salary, to the 25th March last, ...	07,10,00
To do. paid William Peling, gunner's mate at the Castle for one quarter's salary, ending the 20th May last, ...	04,10,00
To cash paid Richard Bray, gunner's mate of his Majesty's Fort at Boston, for one quarter's salary, ending the 3d of May last, .	03,00,00
	£154,03,07

JNO. USHER.

XXXIII.

An Order relative to Pemaquid and Penobscot.

By his Excellency.

So soon as Ensign Andros shall arrive, you are to deliver up the garrison and soldiers to be under his command, and having received ashore orders for the garrison, you are to repair on board his Majesty's Ketch Speedwell, and with the soldiers sent in her, and such others, as you shall think necessary, by the first opportunity of wind and weather, to sail for the river of Penobscot, to view the

state and condition of that river and what Christian inhabitants are there, where, if you find any, you are to treat them with all civility, and direct them to apply to Pemaquid or this place, as occasion may be. You are, likewise, to use your endeavor to see and speak with the Indians there, particularly Madockawando, the Chief Sachem, and let them know you are ordered by me, under his Majesty, to visit that part of his Dominion and inquire of their welfare, and give to the Sachem a blanket and an anchor of rum, to drink among them. In your return from Penobscot, you are to call at the Island Mintinicus* and view the state and condition of that place and the inhabitants there, encouraging them in their fishery. And you are to appoint and swear a Constable for the keeping of the peace and good order for one whole year, and until another be sworn in his stead. And let the inhabitants know, that, on all occasions, they may apply to Pemaquid or to me here. In the performance of this voyage, you are to make as much dispatch as possible, and to return to Pemaquid where you are to take the charge and command of the garrison and soldiers again, and Ensign Andros with the said ketch to return hither with all speed, unless any thing extraordinary for the King's service, in which case you may detain the ketch as occasion may require. Given under my hand at Boston, the 27th day of June, 1687.

To Ensign Joshua Pipon, Commander at Pemaquid.

XXXIV.

Vessel in distress arrived at Boston.

By his Excellency.

Whereas Bartholl Otto Schmoll, commander of the ship Fortune, belonging to the most illustrious Prince Frederick Cassimir, Duke of Courland, hath by his petition set forth, that he, being employed in the service of the said Prince, as Commander in Chief of the Island of Tobago, and failing there of seasonable supply of provision, and being reduced to great extremity and distress, for the preserva-

* Now called Matinicus.

tion of the life of his Master's subjects and the ship, he designed with the said ship and people for Barbadoes, but the wind not favoring, bore down for Curacoa, and in the night fell to the leeward of that port, and was forced for Jamaica, where he got supply to bring him to this port, and, being in want of every thing, and his ship much out of repair, prayed to have liberty to come into this port, and to supply his wants, and that, if occasion for preservation of his Master's ship, he may lay her up here till further order. The which allegation, on examination of several of his officers and company upon oath, appearing to be true, and the petitioner producing his commission from the Duke of Courland, dated the 30th of November, 1685, I have, therefore, with advice of the Council, granted unto the said Bartholl Otto Schmoll, the liberty of him, desired accordingly. Given under my hand at Boston, in his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England, the 9th day of July, in the 3d year of his Majesty's reign. Anno Domini, 1687.

XXXV.

Indian Desolations, &c.

To his Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros.

The humble petition of Elizabeth, formerly the wife of Richard Hammon, now the wife of John Rowdon, Humbly Sheweth,

That your petitioner in the late Indian War, being possessed of a plentiful estate in mills and other things, which was much damnified, burnt, and wasted by the Indians, your petitioner's husband slain with her son and servants, and your poor petitioner taken captive, afterward Major Waldron was sent to the eastward, with commission to redeem captives, he utterly destroyed the remainder of your petitioner's estate, by cutting of her mills, spoiling her smith shop, and carrying away her iron work, &c. The premises considered by your Excellency, your humble petitioner humbly prays your Excellency's warrant, to bring

the said Major Waldron before your Excellency, to answer her complaint, &c. And your petitioner

shall ever pray, &c.

ELIZABETH ROWDON.

XXXVI.

French Protestants in Narraganset.

By his Excellency.

Whereas complaint hath been made unto me by several of the French Protestants, settled in the Narraganset country, that John Swett, Joseph Reynolds, Henry Reynolds, Thomas Bray and several others have of late, without right or lawful authority, mowed the meadows lying near to their settlements, and have forcibly carried away the grass and hay from thence, by means whereof, they are left destitute of any hay or fodder for their cattle in winter, and if not relieved therein, it will be to their utter ruin. These are, therefore, to authorize and require you, to call before you the persons above named, and such others as you shall find have been concerned in mowing of the said meadow, and what right or title they or either of them have to the said meadow; and unless some particular grant shall be showed to you for the same, you are to cause the said grass or hay, cut off the said meadow as aforesaid, or the like quantity, as can be found in the possession of those, that cut the same, to be seized and secured, and forthwith to make report to me of your proceedings herein, that such further order may be given, as shall be thought necessary. Dated at Boston, the 14th day of July, 1687.

To Captain John Fones, Justice of Peace at King's Province.

By his Excellency.

Upon hearing and examining of the matter in difference between the towns of Greenwich alias Deptford, Kingston alias Rochester, and the French families, lately settled in the Narraganset country, about a parcel of meadow lying near their settlements and appointed for their accommoda-

tion ; but cut and mowed by several persons of both the said Towns, which appears to be done in a violent, forcible manner ; and the hay cut thereupon, being likewise by my order secured and stacked, I do, therefore, for the accommodation of the said parties for the present, till the right thereto can be determined and settled, order and appoint, that all the hay cut and made upon the said meadows as aforesaid, be by the direction of any two Justices of the Peace, forthwith divided into two equal shares or moieties, and that one moiety thereof, be given for the use of John Nicholes, Gyles Pierce and George Vaughan of Greenwich aforesaid, and James Reynolds, James Reynolds, Junr., Henry Reynolds, Joseph Reynolds, Francis Reynolds, John Swett, William Bentley, John Andrew and George Haven of Kingston, share and share alike, who, I am informed live remote and are most wanting thereof. And the other moiety to be left for the use and benefit of the said French Families there, who, being strangers and lately settled and wholly destitute, and have no other way to supply themselves. And all persons therein concerned, are to take notice hereof, and conform themselves thereunto accordingly, until further orders shall be given in said matter. Dated at Boston, the 5th day of August, 1687.

To Major Richard Smith, and Captain John Fones, Justice of the peace, who are to see this order forthwith executed.

XXXVII.

Letter to the Governor of Port Royal, from Sir Edmund Andros.

Complaints being made unto me, that on Friday, the two-and-twentieth of July last, two fishing ketches, belonging to his Majesty's Dominion, and upon their lawful occasions, were taken by a French Man-of-War, said to be bound to your port. One of which ketches, having a French seaman put on board, (now sent you) being separated by foggy weather, and wholly unacquainted with the coast, were in great distress before they could get home for want of their Master. The other ketch and both Mas-

ters not yet returned, which being contrary to the long continued alliance of friendship and late treaty, between the two Crowns ; I have, therefore, to prevent further inconvenience herewith dispatched this gentleman, Captain Francis Nicholson, desiring you will order speedy and effectual redress and reparation of the said complaint. And that none of his Majesty's subjects be for the future any ways disturbed in their fishing or other lawful occasions, expecting your present answer hereto by the said gentleman, I remain, Sir,

Your most humble servant.

Instructions for Captain Francis Nicholson, on his voyage to Port Royal.

Having received my letter for the Governor of Port Royal, you are to repair on board his Majesty's ketch Speedwell, and with the first opportunity of wind and weather, to sail directly for Port Royal aforesaid. You are at your coming into the said port, to put out your colors and give notice by firing three guns, as by the late treaty, which being done, you are to go ashore and deliver my said letter to the Governor of Port Royal aforesaid, letting him know you have orders to receive his answer, which you desire as soon as may be, and unless hindered by wind and weather, or some thing extraordinary, you are not to stay above three days. As you have opportunity going or coming (so as not to hinder your speedy voyage to Port Royal), you are to put into Pemaquid, and view the state and condition of that place and garrison, and give necessary orders as occasion, and make the best of your way to this port again. In which I wish you a good voyage. Given under my hand at Boston the 6th day of August, 1687.

XXXVIII.

Pirates.

By his Excellency.

Forasmuch as I am credibly informed that several persons, suspected to be privateers and pirates, have been lately privately landed and put on shore out of the ketch

Sparrow, whereof Richard Narramore is Master, at several places in and near this his Majesty's Dominion of New England, two whereof were apprehended at Martin's Vineyard, but have broken prison and fled from thence, and whereas, upon the examination of Eliezer Buck, one of the seamen belonging to the said ketch, I have reason to suspect him to have assisted in and contrived the landing of the said persons, and them have and doth abet, countenance and conceal, being deemed pirates and privateers as aforesaid: These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to charge and command you to take into your custody, the body of the said Eliezer Buck, and him safely keep in his Majesty's jail, until he shall be from thence delivered by due order of his Majesty's Laws, whereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand and seal in Boston, the 8th day of August, 1687.

To the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk.

By his Excellency.

Forasmuch as John Danson, Mate of the ketch Sparrow, whereof Richard Narramore is Master, hath upon his examination before me confessed, that, for several years, he has been in a private Man of War under the command of one Henley, and hath been in the Red Sea with him, and there plundered and taken what they could from the Mallabars and Arabs. And the said Henley, being deemed and accounted a pirate, I have reason to suspect the said Danson to be guilty of the same. These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name to require and command you to take into your custody, the body of the said John Danson herewith sent you: and him safely keep in his Majesty's jail, until he shall be from thence delivered by due course of law. Whereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand and seal at Boston, the 10th day of August, 1687.

To the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk.

By his Excellency.

Whereas I have received certain information, that several persons, lately brought from the Isle of Theiro* in the ketch

* Eleutheria.

Sparrow, whereof Richard Narramore is Master, have been privately landed and put ashore in several parts and places in and near this Dominion, who are suspected to be privateers or pirates, and that there are several parcels and quantities of gold plate, money and other goods and things on board the said ketch, belonging to the said persons or some of them, which ketch now lies within this harbor. These are therefore in his Majesty's name, to require and command you to make diligent search on board the said vessel for the said gold plate, money and other goods or things, and what you shall there find, you are to cause to be delivered and secured in the hands and charge of the Treasurer of this his Majesty's Dominion, who shall see the same forthcoming, to be disposed of as by law shall be directed. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal at Boston, the 9th day of August, 1687.

To James Sherlock, Esq., High Sheriff of the County of Suffolk.

XXXIX.

License desired for keeping School.

To his Excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., &c.

The humble petition of Joshua Ratstock of Boston, humbly sheweth to your Excellency,

Whereas the chief inhabitants of the North end of the Town of Boston, have invited your petitioner to take upon him the care and management as Master of a free school, (it being now destituted :) and have, as by their annexed certificate, recommended him to the approbation of the selectmen. But your petitioner, being unwilling to undertake any place of public trust, without your Excellency's favor and directions first had and known. To which your petitioner, as in duty bound, doth humbly refer himself in this matter. And most humbly prays, that your Excellency would be pleased to favor him with a license to instruct youth in the school as above said, in which your petitioner shall make it his care and study, to perform what to his duty in such an undertaking doth belong.

XL.

Petition of Troopers.

To his Excellency, &c.

The humble petition of Isaac Haulsey, one of George Lockhart's Troop, in the behalf of the rest of the Troopers of the said Troop, Sheweth,

That your petitioners having been detached out of the respective Counties of the Province of New York, for his Majesty's service upon the late expedition to Albany, and having served as Troopers under the command of Captain George Lockhart about ten months, and now disbanded without any consideration of pay, further than five pence per diem for provisions, and being informed that his Excellency, Colonel Dongan, late Governor and Council hath established no more than eighteen pence per diem, for such Troopers' pay, so that there will only remain thirteen pence. Your Excellency and this honourable Council being sufficiently sensible of his Majesty's establishment in England, and likewise of the difference of the money, the charge of our fitting out, high rates for clothing, nine shillings for shoeing a horse, the inconveniences and loss of our country affairs, and loss of horses and several other incidental charges: Do, therefore, humbly pray, that your Excellency and the Council will be pleased to take the premises into serious consideration, and allow two shillings and six pence per diem for a trooper, being the same establishment as his Majesty pleased to allow his subjects that serve in the like capacity in our native country, the same establishment being allowed to all our fellow soldiers that served in the said late expedition; and your petitioners shall ever be bound to pray, &c.

Isaac Haulsey.

XLI.

Permit to visit Wrecks.

Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., &c., to Captain Nicholas Inglesby.

Whereas you are appointed to be commander of the Barque Rose, of Boston, now bound to a certain wreck or wrecks, lying and being to windward of his Majesty's Island of Jamaica or other places in the Northern seas, with design to work upon the same, these are to authorize and empower you to take upon you the charge and command thereof accordingly, hereby strictly charging and requiring all the officers and company belonging to said Barque, jointly and severally in their respective employments, to obey you as their commander. And you likewise strictly to observe and execute such orders and directions, as you shall from time to time receive for his Majesty's service during the said voyage. Whereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand and seal at Boston, the 24th August, in the third year of his Majesty's reign, 1687.

XLII.

Commission to visit Wrecks.

Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., &c., to all to whom this shall come.

Whereas the Barque called the Rose, Nicholas Inglesby commander, is by several persons, his Majesty's subjects in this place, fitted and manned for a voyage, intended to be made to the wreck or wrecks lying to windward of Jamaica, or elsewhere in the North seas of America, and have desired my license and permission, that they may proceed on the said voyage. Accordingly these are, therefore, to certify and declare, that the said commander, owners and employers of the said Barque, having given sufficient security to the value of five thousand pounds, for the good deportment of the said company during the voyage, and that within twelve months after the date hereof, they shall and will return to the port of Boston, with all the gold plate, money or other things of value they shall

get at the wreck or wrecks, and there well and truly pay the tenth part thereof, for the use of his Majesty. I have and do by these presents, license, permit, and suffer the said vessel and company, to proceed on the said intended voyage accordingly, and have likewise authorized and empowered the said Nicholas Inglesby, to be commander of the said Barque for and during the voyage aforesaid, it being for his Majesty's service and interest, as well as the benefit and advantage of his Majesty's subjects, the said employers. And desiring you and every of you, to permit and suffer the said Barque to go to, abide and work upon the said wreck or wrecks, and to have, get and enjoy all benefits and advantages there to return to this port again, with what they shall there get and acquire, without any let, hindrance, or molestation whatsoever. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Boston, the 24th of August, in the third year of his Majesty's reign, 1687.

XLIII.

Captain Inglesby's obligation.

Know all men by these presents, that I, Nicholas Inglesby, commander of the Barque Rose, in behalf of myself and Company belonging to the said vessel, in consideration of the great favor, liberty and countenance we have received from his Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, on our intended voyage to the wreck or wrecks, do hereby promise, bind and oblige myself, executors and administrators to pay or cause to be paid and delivered unto his Excellency aforesaid, his order or assigns, the full and just quantity and proportion of two forty-sixth parts of all such gold, silver plate, money or other things of value, as we shall get, obtain or acquire in said voyage to the wrecks as aforesaid, after the King's tenths, and the vessel is payed and discharged when they shall be returned from the said voyage. As witness my hand and seal at Boston, the 26th day of August, 1687.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

JOHN WEST.
P. FERMAN.

XLIV.

Order for S. Wilbore's imprisonment. The paper subsequently spoken of, called in question the late Tax law.

To the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk.

Whereas Shadrack Wilbore, Town clerk of Taunton, hath lately in the name and with the consent of the said Town, written and published a certain scandalous, factious and seditious writing therein, very much reflecting upon and contemning the laws, authority and government of this his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England. The which writing, upon his examination before his Excellency in Council, he hath confessed and owned. These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to require and command you to take into your custody, the body of the said Shadrack Wilbore, and him safely keep in his Majesty's jail, until he shall have answered for the said contempt and misdemeanor, and be from thence delivered by due course of his Majesty's Laws. Whereof fail not. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Dated in Boston, the 30th day of August, 1687.

By order in Council.

[Article 21st of the preceding papers, has but little variation from a similar one in 8th vol, 2d series, commencing at p. 181 of our Collections. Still it is thought not amiss to have it, with this difference, as one among the present series of such documents.—*Pub. Com.*]

ORDERS FOR SENDING SIR EDMUND ANDROS TO ENGLAND.

To such as for the time being, take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws of our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in America.

William R.

Whereas Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., late Governor of our dominion of New England, has been seized by some people in Boston, and is detained under close confinement there, together with Edward Randolph, John Trefrey, and divers others our subjects; who have humbly requested us that they may be either set at liberty, or sent in safe custody into England, to answer before us what may be objected against them: We do hereby will and require, that the said Sir Edmund Andros, Edward Randolph, John Trefrey, and others our subjects, that have been in like manner seized by the said people of Boston, and shall be at the receipt of these our commands, detained there under confinement, be forthwith sent on board the first shipp bound hither, to answer before us what may be objected against them: and that you take care that they be civilly used in their passage from New England, and safely conveyed to our royal presence.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, this thirtieth day of July, 1689, in the first year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

Nottingham.

(With the Royal Seal).

EPISCOPAL MINISTERS' ADDRESS

TO KING WILLIAM.

The humble Address of your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects of the Church of England in Boston, in your Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England.

Most gracious Soveraigne.

There has been but few years past over our heads, since by the grace and favour of your Majesty's Royal predecessors, wee were delivered from the slavery and thraldome of a most extravagant and arbitrary government which had long been exercised over us, and many others of your Majesty's subjects, under colour and pretence of a Charter, (wherein no part thereof but the name, was ever made use of or regarded), and by that means have been soe happy to enjoy the freedome of divine service and worship, after the manner of the Church of England; which was never, until the vacating of the said Charter, admitted or allowed to any, but all were forced by their penal laws to frequent their meetings and be deprived of the benefit of the Holy Sacraments and other sacred rites; none being admitted thereto, but such as are in Church government and fellowship with them and their children; which does not include the 10th part of your Majesty's subjects in these parts, to the great shame and scandall of the Christian Religion, and hinderance of the propagation thereof.

That though, since wee have had the liberty of our religion, wee have endeavored to carry ourselves void of offence to those that dissent from us, and have, at our own charge, built and erected a convenient Church for the pub-

lique worship and service of God, yet such is the malice of our dissenting neighbours, that wee are become the object of their scorn, and forced to take many affronts and indignityes by them frequently offered to our persons and Religion, which some of their principall Teachers have lately in a printed treaty* charged to be idolatry and Popery.

We have lately, to our great horrour and amazement, been forced to behold a well established and orderly government here subverted and overthrown ; the Governour, several of the Councill, and other principall officers and persons, by force of armes seized and kept under long and hard imprisonment ; your Majesty's forts and garrisons forced out of the hands of those appointed to command them ; your Majesty's standing forces and others, raised and employed for the defence of the country against our Indian and other enemies disbanded, and their officers cruelly seized and imprisoned, and by that means an advantage given to our enemies, who have since destroyed and laid waste a very considerable and goodly part of this your Majesty's territory, with the loss of some hundreds of your subjects ; and many forts and garrisons in those parts, of considerable force and service, which, by the disbanding of the souldiers, were left and defeited ; your Majesty's Frigott here, ordered for the defence and security of the coasts against pyrates and other enemies, dismantled and made wholly unserviceable, whilst pyrates infested the same ; your Majesty's revenue, which amounted to about £12000 per annum, wholly lost ; and all this by a party of pretended zealous and godly men, moved upon no other grounds or reasons, but their owne ill principles, malice, and envy, being more fond and regardful of their former Charter-government, (famous for nothing but their male-administrations, and cruel prosecutions of all persons differing from them in matters of Religion only), than of their duty and allegiance to your Majesty, who have since taken upon them to sett up and exercise their said former Government, and to put in execution the pretended laws made under the same, which are wholly contrary and repugnant to the

* Treatise.

laws and government of your Majesty's realm of England, and to the great grievance and oppression of some thousands of your Majesty's loyall subjects, but more particularly to those who now humbly address your Majesty, who have bin thereby injured and abused both in their civil and religious concernments ; our Church by their rage and fury having been greatly hurt and damnified, and daily threatened to be pulled downe and destroyed ; our Minister hindered and obstructed in the discharge of his duty and office, and wee now put under the burthen of most excessive rates and taxes to support the interest of a disloyal prevailing party amongst us, who, under pretence of the publique good, designe nothing but ruin and destruction to us and the whole countrey.

And as we cannot but from the bottom of our hearts declare our utter abhorrence and dislike of these and all other their seditious and rebellious actings and proceedings, so wee are resolved with patience to undergoe and suffer whatsoever shall be imposed upon us, and to maintaine our duty and allegiance to your Majesty, not doubting that by your Majesty's gracious favour and protection, wee shall be relieved and delivered from the same.

Amongst these our sufferings, wee were greatly comforted, when to our abundant joy and satisfaction, wee received that joyful news of your Majesty's most great and glorious enterprise for the defence and maintenance of the Protestant Religion and interest ; and of your Majesty's happy accession to the Crowne. And since your Majesty has bin graciously pleased to have particular regard to the religion of the Church of England, so wee hope that small branch thereof which hath but lately sprung forth in this remote part of the world, will not want your Majesty's favour and countenance, that it may (as no doubt but by God's blessing it will) grow up and flourish, and bring fruites of religion and loyalty, to the honour of Almighty God, and the promotion and increase of your Majesty's interest and service.

And to that end, we humbly beseech your Majesty, that we may not be left under the anarchy and confusion of government, under which this Country hath so long groaned, but that the same may be ruled and governed by a

Governor and Councill to be appointed by your Majesty, with the advice of an assembly of the people in matters proper for their cognizance, as others your Majesty's plantations, are ruled and governed; with such other libertyes and priveleges as your Majesty shall thinke most proper and conducing to your Majesty's service, and the generall good and welfare of your subjects in the severall parts of this your territory and dominion of New England.

That the great God of Heaven would continue to bless your Majesty with a glorious success in all your undertakings; enable you to vanquish and overcome all your enemies, and give you a long, peaceable, and prosperous raigne over us and all your subjects throughout your realm and dominions; and that they may never be wanting to shew forth their duty and obedience to your Majesty, is and shall be the hearty and continued prayers of your Majesty's dutyfull and loyall subjects, in the name and at the desire of the whole Church.

Samuell Miles, M. A.
Fra. Foxcroft. } *Church Wardens.*
Saml. Rauenscroft. }

HIGGINSON LETTERS.

[Some loose leaves, which appear to have been torn from an old letter-book, contained the following letters, interspersed with mercantile orders and correspondence. These were kindly presented for publication in our Collections, by the Rev. Charles W. Upham, of Salem, who received them from Daniel Waldo Higginson, Esq., of Cambridge. They are curious, as showing the actual state of Commerce of Salem, in 1700, and as suggesting the advantages which might be anticipated to Salem or Boston, from the importation of East India articles through a mercantile establishment in London. Although the project was not adopted at the time, it is worthy of remark that, nearly an hundred years after, the enterprise, *by a direct communication* with India, rendered Salem the most prosperous commercial mart in New England.

The letters will, also, give some interesting particulars of the family of the Rev. John Higginson, son and successor in the ministry, of the venerable Francis Higginson, first Minister of Salem. He died December 9th, 1708, in his 93d year, eight years after the date of the last letter. John, his oldest son, by whom most of the letters were written, was a respectable merchant in Salem; and is named with just commendation in the letter of his father; to which may be added, he was long a member of the Governour's Council. He deceased March 23d, 1720, aged 73. Nathaniel, to whom the letters were addressed, was born at Guilford, Connecticut, October 11th, 1652; and was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1670. He went to England in 1674; and was with Lord Wharton about seven years, as steward and tutor to his children. He was employed in the mint of the Tower, 1681; and went, 1683, in the Company's service to Fort St. George, in the East Indies; was member and secretary of the Council, and afterwards Governor of the Factory at the fort. He married Elizabeth Richards in 1692; returned to England, with his wife and children, in 1700, and established himself as a merchant in London, where he died in 1708, the same year with his Father. Thomas (another son) went to England; learnt the goldsmith's trade; came home; embarked for Africa, and was never heard of. Francis went to his uncle at Kirby Stevens in England; was educated at the University at Cambridge there; and died of the small pox in London, aged 24. Henry was brought up as a merchant; went to Barbadoes as Factor; and there died of small pox in 1685.

Pub. Com.]

To Sir JOSIAH CHILD, *Knight, Governour of the East India Company, London.*

[*Salem, N. E.*], 18*th July*, 1692.

Much honoured Sir.

I make bold to request a favour of you, that you would be pleased to send the inclosed letter to my Brother, Mr. Nathaniel Higginson, who, I understand, is in your service at Fort St. George in the East Indies, and has there received many marks of your favour. He went out of England in the year 1683; and, since his departure from England, we have had but one letter from him, which was on his first arrival there; and suppose that his letters have, some way or other, miscarried.

I pray your Honour that if any letters come from him, directed either to my honoured Father or myself, you would be pleased to send them to us; or if no letters come to hand, that you would be pleased to inform me, by a line, how it is with him;—which will greatly oblige your Honour's humble servant at command, in any thing I am capable of, to the utmost of my power.

JOHN HIGGINSON.

To Mr. Nathaniel Higginson.

18*th July*, 1692.

Dear Brother.

I have sent you many letters since your arrival at the East Indies, but have not been so happy as to receive any from you.* I therefore venture these lines under cover, to Sir Josiah Child, in hope they will find the way to you by his means.

* The letter referred to in the preceding, must be one to his Father.

I long to hear of your welfare ; and trust that you will, by the first opportunity, afford me a line thereof.

New England is much altered since you left it. Through mercy our honoured Father enjoys a good measure of health and strength ; being yet able to preach his turn every sabbath. He is now seventy-six years old. Myself, wife and five children, Mary, John, Sarah and Elizabeth, are in good health. Brother Thomas lives at Guilford. Sister Anna, at Salem. Our brother Wharton died in London about two years since, as I suppose you have heard. His estate, being much entangled, I doubt there will be nothing left for his two daughters, Sarah and Bethiah. I hope, if God bless you, you will remember them in time.

Dear Brother, let not the distance of place be a means to make us forget each other. Remember the good days and reciprocal affections we once enjoyed ; and let me be again happy in your company here. Our Father much desires to see you again, if it may be, before he dies.

Thus commending you to the protection and blessing of the Almighty,

I remain your ever loving Brother,

JOHN HIGGINSON.

From Rev. John Higginson of Salem, to his son Nathaniel.

* * * * [I learn by your] letter, that if the Lord please to continue your life, and that you meet with no extraordinary losses, you intended to send something more. This deserves my acknowledgment and approbation ; and I pray God to direct you in the time and quantity, &c., which I leave to yourself ; only I think meet to inform you, how it may be done to the best advantage, to attain the end of your liberality, when God shall give you an opportunity to bring your intentions into execution. Considering my age, and the need of your brother Thomas, and sister Doliver, I have taken a special and sufficient care of making provision for them ; viz., whereas there was almost five hundred pounds of arrears due to me from the towne since

1686, and I saw no hope of receiving it in my time, about two years ago, I gave it wholly back to the towne, upon condition they would provide a sufficient maintenance for your sister during her life, and something for Thomas, if he returned from Arabia, whither he was gone with privateers, contrary to my mind and his owne promise. This proposition, in a general towne meeting, the towne accepted, and engaged to perform the condition, all which is recorded. Also I had been at great charge to maintain her children, and put them out prentices to learn trades, whereby they may get a livelihood when growne up. So that there is no need of supply in respect of those forenamed. But by this means I have wronged your brother John, and his, who might have recovered, at least some of the arrearages, when the towne might be in a better condition. And, therefore, if the Lord please to give you ability and opportunity to bring your intentions into execution, I recommend unto you, in a special manner, the case of your brother John and his five children. By his singular prudence and industry, he had attained a competent estate ; but by the misery of these times, he has met with great losses, by the French, &c. ; and so put out of his way as to be disenabled from making any use of the fishing trade ; and been worsted in his estate, I believe, above a thousand pounds : and yet he is a Major, and a Justice of the Peace, and the shew of public occasions lies much upon him. And divers of his children are growne up to above twenty, and need something to be given to them, to begin the world withal. He is a worthy good man, and well accepted of all men, and the staff and stay of my old age. I doubt not of your good affection for him, and therefore am the more free in making knowne his case to you. If you should do that which may help to support and help him, I doubt not but it will be acceptable to God, and honourable and comfortable to yourself, and a testimony of the continuance of your brotherly love to him and his family, who is the only one that is like to bear up the name of Higginson with honour in New England. Also, if you should remember your sister Wharton's two daughters to help forward their shop-keeping, for they keep a small shop at Boston ; and are like to continue as ancient maids, I know not how long, Sarah being 25 or 26 years old. And,

if you should say as you did before, "if my Father or Mother be living"—I daily wait for my change, yet know not how long I may live; my vitals being sound, and I can yet preach to be heard on the sabbath and lectures; and when I fail, Mr. Noyes supplies. Mr. Bradstreet, our late Governour, died lately in Salem, aged 95; some have outlived 100; and many have lived to above 80 in this pure and healthful aire. But *what is our life? It is but a vapour that appears for a little while, and then vanishes away.* The Lord make us wise to make and keep our peace with him, that we may be in readiness for his coming to call us away to himself, that we may be ever with Christ, which is far better than to be here.

It would be very acceptable to me, if, when you have leisure, you would write more largely and particularly something more concerning yourself: what wife you have married, a native, or &c., how long you are to stay there; what way of worship at the Fort, and at St. Thomas; whether any of the Apostle Thomas' Christians there; whether the inhabitants have left the custom of their wives' dying with their husband; whether the Dutch christianizing Ceylon goes forward; and what has become of Bezaliel Sherman's wife and child.

Your mother willed me to informe you, that she accepted of your kindness, as much as if she had received what you sent her. Your sister Higginson prayed me to tell you, that she thinks you have forgotten them. Mr. Noyes remembers his love to you. He is 50, but sickly. By living single, he has gotten an estate; but there are above 80 persons of his kindred.

Since the Lord has taken your Uncle Whitfield, I have received a letter from Mr. Collet, to whom you wrote, and he hath written to me, offering in his kindness to convey my letters to you. As you joined him with your uncle Whitfield, may you not do well to joine your couzin Whitfield Hayler, with him? You would do well to write to your brother John.

* * *

A copy of a Letter from my Fother to Mr. Matthew Collet, in London.

7. 6. '97.

Good Mr. Collet.

I received your loving letter, with my son's letter inclosed; and do, in the first place, give thanks unto God for moving your heart to show such a kindness of the Lord to me and mine, as you do express in your letter, and then I also give thanks unto yourself, as an instrument of his goodness.

My good brother Whitfield was such a man; with whom I had a correspondence for above forty years together, and he never failed me. Now the Lord hath taken him unto himself, he hath raised up you as a friend in his stead. And whereas you are pleased to offer your helpfulness in conveying letters to my son, I do with all thankfulness accept your kind offer, and intreat you to send the inclosed letter to him with your owne. I have left it unsealed, that you may see the contents of it, because you may possibly be some way instrumental in time, to convey, not only his letters, but what he speaks of that he intends to do, if the Lord will.

Sir, I pray you, as you have begun, you will go on, and let me expect another letter from you when you see the time; directing it, in my absence, to my son John, as you did this.

Sir, I pray you present my best respects, love, and service to good Mr. How, your father-in-law, with my thankfulness to him for his writing to my son. His kinswoman, Mrs. Brown, married in this towne, is very well. She is a pious, good woman; much exercised with soul-trouble. She doth much good to the poor, and is a friend to Ministers.

So I commend you to the grace of God, in Christ Jesus; and rest

Your's unfeignedly,

John Higginson.

Salem 20. 6. '97.

Dear Brother Nathaniel.

Whilst you continued in England, I was often favoured with letters from you; but, since you went to India, I have not received one from you, though I have sent many to you-ward, but cannot tell whether you have received any of them: but in May last, my honoured Father received a letter from you, under cover from Mr. Matthew Collet; wherein you advised that you had sent a Bill of £180 sterling, (drawn by Captain Bluet on the owners of the ship, which Mr. Collet informs was on bottomry, and by the ship being taken, the money is lost); for the use of my honoured Father and family; and, in case of my Father's decease before it arrived, you ordered myself and Mr. Noyes to distribute the same to our Mother-in-law, if living, £30 of New England; the rest divided, so as that my sister Ann, and each of her children, and each of the children of my sister Wharton, and my brother Thomas, may have an equal share; viz. so many as shall be living when it is received,—only desiring that sister Wharton's oldest daughter, if living, may have a double share to any of the rest. The which order, when Mr. Noyes saw, he said you had not therein ordered anything to me nor mine, nor could it be so understood, but it must be only to the above-named;—which, I suppose, you did not intend, though it was not fully expressed, for my owne part.

In the year 1689, when the war first broke out, I had obtained a comfortable estate, being as much concerned in the fishing trade as most of my neighbours. But, since that time, I have met with considerable losses; and trade has much decayed. Of sixty odd fishing catches belonging to this towne, but about six are left. I believe that no towne in this Province has suffered more by the war than Salem.

I have had seven children; of whom five are living, viz., Mary, John, Nathaniel, Sarah, and Elizabeth. Mary and John are married, and begin to live in a hard world. Mary's husband has gone to sea, eighteen months since.

Not heard of, he is supposed to be lost. Mary lives with me. John has one child of above a year old, named Elizabeth. He married at twenty years of age. I hope he will do well. He is Lieutenant to one of our companies of soldiers. Our honoured Father has been at great charges with sister Ann Dolliver and her children, brother Thomas, and sister Wharton's children ; and will leave but little ; by which means I am made a younger brother.

I am glad to hear that you are suited with a wife ; I hope a good wife, which is a good thing ; (I have found it so) ; and that God has blest you with two children, and pray that He would make them a blessing to you. Present my kind and hearty love and respects to your wife, though unknown. My dear wife presents the same to you both ; and, if you were within her reach, she would tell you that you are not the same Nathaniel, the Israelite, she once took you to be. We often talk of you, but cannot hear from you. My children all present their humble respects to yourself and lady and young ones. My youngest child living, is twelve years old.

Dear Brother, I request you to give me a particular account of your circumstances ; and I hope you do not intend to spend all your days in India, but will return into England, and so into New England. We want such men ; and now you have gotten you an estate, the business is to contrive how to lay it out for the glory of God and the good of yourself and yours ; which, I conceive, may be done as well in New England as any where. We yet enjoy the free liberty of the Gospel ; blessed be God for it ! I pray God that you and I may mind the one thing needful ; and may not be cumbered with the honours, profits, and pleasures of the world, so as to lose our interest in Christ and eternal glory ; for to lose our souls in gaining the world, will prove a bad bargain. So leaving you to the protection and blessing of the Almighty, I remain, &c.

JOHN HIGGINSON.

To Mr. Matthew Collet.

Salem, 20th August, 1697.

Sir,

I have a Brother who is President of Fort St. George in the East Indies, with whom, I understand you have a correspondence. Whilst he was in England, I had frequent letters from him almost by every ship; but since he left England, I have not received one letter from him; which I have much wondered at; but suppose his letters have miscarried some way or other. I have several times heard of him by the way of Barbadoes, from the East India ships that have arrived there, that he has gained a great estate. My Brother, in his letter to my Father of 11th June, 1695, advises him that he had sent a Bill drawn by Captain Bluet on the owners of his ship for £180 sterling, payable to yourself and my uncle Whitfield; and desired you to remit the same to my father; but does not say it was on bottomry. You advise that it was, and that the ship being lost, the money is also lost. I much wonder that my Brother should run such an adventure on such an occasion; but, if it be so, we must submit to the sovereign pleasure of God. I hope that you advised him thereof. He did also say, that if he did not meet with extraordinary loss, he would send more. Now, Sir, I request you please to send the inclosed letters to him by some safe hands, and encourage him to send something as a token of his love to us, in some safer way than the last. And, Sir, if in any thing I may be serviceable to yourself here, you may freely command him who is

Your humble servant,

JOHN HIGGINSON.

To Mr. Nathaniel Higginson.

16. 4. 1699.

Dear Brother Nathaniel.

It is now sixteen years since you left England, from whence, while you were there, I had often refreshing letters from you. But now, what climate have you got into that makes you forget your Father's house? I have not received one line from you since you left England, though you have had so many opportunities by England, Holland, Barbadoes. What is it that we have offended you in, that you will not afford one line in so many years? Have the honours, profits, &c., of the world quite swallowed you up?

Our honoured Father is yet alive, and in a good measure of health. He preaches his turn on sabbaths and lectures.

The late war with France and the Indians, which held almost ten years, has greatly impoverished this town; by which means my Father's salary has been much abated, and he much straitened in providing for sister Ann, her children, Thomas, and sister Wharton's children; by which I am made a younger brother. Sarah Wharton is married to one John Cotta. Bethiah remains single. The war has also damnified me, not only by losses, but by being put out of a way. I have had a pretty large family of my own, and relations; and the several places I have held in civil and military concerns, have taken up much of my time, and not been advantageous to my estate. I have now living five children, viz., Mary Weld, who has been twice married, John, married to Hannah Gardner, and has two children, Elizabeth and John, so that there are four of that name in a line now living. Nathaniel who is nineteen years old, is a prentice at Mr. B. Browne's, Sarah, who is to be married the next week, to Nathaniel Hathorne; Elizabeth the youngest, is fifteen years old. The marrying and settling my children, has much abated my quick stock; though I have an estate in house and land, &c.

I hear that you have attained to a very considerable estate, some say £300,000, some 2, some one. However, if it be more than you daily use for your advantage, you would do the part of a Brother, to lend me some part of it, which would cause me to live better in the world, nor do yourself nor yours any hurt. Remember what Joseph did for his father's house. I pray you to find out some way to send me a letter, with an account of your health and concerns, and when we may expect your return to us. With mine, my wife's, children and grandchildren's kind love and respects to yourself, and your good wife and children, I pray God to bless you all, and to give you of the dew of heaven and fulness of the earth, and remain, &c.

J. HIGGINSON.

A copy of Father HIGGINSON'S *Letter.*

My dear and beloved Son,

I received a letter from you dated 1695, wherein you informed me that you was married and had two children; and that you had sent £180 to me and other relations here. Though it pleased God to dispose of it that it was taken by the French, your love and kindness in it were no less real than if we had received it. It is the Lord that gives and takes as he pleases.

Having a probable opportunity of sending, I could not omit a few lines to inform you that all your relations here are in *statu quo prius*, and myself enjoying in some respects better health than formerly; enabled, through mercy, to preach on the sabbath and lecture-days as formerly, and my voice (they say), is heard well in our great Meeting-House.

The French and Indian war, with other calamities, have greatly impoverished, diminished and brought low New England; and the people, in a way of contribution, paying but a half so much as they did, I and my family, and especially your brother John, by extraordinary losses, have been brought low and kept so; thus I have little left to give

when I die. Before your letter came, when, being sick, and thinking I should die, I gave back to the Town between 4 or £500 arrearages due to me (by the law and agreement of rating), upon condition of their maintaining Anna during her life, and doing something for Thomas, if he returned from his wandering. This was settled, and recorded by a vote of the Town, being accepted by them, and no recalling it. The truth is, I had an expectation of something from you, that might have been a supply to your brother John especially; and it did not a little trouble me that you did not at all write to him, nor send any thing to him; whereas you two brothers had rejoiced one in another in your younger time. He is a worthy man; of singular prudence in managing affairs; a Major; a Justice of Peace; often chosen a Representative; frequently employed in arbitrations; and his family of five children are grown up, and neither he nor I can do that for them that the case doth require. I doubt not but you are and will be spirited as Joseph towards your Brethren; and that your bowells do yearn towards your own flesh and blood; having begun to show it already in that which you sent, and in that which you expressed in your letter that you intended more, if the Lord pleased to preserve your estate from extreme losses, &c. And though I do not believe half of what is reported by credible persons concerning your estate, yet I cannot but believe that God has given so much as I and all your relations could not have expected; and must ascribe it to the mere good pleasure of God that you may be enabled to serve God and man in a higher way than others, and to enjoy the fruit of your labor and to be helpful to your relations in such a manner and measure as their need and case do require, and as may be acceptable to God's honour, to yourself, a comfort to them, and of good report amongst all.

We are informed that the new East India Company being begun, you are at liberty to return. When it pleases God to bring you safe to London, either your brother John or one of his sons may go and visit you there, if you give them encouragement so to do: Only, they say, you will stay awhile there to order and settle things.

My daily prayers to God for you are that he would bless

you and yours with all spiritual and temporal blessings, for soul and body, for this life and the life to come. So I commend you to the grace of God in Christ Jesus, and rest

Your loving father J. Higginson.

20th June, 1699.

To the same.

Salem, 3d October, 1699.

Dear Brother Nathaniel.

Now I have before me your kind letter dated 26th of September, 1698, which came to my hand on the 3d of August, '99; by which I am sensible that there is a possibility of communication between us; upon the reading whereof I was much rejoiced to learn of your health, and that God has continued your life, and blessed you with a good wife, four children, and other blessings; and it has conceived some secret hopes in me that I and our honored father may be made happy in the enjoyment of your good company in New England; which I pray God to grant in his due time.

Dear brother, I believe you may live as happily in New England as in any part of the world; and may have more respect showed you here than in England; there being there many that will be your superiors, and many your equals; but it will not be so here; and if you have a supplie of estate, more than may be necessary to improve in trade, you may here lay it out to good advantage in housen and lands at Boston, which, in suitable places, will yield ten per cent.; and in unimproved lands, which do often increase in value considerably more than the interest of money at six per cent., which is the interest allowed here by law.

The account you give about your wife and children is very acceptable to me; that she is an English woman, and came of so good a stock. Tell that dear soul, your good wife, that, if she will come and live among us, we will

love her and hers affectionately; treat her civilly; serve her heartily. We reckon that we have as good, sociable, civil, honest women in our country as in any part of the world; and she will find them so, if she will come and try. What you propose of living in Boston and managing a wholesale trade of East India goods, I approve of, as best for you. That is a place of great trade, and all the neighboring colonies are mostly supplied from thence. All sorts of calicoes, aligers, remwalls, muslin, silks for clothing and linings; all sorts of drugs proper for the apothecaries, and all sorts of spice, are vendible with us; and the prices of them alter much according as they are plenty or scarce. In the late war time, all East India goods were extremely dear. Muslins of the best sort, plain, striped, and flowered, were sold for £10 per piece, and some more. Pepper, 3s. per lb., nuts,* 10s. per lb., cloves, 20s., mace, 30s.; but now are abated about a quarter part in value. Some of the China ware, toys, and lacquer ware will sell well, but no great quantity. As for ambergris, we often have it from the West Indies, and it is sold for about 3 per oz. For musk, bezoar, pearl, and diamond, I believe some of them may sell well, but I understand not their value. And besides East India goods, you may do well to bring some European goods, of which all things necessary for the comfort of man's life, and the carrying on the fishing trade will turn to account;—except those things which are produced here.

I am sorry to hear that there is such a crew of pirates in your parts; and do doubt† that what you intimate of New York, Providence, and the West Indies is too true. Frederick Phillips of York, it is reported, has had a private trade to Madagascar for near twenty years, and it is said has attained an estate of 100,000 pounds. But I assure you the government of this place has always been severe with all such; and, at this time, there are many men in our gaol for piracy; namely, Captain Kidd, who went from England with a ship and commission to take pirates, but turned pirate himself, and robbed many ships in the East Indies, and thence came into the West Indies, and there disposed of much of his wealth; and at last came

* Nutmegs. † i. e. apprehend.

into these parts with some of his stolen goods; who was here seized, and some of his men, and goods, who are in irons, and wait for a trial. And there was one Bradish, a Cambridge man, who sailed in an interloper bound for India, who, in some part of the East Indies, took an opportunity, when the captain and some of the officers were on shore, to run away with the ship, and came upon our coast, and sunk their ship at Block Island, and brought much wealth ashore with them; but Bradish, and many of his company, and what of his wealth could be found, were seized and secured. But Bradish, and one of his men, broke prison and run away amongst the Indians; but it is supposed that he will be taken again.

It is reported that the King has sent several men-of-war into the East Indies, to secure those coasts therewith. If so, I hope that you will have a safe convoy for England.

As for Mr. Humphrey Osland, soon after I received your letter I went to Charlestown; and as I entered the town, I enquired for him of old and young, but could not hear that ever any such man had lived there. I went over to Boston, and enquired there, but no news of him; but, as I returned back, I met with one who knew him, and told me that he lived at New Cambridge. I wrote to him, and he sent me the enclosed letter to his sister, which I hope will give her the satisfaction she desires.

And finally, dear brother and sister, I, my wife, and children, and all your friends, relatives, and acquaintance, do earnestly and heartily desire to see you and enjoy your good company here in New England; and pray God, and you, it may be so.

Dear brother, you had your education here, and you do owe some service to your country. Come, and pay it. It is possible you may see your aged father, before he dies.

* * * *

To Mr. MATTHEW COLLET, *linen-draper, at the Artichoke, on Corn-hill, London.*

3. 8. '99

Sir,

I received your letter of the 6th of June last, with a welcome, inclosed, letter from my Brother; and return you my hearty thanks for your care and trouble therein. And because I am sensible that, besides your trouble, there is cost in the postage of letters, I have sent you a piece of Arabian gold to pay the charge thereof, and I do further request the favor of you, that you would please to forward the inclosed packet of letters to my brother in India. He has informed my father, that he has sent £100 to yourself to be conveyed to him, the which, if it be not already invested, please to lay it out, and send it, according to my brother's direction, in the goods following:

£5,0,0	2 pls. black crape of 40s. and 50s. first cost.
6,0,0	4 pls. worsted damask, lively colors.
5,0,0	6 pls. toys, lively colors.
4,0,0	2 pls. silk stuffs.
10,0,0	£10 in round thread hollands of a 2 per ell.
16,0,0	5 C weight of fishing lines, of 12 threads, 40 fathoms, weighing a 25 per doz., which usually cost a 6d—7d per lb.
10,0,0	£10 in colored, striped and flowered calico.
15,0,0	£15 in bl. castors, 5 to 19 and bl. felts; in the mode.
5,0,0	6 lb. cloth colored sewing and stick silk.
20,0,0	£20 in nails sorted, small sort in one cask.
96,0,0	
4,0,0	£4 in black fine linen, ordinary for mourning.

Please to take care in the buying them up that all may be good of the sort, and well bought.

Sir, the care and trouble herein will greatly oblige him who will at all times be ready to serve you to his power; and remains Your humble Servant, J. H.

A Copy of Mr. NOYES'S *letter to* NATHANIEL HIGGINSON.

3. 8. '99.

Honored Sir,

When I first heard of your going to the East Indies, I was smitten with sorrow something like that when our friends depart out of this world; and I am convinced it was not without cause,—for you are nearly under the earth, and for a long time I have comforted myself in vain with respect to your resurrection. At your departure your reverend father told me you thought to hide yourself from the evil of the times for the space of seven years, and then returne; but "he must not expect to see you returne, for he could not expect to live seven years;" but though through the grace of God he hath more than doubled the time, as if he must see you before he die:—and why not, as well as Isaac was visited by his son Jacob after more than twice seven years absence. When his apprentice-ships were out, neither his wives, nor his children, nor his estate hindered him; he must needs be gone from Padan Aram, because his soul longed after his father's house. Sir, you know how the lord of Egypt expressed his affection to his father on every occasion, when he knew the good old man was yet alive, and how his father must needs see him before he died. I know the same fatherly affection works strongly upon your aged and honored father, and I do not think but that the same filial affection works in one of your grace and good nature. You have no father-in-law, no Laban, to detain you; no brother incensed to essay to terrifie you from returning as Jacob had; but a loving brother, Lieutenant Colonel John Higginson, one of his Majesty's Justices of the peace, that bears your absence with much impatience, and doth most earnestly desire and long for your returne, and so do his virtuous wife and children. Moreover, it is the unanimous desire of your contemporaries, your old friends and acquaintance, amongst whom I reckon myself, though otherwise very inconsiderable, yet a passionate lover of yourself; and I pray the Lord of heaven to incline your heart to meditate a returne, and by his wise, gracious, and

powerful providence to compass it for you. And if it should please God, who orders the bounds of all our habitations, to effect it, I believe it will be as joyful a meeting as ordinarily the best relations and friends have upon earth. Sir, it would be an honor and ornament to Salem to have so honorable and worthy a person well settled in it; and a peculiar gratification to your relations, —father, mother, brother, and to myself if it should so happen. But if that should not suit with your inclinations, or occasions, or grandeur, Boston may, which is much more populous, rich, and stately, than when you left it, and a very considerable place for shipping and merchandizing. And if that should not suit neither, but you should count that would be but to go out of one India to another, yet surely London will. And, for my owne part, if you were in the Christian world, I would labor to be content, though I am not thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of the present place of your abode as to religion and the advantages and disadvantages yourself and yours have for your souls; yet I fear you dwell in Meshec, or at least sojourn in the tents of Kedar, which David counted a woful thing. If you imitate, as I doubt not you do, that godly man, you cannot but desire to lay your young ones nigh the altar of God, and to dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of your life. I know not what further to add; but shall rest in the will of God. Perhaps I have been too bold. If I have, let my kindness excuse my boldness. If there be more obstacles in the way of your return, than I am aware of, and it may not be, I conclude all my desire in this, that God of his grace would make us meet for a joyful meeting in the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father be glory forever.

This, with the offers of my service to yourself and lady and children, whom God preserve and bless,—I remaine

Your friend and humble servant,

NICHOLAS NOYES.

Fort St. George, 6 *Oct.* 1699.

Dear Brother,

In February last I wrote you under cover to Mr. Collet, the copy whereof I have not, and by misfortune, a letter which I received from you since is mislaid, so that I cannot answer it.

Finding some difficulties in the station wherein the Honorable Company had placed me, I requested them to appoint a successor and to give me leave to continue in their service in a lower station, having then thoughts of staying in India. But upon the coming of a new President in July 1698, and the controversys in England rising high about the East India trade, I resolved to return to England, having in the September following quitted all public employment that I might be at leisure to settle my affairs and clear all accounts in India, and indeed designed to go this season: but the ship is so small that she cannot afford accommodation for my large family; and therefore I am forced to stay till February next, when, with God's leave, I shall go and at present foresee nothing to obstruct.

I have formerly acquainted you that I married Elizabeth, the daughter of one Mr. John Richards, who came out for India eighteen years ago to be chief of Ballasow factory in Bengal. He brought his wife and two daughters with him, but died on the passage out, and his wife and one daughter died in Bengal in a few years after their arrival, and my wife is the only surviving person of the family.

We were married in May 1692, and have five children. Elizabeth, born 3 December 1693, Richards, 18th May 1695, Nathaniel, 30 May 1696, Sarah, 2 December 1697, and John, 23 August 1699, and through God's mercy all well.

My wife was, when a very young orphan, placed under the care of Mrs. Mary Large, who initiated into her the principles of piety, and caused her to learn the Malabar, Genhow and Portuguese languages very perfectly. Mrs.

Large took my eldest daughter from me when very young, and hath taken such care and pains in her instruction, that before five years old she could read well in the Bible, which she hath read over the greatest part, and upon reading an historical chapter in English can give a very good account of the contents in the Portuguese language.

My wife has an inclination to go to New England, and my own longing desire to see my friends makes me think of it often; but I cannot resolve till I come to England, where I shall refer the determination to the direction of God's providence, which hath hitherto carried me through many difficulties. But there are some circumstances, arising from the Company's business, whereof I can foresee, but have some reason to doubt the issue. It would be in vain to trouble you with particulars.

I have gone through the most considerable employment in the Company's service in India, and have had opportunities enough for gaining a great estate, which, though I have not, yet I thank God I have a good one, as I account it, because gained by God's blessing upon my laborious diligence, without indirect courses, and I have enough for me.

I have acquainted you so particularly with my circumstances, because I believe you desire to know how it is with me, and that you may join with me in acknowledging the goodness of God who led me out from my father's house with my staff; and I trust in the same goodness that he will lead me safe back, and give me opportunity of doing some good to my relations.

And I am particularly solicitous, how I may be serviceable to yourself. In order to which I have desired you (in my last letter as I remember) to give me a particular account of the trade of New England, both to England and other parts; and if you can give an encouraging proposal, I shall readily do all that lies in my power to prosecute it in such manner as will be most for your advantage, by giving you consignments not only from myself but others, whom I can probably engage to join with me. I therefore desire to be satisfied in the following questions.

1. How a stock of five or ten thousand pounds may be employed.

2. Whether two ships can be employed constantly between England and New England with that stock, and of what burthen.

3. How many trips can one ship make between England and New England, and what are the proper seasons of voyaging.

4. How may Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia or other places in the West Indies, or in Europe, be made use of in carrying on trade between England and New England, and please to name the correspondents whom you have employed or known in any such places.

5. Whether Salem or Boston be the best port for trade.

6. If Boston, whether you can manage business there while your residence is in Salem.

7. List of goods usually imported and exported to and from New England, with their prices and quantity vendible or procurable.

I should be glad to meet your answer in England, where I may probably arrive in July or August 1700. If you receive my former letter, I hope you will send a speedy answer, having ordered my attorneys in England, William Halsen, Esq. (who now goes home from hence) and Mr. Matthew Collett to open and peruse your letters, and if they find encouragement from your advice, and if they can continue to consign any sum, not exceeding one thousand pounds, to you for my account; which, if they shall do before my arrival in England, I desire you to make as quick teturns as you can possibly.

You have never advised me that I remember, how you have educated your children. If you could meet with an opportunity of sending one of them who hath been bred a merchant and unmarried, so as to meet me in England in July or August 1700, I should be glad to see him, and, if it please God to carry me safe thither, I shall endeavor to put him into some business suitable to his capacity and experience, if you shall give me power to dispose of him as opportunity shall offer. It seems probable that the two East India Companies will unite into one, in which case I think I could procure his going in their service according to his capacity, or possibly send him to India on a single voyage to China, whither the Company do yearly send a ship or two with factors, who go and return with the ship, there being no settlement in China. The latter (of voyaging) would be the best employment that I know for a young man.

There is no great dependence to be placed on projects, at so great a distance, because we cannot know what accidents may intervene and prevent, and indeed it would be a presumption in me to promise things that are so little in my own power. I can only promise that if he comes and if I live, I will do my part, exerting all that is in my power to provide an employment for him; and if that fail in England, if I come to New England, will bring him with me.

The unhappy miscarriage of Thomas has much troubled me. I have never heard any thing of him in India, though I have met with several who have been taken by pirates and returned or escaped. There are newly arrived four men-of-war (now in this road) who have brought an embassador from the new Company to the Mogul, and in their passage out touched at Madagascar, but met with no pirates. They have left the embassador ashore at Melchlepalam (on this coast) and are proceeding in quest of pirates, being sent

* * * *

[The remainder is lost.]

Salem, 29th August, 1700.

Dear Brother,

Three days since, I received your letter of *6th October,* 1699, from Fort St. George, which gives me much hope that I shall once again be made happy in the enjoyment of your good company; or at least, that you will come within reach of my pen. I hope by this time, you, with your dear wife and children, are safely arrived in England. I thank you for the particular account you have given me of your circumstances, which is very acceptable to me. Tell your dear wife I hold myself much obliged to her, that she has an inclination to come to New England, which I hope is a good presage of her arrival here.

I sent a large packet of letters to Mr. Collet, to be com-

municated to you; which he advised he had sent away in January last; and because I suppose you will not meet with them, I have enclosed here a copy of my father, Mr. Higginson's, (not of my owne) letter. Others, as Mr. Sewall's, Peter Thacher's, and Major Sewall's, I had no copy of; that you may in part see how desirous we are of enjoying you here.

I now come to answer your question: 1st, you say "may a stock of 5 or 10 thousand pounds be employed? I answer, the trade of New England is large. We trade to all parts where the law doth not prohibit. Our principal commodities are dry merchandise, cod-fish fit for the markets of Spaine, Portugal, the Straits, also refuse dry fish, mackerel, lumber, horses and provision for the West Indies; the effects whereof mostly return for England. The returnes made directly hence for England, are chiefly sugar, molasses, cotton-wool, logwood and brazilla-wood; for which, we are beholden to the West Indies. Of our owne produce, we have a considerable quantity of whale and other fish-oyles, whale bone, furrs, deer, elk and bear skins; which are usually sent for England. We have also silver, lead, and copper mines; but, for want of artists, there has been little got out of them. In all or any of which, a man may employ his money.

2*d*. "Whether 2 ships can be employed constantly between England and New England with that stock, and of what burden?" I answer; 2 ships may be employed with the stock of a 100 tons or more; but here is much shipping, freight very low, and it is a query whether you had not better ship upon freight, than either hire or owne vessels. The factor here may always have freight when he can provide it.

3*d*. "How many trips can one ship make, in one year, between England and New England; and what are the proper seasons of voyaging?" I answer, It is possible for a ship to make two trips in a year, but it is seldom done. The season for voyaging is almost all the year; the dead of winter most difficult to come on this coast; the best time between April and November.

4*th*. "How may Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and other places in the West Indies or in Europe, be made use of in carrying on a trade between England and New England?

Please to name the correspondent whom you have employed, or known, in any such place." I answer, that Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and other places in the West Indies, are very proper to be made use of in making returns for England, of their commodities, the more advantageous than direct from hence. For instance, molasses has been this year at 12*d* a gallon, besides the charge of casks, &c., in Barbadoes ; and much molasses, which has been shipped of hence for England, cost here 2*s* a gallon, besides other charges of commission, cooperage, &c. The freight from Barbadoes being much the same as from hence, I judge it more advantageous to have returns of that kind from Barbadoes, than from New England ; sugar and cotton are much the same. Places proper in Europe to make returns to England from, and are much improved for that end, from hence, are Bilboa, Cadiz, Oporto, and the Streights ; where the markets are variable, according to the plenty or scarcity of the commodities. For correspondents in Barbadoes, I have had business with Mr. William Adams and his brother Conrad Adams. William served his time in this towne with Major Browne ; has now married a good fortune in Barbadoes, and understands business well, and is a faithful man. His brother Conrad lived some time in this towne, is now at Barbadoes, a worthy man. If any thing considerable should be sent that way, it may be best to consign them in partnership for France and Leward Islands. I know none there ; but here is one John Bradstreet, son of Doctor Samuel Bradstreet, about 24 years old, who served his time with Moses Byfield and Mico ; who has an estate in Jamaica, and is going this fall to settle there, whom I would commend to you, if you have occasion to send thither. At Jamaica, are sugar and log-wood for returns, and other things ; peices of eight, &c., for Bilboa, Couzin Hayler can inform you.

5*th*. "Whether Salem or Boston be the best place for trade ?" Answer, Boston, in some respects, Salem in others. Both well improved, may do well.

6*th*. "If Boston, whether you can manage business at Boston while you reside at Salem ?" For answer thereunto, I would propound to your consideration, that I have a son whose name is Nathaniel, now at prentice with Mr. Benjamin Browne, who has given his master great satis-

faction in his service ; is twenty-one years of age the 1st of April next ; and then out of his time. I intend, God willing, he shall wait upon you by the first ship after he is out of his time, and hope he will be very capable of business, being bred up a Salem merchant, and went to the Latin school till he was fourteen years old. Now if any business considerable should happen, I do propound that my son Nat., should live at Boston, and manage a warehouse there, and what goods may be proper for our trade at Salem, I would manage here, and should be often also at Boston, to oversee and assist there ; also my eldest son John, whom I brought up at home, is very capable of business, a very hopeful young man as any in our towne, sober and judicious. He was married at 20 years of age to Hannah, daughter to Captain Samuel Gardner ; is now 25 years old ; has made a good progress in the world ; built him a good house ; has one fishing vessel ; is Lieutenant of one of our military companies, and register to the Judge for probate of wills and granting administrations for this county ; and well accepted in the place. Now, if business worth while should offer, he may likewise be concerned. He has one daughter, and 2 sons, Mary, John and Samuel. There is now in England, one Mr. Edward Broomfield, a Merchant of Boston, and a Justice of peace ; another to whom I refer you for further satisfaction about these matters. He married our Colonel Danforth's daughter. And I would further propound my opinion, that, considering that money is of late grown so exceeding scarce amongst us, that the making of returns for England, by the way of Barbadoes, Leeward-Islands, Bilboa, Oporto, Cadiz, and Isle of Wight, would be more easy and safe than direct for England ; and it's probable, more advantageous ; because, money being scarce, and returns direct, difficult to be got, debts must be contracted to procure money, which will be hardly got in ; whereas, a man may sell more goods, and better get in his debts more speedily and certainly, for barter of goods for those markets, than direct.

7th. I have enclosed and sent a list of those goods which I judge proper for Salem trade, and as near as I know the cost in England, and what they may be sold here ; though there must be allowance given for variation of prices here and there, as they may happen to be scarce

or plenty,—for there, goods and every thing (which is not the produce of this country), that is fit for the use of mankind for use and delight, is proper: Though I do not advise to send any extra high priced things, the meaner sort most vendible.

Your former letter you mention, is not yet come to my hand. I have not received any from you, since that of 26*th* of *September*, 1698.

If your attornys, before your arrival, or yourself after your arrival, should see cause to send any goods to me, I shall endeavor faithfully to do my utmost for your advantage, and follow the direction given me thereabout. For any thing you may be desirous to know about the circumstances of the trade, government and concerns of this country, the forenamed Mr. Broomfield will fully satisfy you.

It is reported that the Earle of Bellamont, our present Governour, is like to be sent for home to England. If so that you should incline to give yourself up to the fatigues and trouble of Government, its possible you may obtain it, and I believe you would be very acceptable to the generality of the people.

I have not heard any thing of our brother Thomas, since he went away out of this country; do'nt doubt he is come to some untimely end.

I do heartily thank you for the good will you express in your letter to me and mine, and hope there will some good arise to us therefrom; but dear brother, the uncertainty of markets at home and abroad; the scarcity of money; the doubts I have, that there will not be an encouraging profit in sending this way, make me doubt* that you and I shall be frustrated in our expectation. However, if when you have had the best advice you can from hence and in England concerning trade, if you see cause to be concerned this way, I will do you the best service I can.

Dear brother, I, my wife and children, do desire heartily, that we may be made happy in the enjoyment of your good company and advice before other things. My dear wife saith that she is almost reconciled to * * * *

[The remainder of this letter is lost.]

* Apprehend.

[There is also a paper written by the venerable parent, dated ***May*** **1, 1705, entitled "My last words to my children."** It begins with stating, that he came to New England in the year 1629, with his honored Father; that he was "acknowledged to be a member of the purest [church] of Salem, and upon examination by the Pastor, was received to full communion, and admitted to the Lord's Supper."—We learn, elsewhere, that "he was the first person admitted to this church, after its formation."—In the writing before us, in a strain of deep and solemn piety, he gives his paternal counsels; and thus concludes;—"Amongst other good books, I desire you to read often, my little book *of making peace with God.* It contains the substance of all saving truth: and so the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

Your dying father, JOHN HIGGINSON.]

COLONEL QUARRY'S MEMORIAL

TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS,

ON THE STATE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

Copied from a MS. *in the Library of the British Museum; and communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society, by* J. FRANCIS FISHER, *Esq., of Philadelphia; a Corresponding Member.*

[Colonel Quarry was Judge of the Admiralty in New York and Pennsylvania, and a kind of Government Spy in this country. See the Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, for a memorial of his, on the subject of the state of the Colony of Pennsylvania and William Penn's replies. He was said to be of the council for five governments at one time, viz. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Beverley, in his History of Virginia, pp. 92, 96 and 97, represents him as joining with Nicholson, the then Governor of that Colony, in unfavorable representations against the Colonies. He died about the year 1712.]

COLONEL QUARRY'S MEMORIAL.

The State of Pennsylvania.—I received your Lordships Letter of the 25th of ffebruary, with her Majesty's Order in Council, relating to the Courts of Judicature in this Province and the three lower Counties, which I do assure your Lordships, came very seasonably to quiet the minds of the People, which were in a perfect ferment, occasioned by the Proceedings of the last Sessions, held the 10th of April.

Courts of Judicature in Pennsylvania.—In my last, I gave your Lordships an Account that the Goal of this place was thronged with Murderers and ffelons, and that Governour Hamilton had given a Special Commission to two Gentlemen, to try to make a Goal Delivery: But the Jury summoned, would not serve on matters of so high a nature, as the lives of the Queen's subjects, since Mr. Hamilton was not qualified as the Law directs, not having Her Majesty's approbation ; so that Commission fell ; and, in a few days after the Sessions came on, there was a strong debate upon the Bench, about trying of these murderers and ffelons. Some were cautious, and proposed to have them tryed by Judges, Jury and Evidences, sworn and qualified according to Law, but the Major Part carried it, for trying them without any Oath, or so much as the Affirmation to be taken either by Judges, Jury or Evidences, and accordingly they proceeded. At first the People could not believe that they were in earnest, but to their great astonishment, they found them as good as their words.

Several of the Judges left the Bench and refused to act with 'em, and so did Mr. Pen's Attorney General, however they quickly appointed another Attorney, and proceeded. One person was found guilty of murder, whom they condemned to be hanged, and pronounced the sentence of Death ; others the Jury found only guilty of manslaughter, who were immediately burnt in the hand, and put to their Clergy by the Court. All Quakers, and others for Rape and less crimes, discharged.

As soon as they had ended these Sessions, they dispatcht away a Messenger to Colonel Hamilton, to sign the Warrant of Execution ; but he lay very sick then in East-Jersey, and in two days after dyed, being the 26th of April ; so that the murderer hath by that means, as yet escaped hanging. I cannot sufficiently express the great consternation that possest the Spirits of People on this occation ; Every one made it their own case, and thought themselves not secure of their Lives under this Quaker Government ; if they must be tryed by Judges, Jury and Evidence, which are under no tye or obligation of an Oath, or so much as an Affirmation according to Law ; so that when your Lordshipp's letter came, with the Queen's order in Council, they could not forbear Publick Rejoicing.

The Queen's Letter presented.—And now my Lords, give me leave to acquaint you, that in obedience to your commands, I attended on the President and Council, and shewed them Her Majesty's Order, which was read ; after which they were pleased to say, that they would readily comply with the Queen's Orders, in what lay in their Powers, and not contrary to their consciences. I thought this too general an answer, and prest them to give a more positive one, which they have promised to do, in fifteen days time.

I quickly found that they would evade that Order, by finding Persons fit for their purpose, that would either take the Oaths or the Affirmation ; But then they conclude that neither the Jury nor the Evidence are obliged to take either, but the Queen's Order ; but wee hope that your Lordshipps will please to get a further Explanation of Her Majesty's Orders, to secure Her Majesty's subjects from that greatest Evill ; and that in Criminal Matters, they may not be concerned on their Affirmation, since the Law Expects them.

It seems very strange that that Government should venture to act at that extravagant rate, when they know very well that there are complaints against them, before your Lordshipps, for presuming formally to try, condemn and execute the Queen's subjects, without either the Judges, Jury or Evidences being sworn : But they think Mr. Pen's interest so great with her Majesty and Ministers of State, that they may venture to doe any thing ; and indeed many believe them, seeing he hath interest enough to gain any

point: The Death of Col. Hamilton will alter all his measures here, and gives us hopes that all things will now be settled on a sure foundation.

Having perused the two Deeds granted to Mr. Pen, by King James when Duke of York, for the three lower counties, and finding that no Powers of Government are conveyed by them, and that no Commission was granted to him from the Crown, to exercise the Powers of Government, I could not imagine what colour or pretence he had, for assuming all the powers of Regal Government: At last by the assistance of one of his Officers, in searching the Records of this Province, I found the Law or Act of Assembly made here, which is the foundation of all his pretences. I have here enclosed, sent you a copy of it, by which your Lordshipps will see that he hath no powers but what he hath been pleased to give himself.

I have enquired into the circumstances of passing that Act, and have this account from some of the persons that were Members of that Assembly; who say that at Mr. Pen's first coming over into these parts, he did not in the least pretend to the Government of the Lower Counties: But after some considerable time, he employed his Agents about the Country, to persuade the people to petition him, that they might be united to his Province, and under one Government with them. They were told what a great advantage it would be to them, which induced them to comply. So that, in case the People have power to make Mr. Pen Governor, or he to make himself one, he is duly qualified: But if that cannot be, and is ridiculous to suppose, then I affirme he hath no pretence nor the least Right to the Government of the three lower Counties, and yet for him still to assume and exercise all Powers of Government, and to dispute his Right of Government with her Majesty, astonishes us all.

Commission opened after Mr. Hamilton's death.—After the Death of Col. Hamilton, they opened a Commission which Mr. Pen left at his going hence, in the hands of his Secretary. By which he appoynted that in case of Col. Hamilton's death, the administration of the Government of Pensylvania should be in the Council, but whether by design or mistake, he hath made no provision for the Government of the Three lower Counties. His ffriends give

out that it was by mistake, but others are of another opinion ; for when he went hence, he had no hopes of continuing the Government, and therefore was resolved to leave the three lower Counties in confusion. I doe most humbly propose, that your Honours will please to take some speedy course, for settling that country.

The Three Lower Counties Valuable to the Crown.—The encouragement of the Three Lower Counties, will be of ten times the advantage to her Majesty in her Revenue, that the Province of Pensilvania is ; for all the Tobacco that is shipped out of this Bay, is produced in those Three Counties, the Trade of which will increase daily, if encouraged.

One Standard of Coynes beneficial to Trade and her Majesties Colonies.—I thought myself obliged to acquaint your Lordshipps, that nothing could tend more to the encrease of Trade, and the prosperity and good of these parts of the world, than what your Lordshipps have proposed, the reducing all the Coynes of America to one standard ; And it will in the first place have this Effect, to prevent the carrying the money in specie out of her Majesty's Governments of Virginia and New York, into the Proprietary Colonies, it will make most of the money center in England ; for those Provinces that do not produce such commodities as are fit to be shipt for England, must be forced to send the pieces of 8 in Specie, to make returns for the goods they receive from thence, which they are forced to do sometimes now, though the difference of Exchange is in some places 30, 40, and in Pensilvania, 50 per cent worse than Sterling. It will make Trade Easy, give a general satisfaction to all sorts of people, and prevent the Labourers and Tradesmen from Quitting the Queen's Governments, to go and settle in the Proprietary Governments on the bare name of Great Wages, when in reality it is but a mere cheat : However, this Noyes and Gingle carries abundance of people from her Majesty's Plantations, where their labour doth vastly augment her Majesty's Revenue, in the improvement of those Commodities that pay a considerable duty ; whereas all their Labour and Industry in this, and the other Proprietary Governments, is of no advantage to the Crown.

Account of the Disorders in Carolina.—I received Letters

this week from South Carolina, which give me a very strange account of the great disorders which have happened in that Government, since their unfortunate disappointment and miscarriage against St. Augustine. The charge of this Expedition, hath fallen very heavy upon the Country, and the ways and means for raising the money hath left them all together by the Ears. I will not trouble your Lordshipps with particulars, since you will have it at large from both Parties.

Method of reducing St. Augustine: Advantages of it.—The Warr is continued very briskly, by the Indians which are under the English Government, and those under the Spaniards. Our Indians have in several Battles killed a great number of them, above 500 of them in one battle, besides Spaniards that were amongst them: They have also burnt many of their Towns, and destroyed almost all their corn, and provisions; so that, unless St. Augustine be supplied from the Havanna, they cannot subsist long. Considering the condition of that place, it may be reduced with ease, and very little charge to her Majesty. I propose that one or two Men of Warr, in their way home from Jamaica, may as they come through the Gulf, stop at St. Augustine with a Bomb Ketch. Timely notice must be given to the Government of Carolina, that they may goe with their fforces by the Inland Passage, which they will undertake very readily, being fully satisfyed of the necessity of taking that place; else they must expect nothing but ruine.

I have sufficiently layed before your Lordshipps, the advantage of reducing this place, not only in reference to Carolina, but to all Her Majesty's Governments on the Maine. It will put a stop to the French designs who are endeavouring from Canada, to secure the Inland parts of the whole Maine.

I have formerly shewn the ways and means they make use of, to effect this great design, but by our securing the Southern Parts, we shall prevent them, and break all their measures by securing the Indians to the Interest of England, which will be easily effected, since they must depend upon us for the supply of Indian Trade.

Port Royal preferable to St. Augustine.—St. Augustine being reduced, Her Majesty may then either make that the seat of Government, or demolish it and settle Port Royal,

which is on all accounts a far better place, in respect to its situation, goodness of land, but above all, it hath the advantage of a very good River. I can now assure your Lordshipps, that a very ingenious man and good artist, hath lately surveyed all that Coast and harbour, and found not less than four fathoms at low water, and it flows about six foot, which is water enough for a ffourth rate ship. I have formerly layed before your Lordshipps, the great advantage it will be to Her Majesty in settling this place which I refer to.

Reasons of the disorder in Carolina.—And to proceed to give the reasons of the present distractions and confusions in South Carolina.

The ffirst step was the great irregularity in the late Governour's venire in the Election of Assembly, in which were forcibly returned several persons, being chosen by persons not qualified, as negroes, aliens, seamen, and members of the Upper House, and all this to serve a turn. And amongst other designs, the main was for drawing out the Country into Arms, to attaque St. Augustines, when at the same time, they had neither Man of War, Bomb Ketch, nor Guns fit to make a breach ; so that the designe was contrary to all reason and sense. However, the Governor was resolved to prosecute the undertaking, though by so doing, he ran the hazard of ruining the whole Country, which will certainly be the consequence, unless your Lordshipps will please to prevail with Her Majesty, to assist in reducing that Place.

After the defeat of this ill-managed Design, the next thing that lay before the Assembly, was to consider how to pay the Debt contracted on this Occasion, which amounted to no less than 8000 pounds. Those Gentlemen that were against carrying on the Warr, under all these unreasonable circumstances, were, however willing to pay the Debts, provided they might have those late abuses in the Election of the Assembly, and other grievances remedied. But the Governour refused these good offers, which forced more than half of the Assembly to withdraw, and enter their Protest: on which followed a great Ryot for many days. They broke open several Gentlemen's Houses, assaulted, beat and abused several Gentlemen of the best quality in the Country. Complaynt being made to the

Governour, he refused to do them Justice, nor could they have Justice in the Court, upon an Indictment brought against the Ryoters. These confusions in the Country forced Sir Nathaniel Johnson to publish his Commission, which till then he had not. The abused complain to him, but he tells them it is now too late, but he would take care for the future, no such actions should be allowed. So for want of Justice, those Gentlemen that were abused and injured, resolved to send persons home, to complain and represent their case to your Lordshipps for redress. I will not take up more of your Lordshipps time on this subject, but refer you for particulars, to those Gentlemen that are gone home on purpose to attend on your Lordshipps about this business.

The State of New England.—I thought myself obliged to make some few remarks upon the Government of New England.

In the first place, I believe it would be impossible for any Governour to serve the Interest of the Crown under the present Constitution of that Government, for as long as they have the choice of the Council, the Judges, the Sheriffs, and consequently the Juries, and all the other officers, they have nothing to hope for or fear from the Queen's Government. I cannot see what advantage it is to her Majesty, to have only the appointing of the Governor and Secretary: It gives them colour of opposing the commands of the Crown, and carrying on their own Interest, without running any hazard. Whereas, were the choice wholly in them, it would put them upon their guarde, make them very cautious what they did, and very ready to comply with the commands of the Crown, for fear they should forfeit and lose all: but now they have secured all they would have; and in case of any wrong measure, misfortunes and any ill-conduct in Government, they will find pretences enough to lay all on her Majesty's Governour, so that they think themselves in far better circumstances than ever. Besides the present Constitution of this Government, hath a great influence on all Her Majesty's Governments in America, in most of which I can assure your Lordshipps, that Commonwealth notions and Principle, is too much improved within these few years. The people are uneasy, that Her Majesty's Subjects in New

England and the Proprietary Governments, should enjoy more Privileges and benefits in Government and Trade, than they do.

This puts them upon Enquiry, Projects and Tryalls of Skill with their several Governours, in hopes to gain the same Privileges, which else they never would have thought on. This growing evil requires speedy application, and with humble submission to your Lordshipps, nothing will so effectually answer that end, as reducing all the Provinces on the maine of America, to one Standard Rule and Constitution of Government, as near as circumstances will admit ; and also to one Standard of Coyn. The effecting of both is, and hath been for some time under your Lordshipps consideration. I hope quickly to see it put in practice. It will make all her Majesty's Governments easy satisfyed and happy, and will tend to your Lordshipps eternal Honor, in being the Instruments of so much good to all Her Majesty's Provinces.

Colonel Dudley can prevail nothing.—Col. Dudley hath been forced already to dissolve two Assemblies, nor will the third any ways answer his Expectation : They being resolved to choose the very same Men. He hath shewn himself very active in endeavouring to secure the Frontiers of that Government : but he cannot make brick without straw ; They are resolved to oppose him, though he hath studyed in all things to oblige and please them : Yet he finds that all his parts, ingenuity and long Experience of the People, cannot stem the current of their prejudice against him. They say that he hath given several instances of his remembering the old Quarrel, and they resolve on their parts, never to forget it, so that it is generally believed, he will never gain any poynt from them. They do not stick to say, that a stranger could prevaile ten times more with them, which shews the temper and uncharitableness of these People.

A Governour depending on the People's humours for subsistence, cannot serve the Crown.—Besides, I cannot see how it is possible for any Governour to serve the Interest of the Crown that must depend upon the precarious humours of the people for a subsistence. They will never part with their money, unless they have an equivalent, or something more valuable. It lays the Governour under the Tempta-

tion, of making sometimes a very disadvantageous bargain for the Crown, and stooping below the dignity of his character. A Governour ought to have his support as well as dependance, immediately from the Crown, though at the same time, the fund ought to come from the People, but by such ways and means as ought first to settle it in the Crown. I doe most humbly beg your Lordshipps pardon for this freedom.

Colonel Nicholson at New York.—Col. Nicholson was lately here, in order to consult His Excellency, my Lord Cornbury, about some matters relating to Her Majesty's service. There is a good correspondency between these two Governours, which will be attended with very good effects.

The Queen's Governours to meet once a year.—Your Lordshipps directions for a Meeting once a year, of all the Queen's Governours on the maine, would be of very great service on several accounts, and more especially in order to the removal of all scruples and objections, which may be raised against that general good, of bringing all the Governments under one System, Form and Constitution. And now that I have had occasion to speak of that worthy Gentleman, Col. Nicholson, give me leave to make some few short remarks on him and the Government of Virginia.

When he found that the Assembly were not willing to pay their Quota for the support of Albany, he being ordered not to press the business too far, was resolved however, that Her Majesty's Interest should not suffer ; though the Assembly would not understand their own: Yet no man knew better than he, who by long experience could judge, that the support of Albany is the only security, that all the Governments on the maine have against the ffrench, and all the Indians in their Interest: He very well knows, that if Albany be not effectually supported, we must lose all the Five Nations that are now in our Interest, and are the only barrier against the ffrench, and all those great Nations in their Interest. By the neglect of Albany, we shall not only lose so many sure friends, but shall add so many great and warlike Nations to the number of our enemies, and then, I am sure it will be in the power of the ffrench, to be Masters of all Her Majesty's Provinces on the maine, when they please. This is a truth which I am

sure your Lordshipps know very well, and if you please to lay your commands on me, I will demonstrate it with such reasonable and convincing arguments, as will leave little or no room for objecting. All which, Governour Nicholson knows so well, that as soon as he found that the Assembly would not see their own Interest, or comply with Her Majesty's orders, he went immediately to New York, and out of great zeale to Her Majesty's service and security of Her Provinces, he gave his own Bills for 900 pounds sterling, to answer the Quota of Virginia; wholly depending on Her Majesty's favour and justice, in reembursing him again out of Her Revenue in that Province; which by his prudent conduct, he has retrieved from being considerably in debt, to more than 10,000 pounds in Bank, all publick Building and debts being paid.

Your Lordshipps do so very well know that Gentleman, that it is needless to say any more of him at present, but will proceed to say something of the present state of Virginia.

The State of Virginia.—The People are very numerous, dispersed through the whole Province. Their almost sole Business is planting and improving Tobacco, even to that degree, that most of them scarce allow themselves time to produce their necessary provision, and consequently take little leisure to busy themselves about matters of State. They have always been respectfull and obedient.

This of the Generall. But on every River of this Province, there are men in number from ten to thirty, who by Trade and Industry have gotten very competent Estates. These Gentlemen take care to supply the poorer sort with goods and necessaries, and are sure to keep them always in their debt, and consequently dependant on them: Out of this number are chosen Her Majesty's Council, the Assembly, the Justices and the Officers of the Government. Many of these Gentlemen have of late years applyed themselves in procuring from the Governours good Laws, for the better Government and Improvement of the Country. A thing very commendable, had they not been often mistaken in their notions and means of pursuing this end, which they truly are. They consider that this Province is of far greater Importance to Her Majesty, than all the rest of the Provinces on the maine, and therefore they falsely

conclude, that they ought to have greater Privileges than the rest of Her Majesty's Subjects. This put them upon a nice Enquiry into the circumstances of the Government; and finding that New England and the Proprietary Colonies are allowed greater privileges, both in respect of their Constitution of Government and Trade, this makes 'em very uneasy, and sowers their Temper to that degree, that it is very difficult for any Governour to please them, and pursue the Queen's Instructions.

The Assembly, they conclude themselves entitled to all the Rights and Privileges of an English Parliament, and begin to search into the Records of that Honourable House for Precedents to govern themselves by. The Council have vanity enough to think, that they almost stand upon equal Terms with the Right Honourable, the House of Lords. These false and pernitious notions, if not timely prevented, will have a very ill consequence. His Excellency, Governour Nicholson, by prudent conduct hath hitherto put a stop to this growing evil, in all parts of the Government, except a few factious spirits in the Council.

Your Lordshipps may see by the Council's last Address to Her Majesty, some of the leaven of these notions. They are pleased to justify their former reasons for not obeying the Order for paying their Quota, towards the support of Albany.

This they seem to do, in opposition to your Lordshipps Judgment in that case, nor doe they in that Address treate your Lordshipp with that due respect, which in duty they ought: but when I consider two of the Gentlemen that had a hand in drawing it up, I see no reason to expect better from them. I am no stranger to that secret wheel, which gives motion to all those mischievous designes, which are fomented in that Government.

I am not willing to give particular characters, without your Lordshipps directions, but I assure your Lordshipps, that the mischief lyes in a very narrow compass, and may easily be removed and prevented, by removing two, or three at most, out of the Council, who are men of uneasy spirits, and have made it their business to oppose Government.

I have much more to say on this subject, but for fear of trespassing on your Lordshipps, will refer to another opportunity. And now that I have layd before your Lordshipps

briefly this growing evil; I am very well assured, that your Lordshipps will apply the proper Remedy. I may now say, that now or never is the time to maintain and support the Queen's PREROGATIVE, and put a stop to those wrong, pernitious notions, which are improving daily, not only in Virginia, but in all Her Majesty's other Governments. A frown from Her Majesty now, can doe more than perhaps an army hereafter. I cannot recommend a more effectual means, than what I formerly mentioned. The reducing all Her Majesty's Governments on the maine, under one Constitution and Government, as near as possible.

The State of New York.—I did in my former Memorial, give your Lordshipps a short relation of the miserable, distracted and unhappy circumstances which the Province of New York was reduced to, during the Government of my Lord Bellamont and those that succeeded him, until the arrival of his Excellency, the Lord Cornbury. I did also lay before your Lordshipps, the happy change of affairs in relation to all parts of Government, but could not be so particular as that subject required.

I have since made it my business, to inform myself more exactly and nicely, into all the circumstances of this Government, which I hold myself obliged faithfully to represent to your Lordships under these several heads.

The state of the Revenue. The Militia, Arms and Ammunition. The Fortifications, both for defence of the Town, and for Albany, and the Inland Parts against the ffrench. The state of the Government, in relation to the *Indians. Trade. Laws. Temper of the People*, and lastly, in *Relation to the Neighbouring Governments.*

The state of the Revenue of New York.—As touching the *Revenue.* When my Lord Bellamont received the Government from Colonel Hecher, there was no more debt due, than the arrears of the Revenue and other Taxes would fully answer: But when his Excellency, my Lord Cornbury entered upon the Government, he found it at least 10,000 pounds in debt, and yet no new Fortifications built, nor the soldiers to be payed out of the Revenue: nor is it easy to guess, how all this could be in so short a time. My Lord hath taken much pains to find out the State of the Revenue, and how all those debts could be contracted; but Mr. Weaver carrying away the Books, makes it very diffi-

cult to be done. The ill-management of the Revenue, in my Lord Bellamont's time, has quite ruined the credit of the Government. I am very well assured, that it is quite impossible for this Country to discharge this debt, and without it be done, the Country must be very miserable.

The constant charge of supporting and defending this Government is very great, and the whole weight of it lyes on a small County. I am sure it is impossible for them to bear it, especially in War-time. I doe therefore most humbly propose, that Her Majesty be gratiously pleased to discharge the present debts of this Country.

And that some effectual means be found to oblige the other Governments on the maine to pay their Quotas towards the support of Albany. There is an absolute necessity, that these two points be effectually answered, nor will the case admit of much delay.

There is no depending on the neighbouring Governments for supply, since neither their own safety, nor the Queen's commands can oblige them to comply. Nothing will do but a short Act of Parliament in England, which I am sure will admit of very little debate, when your Lordshipps do lay before the Parliament ; that the security of Her Majesty's Empire on the Continent is concerned ; that the People of the several Governments will not see their own Danger, nor prevent it ; that in Reason and Justice, they are obliged ; that what is required of them, is very small and inconsiderable. Such an Act would not only answer this end effectually, but would be of great advantage on several accounts. It would open the people's Eyes, to see their own Interest, and make them more ready to comply with other of Her Majesty's just demands ; and cure them of that sower temper, which hath already possest them, in opposition to Government ; for, as I have already hinted to your Lordshipps, Commonwealth notions improve dayly, and, if it be not checked in time, the Rights and Privileges of English Subjects, will be thought by them too narrow.

State of the Militia in New York.—My Lord Cornbury found the Militia of this province, under no regulations at all, having neither Arms nor Ammunition as they ought ; nor were they even so much as drawn out to exercise or view them, in all my Lord Bellamont's time, except the

Regiment of Foot, at New York. His Excellency hath taken great pains in settling the Militia, under good Officers ; but he cannot as yet, supply the want of Arms and Ammunition. That must be done from England, and I hope with all speed possible. I am sure the safety of the Government requires it.

The Standing fforces at New York.—The Standing fforces were, at my Lord Cornbury's arrival, under very ill circumstances, quite naked for want of clothes ; not half of them had arms fit for service. Besides, the Queen's stores are but very ill furnished. My Lord hath taken great care to have all the arms fixed and in readiness, but without a supply, he will be at a great loss.

The Condition of the fforts at New York.—The fforts and ffortyffications both in New York and Albany, were left to my Lord in a miserable condition. The platforms rotten, many of the guns dismounted for want of carriages. My Lord Bellamont built a Magazine over the Gate of the Fort, which might more properly be called a Pidgeon house. It cost 800 pounds, though a better could be built for 200, but the building can no ways answer the end, being exposed to the danger of lightning, and to the shot and bombs of an enemy, and in blowing of it up, it would not only ruine the ffort, but a great part of the City. His Excellency hath for a small charge, built an extraordinary vault, which will effectually secure the powder from those accidents, and hath already put the ffort into some order, and in a little time, designs to compleat that work.

The Condition of the ffort at Albany, and out-fforts.—The ffort at Albany, and all the out-fforts are quite ruined and decayed, being only stockadoed, which were all quite rotten, not fit for any defence. My Lord hath layed the foundation of a stone fort at Albany, and hath carried it on a great way. It will be very regular, and answer the end : I hope his Lordship will quickly finish it. It gives great satisfaction to our Indians, who lay the great stress of their security on the defence of these fforts. No other consideration whatever, can secure them to the English Interest. Whenever they quit it, I am sure the remotest Province on the maine, will find the fatal effects of their being our enemies. That perhaps will open their eyes, to see their ruin and danger when too late ; though now they will not

prevent it, though they might on so very easy Terms as their small Quota: But I hope your Lordshipps will find a way to secure 'em even against their will.

Two ways of securing New York Province.—There are two ways of securing this Province, by Land and by Water. That by Land, must be by having good fforts at Albany, and the out places well manned, furnished and constantly supply'd; which my Lord resolves to do. I heartily wish his Lordship be not discouraged for want of money to carry on and compleat so noble a design. His Excellency hath resolved on the best and only way of securing this place by water, which is by building two Stone Batteries on the Narrows, between Long Island and Staten Island, which is the channel where all ships must come, and is so narrow, that these Batteries will command and secure this Harbour. I have taken a full view of it, that I might the better represent it to your Lordshipps.

The Trade of New York.—The Trade of this Place was formerly very considerable, beyond any of the Neighbouring Provinces, but hath been extreamly ruined and impaired ever since my Lord Bellamont came hither, even to that degree, that it will be some years, before they retrieve their former Trade; which is a great Misfortune to this Place, which doth so wholly depend upon Trade, and did enable them to support and maintain the great charge of the Government, which they find impossible for them to do, under the present circumstances. And now that they are the less able, the Tax and charge of supporting the Government, is far heavier on them than ever; when at the same time, their neighbours who have all along enjoyed the ffreedom and Advantage of Trade, have no ffrontiers to defend, nor do they pay any Taxes, yet refuse to give them any help, which they think very hard, and makes them very uneasy.

I have been here some time during the sitting of the Assembly, which gave me the opportunity of seeing the Temper of the People. They having a very great Honour and veneration for his Excellency, which is the only reason that restrains their discontents and uneasiness. However, they could not forbear to make some attempts and endeavours against the Queen's Prerogative, but my Lord quickly

saw through their design, and by a prudent conduct, put a stop to it.

The Assembly were for asserting Rights, which never any of their Predecessors ever pretended to. My Lord gave such solid reasons against their pretences, that I believe it hath not only secured the point, and quieted them for the present, but if I mistake not, will prevent all future attempts of that nature, especially during my Lord Cornbury's Government. I cannot be so particular as the nature of the subject requires, for fear of swelling this Memorial. I will therefore chuse to give your Lordshipps a state of this business by itself. What this Assembly attempted, proceeded from the same Spirit that hath infected all the Governments on the maine, though not as yet improved here to that degree as in other places.

My Lord hath used all the proper ways and means to secure the Five Nations, which is a very nice point to manage, besides a great charge in presents. They are very uncertain people to trust to, and do lye under very strong temptations from the ffrench.

It is a very hard case, that the security of so many of Her Majesty's Provinces and Subjects, should depend upon the uncertain humour of those Indians ; but it is certainly so, nor is there any way to remedy it but one, which will not only put an end to this precarious dependance, but also ease the Crown and Subjects of this Province, from the vast charge of maintaining fforces, ffortifications, and the constant bribery of the Indians, which amounts to a great constant yearly charge.

Taking of Canada, the only way of giving peace to America.—This Effectual way is, that Her Majesty will resolve to drive the French out of Canada, which I assure your Lordshipps may be effected with great ease.

It must cost the Crown some treasure, but by Effecting the design, Her Majesty will soon be reimburst the charge, by the Trade of that place : besides, there will be saved the yearly charge of maintaining the ffrontiers, and will entirely secure the Empire of America in peace, with the whole Trade of the maine, which will be of vast consequence.

And all this might be effected by two thousand regular fforces, ten Men of War, and two Bomb Ketches. The

effecting of this design is of that consequence, that all the maine would heartily join in it, as one man. I propose that the Ships and Regular fforces, should touch at Boston, and goe directly from thence to Quebeck in Canada; and, that at the same time, the fforces of America should march by land from Albany, with all the fforces of Indians. The ffrench are not three thousand effective men, in all that Country.

Nothing can be of so great consequence to Her Majesty, as the effecting of this business, and nothing is wanting, but that Her Majesty resolve on the designe; and then I am sure that My Lord Cornbury, and all the Governours on the maine, will propose the ways and means of carrying on this Design. I am sure that it will be of far more advantage to the crown, than the taking of Martinico, Guadalupa, and all the ffrench Islands; for Newfoundland and all the Trade of the Coast, will of course fall into the hands of the English; which is all I will venture to say on this head, but referr it to your Lordshipp's better judgment.

The State of East and West New Jersey.—And now proceed to tell your Lordshipps, that the Jerseys have been for a long time in confusion, having no Government; which makes them all, heartily wish my Lord Cornbury's Commission for that Province, were come; that so they might be settled on a sure foundation, which as yet they never have been.

The contests of West Jersey have always been betwixt the Quakers, and Her Majesty's subjects, that are no Quakers. The Quakers, though the far less in number, have always been supported in the Government against the others, over whom they have for many years insulted and tyrannized.

The contest in East Jersey, is of a different nature. Whether the Country shall be a Scotch Settlement, or an English settlement. The Scotch have had for many years, the advantage of the English, by the Interest of a Scotch Governour, Col. Hamilton; but it is the expectation of all, that my Lord Cornbury will reconcile all these differences, unite all Interests, settle 'em all on a sure foundation, and make them all easy and happy. They have all a very

great Opinion and Honour for His Lordship, which is a good step to that great work.

Considerable Quakers in Pensilvania, inclinable to Her Majesty's immediate Government.—I find that the most considerable men of the Quakers in Pensilvania, finding that Mr. Pen cannot secure them in their lawless power of Government, are now very willing to be under Her Majesty's Government, provided that my Lord Cornbury be appoynted the Governour. They have a very great respect for him, and say that they expect more justice from his Lordship, than ever they have had from Mr. Pen. All the rest of Her Majesty's good subjects of that Government, do heartily join with them, that his Excellency, my Lord Cornbury may be the happy instrument of making all easy, and settling us on the same foundation as the rest of Her Majesty's Governments, which is all that is wished or desired.

The State of Connecticut.—I did designe to have given to your Lordshipps, the History of Connecticut; but on a nice enquiry into the state of that place, I found the roguery and villainy of that Province, both in relation to Government and Trade, is enough to fill a volume, which makes me not willing to venture upon it at present. If the Government be continued longer in these men's hands, the honest Trade of these parts will be ruined; and my Lord Cornbury's Commission for commanding the Militia of that Country, will be of no use.

Observations on the State of the Guard Ships in the Colonies.—I did propose to have shewn to your Lordshipps at large, that the charge Her Majesty is at, in maintaining several Men of War in some of the Governments here, doth not in the least, answer any one end proposed by it; and all by the Temper and illconduct of those Captains that command Her Majesty's ships.

I presume that the main end of all this charge, is intended for the security of the Provinces, to prevent illegal Trade, and encourage honest Trade; but nothing of this is in the least answered.

He that hath the command of one of Her Majesty's Ships, be they never so small, thinks himself above all Her Majesty's Governours, and even above Govenment itself. They make it their business to oppose authority,

and when there is any ffaction in any place, they are sure to joyn with them against the Governour. They will lye in Harbour for a year together, without once going out to cruize.

By their ill usage of their men, they force them to run away from their Ships, and then they ruine the Merchants and Trade of the Place, by pressing away seamen from the Vessels. And thus, instead of encouraging the honest Trade, they ruine it ; and as for Illegal Traders, they are safe enough from their search or enquiry after them.

The Complaints against the Commanders of Her Majesty's Ships, are become general. I presume your Lordshipps will receive them from Virginia, Maryland and New York. It would take a Quire of paper, for particularizing the several rude, barbarous and extravagant actions of one Captain James Moody, Commander of the Southampton Man of War. He neither spared the Gentlemen of the Country, the Queen's Officers, nor the Governour himself, because they would not suffer him to marry a Gentleman's daughter, when at the same time, he hath a wife and children in London. This was a sufficient ground for him to attempt the lives of the Gentlewoman's Father, several of his relations, and especially a very worthy Gentleman, one Col. Cary, that courted the young Lady. The Governour was forced to secure the peace, the Country being all in an uproar, by this man's extravagant actions. The particulars your Lordshipps will have from the Governour and Council of Virginia ; with a long charge against one Captain Bostwick, from the President and Council of Maryland. That Gentleman's Conduct will fit him rather for Bedlam, than the Queen's Ship.

His Excellency, Lord Cornbury, will give you the character of one Captain Rogers, who by the death of Captain Stapylton, commands the Jersey Man of War, who hath lyen in Harbour ever since my Lord's arrival in this Place. Her Majesty was pleased to direct his Lordship, to order Captain Rogers to take several vessels loaden with provisions on Her Majesty's account in Pensilvania and Carolina, and convoy them to Jamaica, which might have been ready before Christmas last. But in the Fall, when my Lord ordered him to get ready his ship, he pretended she was unrigged and layd up, and could not be ready till the

Spring, but then would be ready by the 8th or 20th of March at furthest. Accordingly, the ships and provisions were all in readiness ; but, notwithstanding my Lord's repeated orders to him, he lay in the Harbour till the latter end of May ; all which time, Her Majesty paid demurrage, and the provisions lay on board, which was great damage. And, after he went to Philadelphia, and took the vessels there under his charge, refused to obey my Lord's orders, in touching at Carolina, to take these vessels with provisions under his convoy : But this is not all the mischief he hath done ; but by lying in Harbour so long at New York, and pressing the men out of the Merchant Ships, he hath ruined all this Summer's Trade of that place.

I cannot be more particular at present. Those Evills will never be remedied, unless the Captains of the Queen's Ships are ordered to be more immediately under the respective Governour's Commands.

Proposal about Naval Stores.—I did purpose to have layd before your Lordshipps, the great advantage it would be to Her Majesty, if proper methods were taken to encourage the sowing of Hemp and fflax in these parts, where there is a vast quantity of land very proper and fit for it : The people only want the security of a certain Market. It would be the interest of the Crown, to encourage them at least a few years, till they are settled in that Manufactory.

Her Majesty might be furnished from hence with Tar, Pitch, Rosin, all sorts of Timber and Masts, sufficient to supply all the Navy, which would be a great advantage, and prevent the money from going out of England. But to represent this fully in all its particulars, will require a distinct Memorial, which I resolve to present to your Lordshipps very suddenly.

I will not give your Lordshipps any further trouble at present, but to implore your Lordshipps pardon, and leave to subscribe myself, as truely I am,

Right Honourable,

Your Lordshipps

most obedient servant,

ROBERT QUARRY.

New York, June 16, 1703.

MEMOIR OF ISAAC ALLERTON.

[The following interesting notices were communicated to the Society, and a vote was passed, that they should be inserted in the Collections; but, on putting the Letter itself into the hands of the Committee of publication, the Judge, with great modesty, expressed a desire, that what he called the concluding complimentary part, might be omitted. The Committee, however, considered the passage to which he referred, so pertinent and justly rendered, as well as happily expressed, that "they had it not in their heart" to suppress it.—"*Reddite omnibus debita.*"]

Hon. John Davis.

Dear Sir,

In the appendix to your valuable edition of Morton's Memorial, (p. 393), having commented on the services rendered to Plymouth by Isaac Allerton, particularly in 1629, you remark that your information respecting that eminent man among the Pilgrims, after that year, is not such as you could wish. You find him at Salem, in July, 1630; returning from England, in the ship White Angel, in 1631; concerned in the loss of a trading wigwam at Machias, in 1633; suffering by the wreck of his pinnace from Port Royal, in 1634; and still farther impoverished by the loss of his bark at Cape Ann, in 1635; after which, you say, his name is not mentioned by any of the early writers. You quote from the manuscript of a friend, who says that "in 1646, Mr. Allerton appears to be an inhabitant of New Amsterdam," and you cite the testimony of Gov. Hutchinson, who says that he "left the country, and settled in England," and add that "his male posterity settled in Maryland." It gave me much pleasure to inform you, when I had the honor of meeting you a few days ago, that Isaac Allerton spent his last years in New Haven, and died here, in 1659. In compliance with the request

with which you honored me, I now give you such notices of him, as I can hastily glean from our town and colony records.

The first instance in which I find Mr. Allerton named, is in the record of a "General Court for the Jurisdiction," 27th Oct., 1643, at which "a proposition and request" were "made by Captain Underhill, and Mr. Allerton, by instructions from the Dutch Governor, and some of the freemen of that jurisdiction, for the raising of one hundred soldiers out of these plantations of the English, and armed and victualled, to be led forth by Captain Underhill against the Indians, now in hostility against the Dutch, to be paid by bills of exchange into Holland."

This is in keeping with the information of your friend's manuscript, that in 1646, Allerton was an inhabitant of New Amsterdam. As to the answer given to this proposal, it will suffice to say, that the Court, "though they were affected with a due sense of so much Christian blood, both Dutch and English, under the Dutch Government, lately shed by the Indians," declined the proposal, both because they did "not clearly understand the rise and cause of the war," and because they were restrained by the articles of confederation, with the other New England Colonies.

At what time Mr. Allerton began to reside in New Haven, I have not ascertained. It must have been however, before the 10th of March, 1646-7, for at that time "the names of the people, as they were seated in the meeting-house," were put upon record; and "Thomas Nash, Mr. Allerton, Bro. Perry," were assigned to the second seat of "the cross seats at the end." I need not say, that the "Mr." prefixed to Allerton's name, is a sign of some special respect. "Brother Perry," who was one of his seat-mates, was at that time, the Secretary of the town.

From that time, to the period of his death, I find him occasionally mentioned in the records. For example, at a Court held at New Haven, August 6, 1650, "Mr. Allerton's fence was complained of. Jno. Cooper and the Marshall informed the Court, that Mrs. Allerton hath had warning of it three times; and yet the fence is not mended, but two places remain still defective, as Jno. Cooper says. The Court ordered, that Mr. Allerton pay two shillings for

the two defective places, each time they have been warned." The same report about Mr. Allerton's fence, was repeated from one Court to another, and an additional fine of two shillings ordered each time, till December, when "Mr. Evance said Mrs. Allerton desired him to acquaint the Court with the case." The explanation was, that there had been all along, a misunderstanding between her and John Cooper, about the locality of the fence complained of. "The Court said they must rest in John Cooper's report, because he is in public trust for this matter of fences;" and therefore it was "ordered, that Mr. Allerton pay for the two defects at present, two shillings." All this goes to show, that though Mr. Allerton had his domicil in New Haven, he was, like the Allerton of Plymouth, a man whose business carried him away from home.

At a Court, Nov. 2, 1652, "William Paine and Robert Meaker, were complained of for absence at training. The Court was informed, that Mr. Allerton that morning sent to Mr. Goodyeare to get them free, because of some urgent occasion about his vessel. The Court considering that he did send to ask leave, and it was upon that occasion, and the time the vessel hath lain, and the afflicted state of Mr. Allerton otherwise, did for this time pass it over, without a fine." Methinks this must have been the same Allerton "the unlucky," whose misfortunes, as enumerated in your note, came so thick, in the loss of "wigwam" in 1633, "pinnace" in 1634, and "bark" in 1635.

I do not remember to have noticed any thing else particularly characteristic, till we come to the settlement of his estate. "An inventory of the estate of Isaac Allerton, late of New Haven deceased, taken Feb. 12, 1658," was presented to the Court, on the 5th of April, 1659. Mrs. Allerton, being asked whether there was any Will left by her husband, "answered there was, but she thought that her son had it with him, who was now gone from home." On the 5th of July, the son having returned, presented his father's Will, but the estate being greatly involved, the business was referred to the Court of Magistrates in October. At that Court "the writing presented as the last will and testament of Isaac Allerton," though informal

and without date, was sworn to by John Harriman and Edward Preston, the subscribing witnesses, as "sealed and subscribed by Mr. Allerton deceased, whilst he had the use of his understanding and memory, in a competent degree."

The "writing" was little else than a few hasty memoranda of debts due to him, which he desired his son Isaac, and his wife to receive and to pay out to his creditors "as far as it will go." It begins thus:

"An account of debts due at the Dutch. First, 700 and odd guilders from Tho. Hall, by arbitration of Captaine Willet and Augustine Harman about Captaine Scarlet, which I paid out," &c.

Among the debts due to him, there were 900 guilders from "John Peterson the Bore" [qu. boor?] "as by George Woolseye's books will appear;" from Richard Cloufe, "as George Woolseye's book will make appear, I think 900 guilders, but his estate being broken, I desire that what may be gotten, may be laid hold on for me;" from Henry Brasser "for rent for 18 months from the first October, 1656, to the last of May, '58: for three rooms at 3 guilders a week." He adds, "There is £20 in George Woolseye's hand, that came from Mr. Thomas Mayhue for me." Then, after the sentence constituting his son and wife trustees, he adds, as if it were an afterthought, a memorandum of "a parcell of book lace in Captain Willet's hands, 1300 and odd guilders." Next is the place of the Seal, which is followed by these two sentences, "My brother Bruster owes me fourscore pounds and odd, as the obligations [make] appear. Besides all my debts in Delloware Bay and in Virginia, which in my booke will appear, and in Barbadoes what can be got.

ISAAC ALLERTON, *Senior.*"

The widow and son, both declined the trust of settling the estate, though he was urged as being "the deceased's eldest or only son." Trustees were therefore appointed by the Court. Captain Gookin was one of the creditors. Isaac Allerton, the son, purchased of the creditors, his father's "dwelling-house, orchard and barn, with two acres of meadow."

In a late volume of records, I find a deed dated Oct. 4, 1660, by which Isaac Allerton, not naming any place to which he belonged, or at which he was, at the time of executing the instrument, alienates to his "mother-in-law, Mrs. Johanna Allerton, the house that she now dwells in at New Haven New England," with all the furniture in it, and the lands and appurtenances belonging to it, and also some other personal property, to hold and enjoy during the term of her life, and afterwards to return into the possession of his daughter, Elizabeth Allerton and her heirs, and in case of her dying without issue, then to return to him, the first donor, and his heirs and executors, without intermission. To this deed, after it was recorded, was added in the margin of the book, the following "true record" of a postscript. "This deed, though never witnessed when granted, I do hereby confirm to all intents and purposes, as if it had then been authentically witnessed, and do sign and seal the same in the presence of

March 10, 1682-3. { John Sallmon. / William (W. C.) Corfield. his mark. }

ISAAC ALLERTON."
Seal.

From all these notices, it appears that Isaac Allerton, the pilgrim, whose second wife was Fear Brewster, left at his death only one son Isaac, who graduated at Harvard, in 1650 (see the Appendix to Prof. Kingsley's Centennial Discourse); and a third wife, Johanna, the step-mother of that only son. It appears further, that the son removed to a distance from New Haven, perhaps to Maryland, as Hutchinson says, perhaps to England ; and that he had a daughter Elizabeth. From the perfect silence of the will and other documents, respecting any surviving daughters of the elder Allerton, it may be conjectured, though not certainly inferred, that there were none. From the terms of the deed, signed by the younger Allerton, we may reasonably conclude, that at the date of the deed in 1660, and probably at the date of the postscript, more than

twenty years later, he had no son ; so that we may presume, that in him the race of Isaac Allerton, in the male line at least, became extinct.

As a New Haven man, called by an occasion to act the part of "Old Mortality," I was pleased to ascertain the fact, that among the "garnered dust" which consecrates our public square, is the dust of one of the pilgrims of the Mayflower, the fifth in order of the signers of that memorable compact, signed at Cape Cod, Nov. 11, 1620. To you as a Plymouth man, who have so well fulfilled the "sacred duty" of "renewing to the eyes of posterity, the decaying 'MEMORIAL' of the zeal and sufferings of the forefathers, and thereby trimming, as it were, the beacon light which is to warn future generations to defend their religion," to you of whom it may be said, that "to talk of the exploits of the 'pilgrims' is the delight, as to repair their monuments had been a business of his life," and who have been so "profuse in the communication of all the minute information, which you have collected concerning them, their wars, and their wanderings," the time which I have spent in thus ascertaining the burial-place, and relating all that we can now know of the latest calamities of Isaac Allerton, will not seem to be wasted.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
LEONARD BACON.

New Haven, 15th Jan. 1838.

Postscript.—Perhaps the inference on the first line above is unwarranted. From a hasty examination of the record of births, marriages and deaths, since writing the above, I have ascertained the following particulars.

"Elizabeth Allerton, the daughter of Isaac Allerton, Junr., was born 27th Sept., 1653."

"Isaac Allerton, the son of Isaac Allerton Junr., was born the 11th day of June, 1655."

Elizabeth Allerton, was married to Benjamin Starr, 23d Dec., 1675. Allerton Starr, their son, was born 6th Jan. 1676-7.

Benjamin Starr died, as appears from the Probate records, in 1678. His widow, Elizabeth Allerton, was mar-

ried to Simon Heyers, afterwards written Eyre, 22d July, 1679. Isaac Eyre, their son, was born 23d Feb., 1683-4.

A friend, learned in the records, has pointed out to me the fact, that in May, 1684, "Elizabeth Eyre, formerly Elizabeth Allerton, now wife of Simon Eyre," conveyed by deed to her "dear and loving husband, Simon Eyre" the reversion of a house, &c., "which my grand-mother, Mrs. Johanna Allerton now dwells in," &c.

From all these notices, I infer, that when Isaac Allerton the younger went away, he left his daughter Elizabeth, then a child, with her grand-mother, and that if his son Isaac was then living, he took the boy with him to those parts, unknown to which he then migrated. The silence of the deed is somewhat less significant, than I supposed it to be.

[The Committee of Publication, take the liberty of making the subsequent addenda, to the preceding notice of Mr. Allerton. The two facts immediately ensuing, we have from the Journal of Winthrop. Feb. 1, 1634, "Mr. Cradock's house at Marblehead, was burnt down about midnight before, there being in it, Mr. Allerton and many fishermen, whom he employed that season." Feb. 22d. "This season, Mr. Allerton fished with eight boats, at Marblehead." This was a part of Salem till 1649. The Massachusetts Colony Records state, that March, 1635, Mr. Allerton was to be notified by the Civil Authorities, that he had leave to depart from Marblehead. It is not unlikely, that he followed Roger Williams, from Plymouth to Salem, in 1633, to sit under his ministry; and that he had subjected himself to their displeasure, for attachment to his Teacher, who was already in conflict with them. Whether Mr. Allerton compromised the difficulty with the General Court, as others did, so as to continue within their jurisdiction, is not certainly known. But as one of his vessels was employed, in the succeeding August, to transport Mr. Avery from Newbury to Marblehead, for the purpose of preaching at the latter place, it would seem as if he were permitted to remain. The Records of the Salem Church, show that he became a member of their body in 1647. This last fact appears to contradict his being ordered a seat in the meeting house of New Haven, early in the same year, where he was living in 1643, as represented by Winthrop. Still one of these events seems as likely as the other, and both of them were probably and mutually reconcilable at the time they occurred. *Pub. Com.*]

BEVERLY.

[The succeeding memoranda of Beverly, and biography of Rev. John Hale, minister there, were furnished by Robert Rantoul, Esq., at the particular request of an eminent member of our publishing Committee, in 1835. *Pub. Com.*]

Beverly was first settled as a part of Salem, by the removal of John Woodberry and William Woodberry, who were brothers, together with some other of Roger Conant's companions, from the south side to the north side of Bass river, which separates Beverly from Salem, about the year 1630. Roger Conant and John Balch, afterwards removed to the north side of the river, and were accompanied by other settlers, who were mostly from the West of England. The settlement was called "Bass river side," "Cape Ann side," and sometimes "Bass river." As early as 1649,* the settlers were so numerous, as to desire of the Church in Salem, "some course to be taken for the means of grace amongst themselves, because of the tediousness and difficulties over the water, and other inconveniences; which motion was renewed again the 22nd of the 7th Month, 1650; and the 2nd day of the 8th Month, they returned answer, that we should look out for us, some able and approved teacher to be amongst us, we still holding communion with them." † In 1656, the inhabitants on the north side of the river, were sufficiently numerous to build a meeting-house, which stood near the site of the present meeting-house of the First Parish. In this first house, Josiah Hubbard and Jeremiah Hubbard, preached for some time, and then John Hale, for about three years, during which time, the connection with the first church in Salem was preserved. On the 20th of September, 1667, a church was organized, and Rev. John Hale settled as the minister. It is noticeable, that the Records of the town begin as early as 1665, three

* Feb. 10, 1649-50. † Church records.

years before the incorporation. This is explained by the following extract from the records of the general court.

"In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of that part of Salem called Bass river side, craving the favour of this Court to invest them with power to choose yearly within themselves, a fit number of persons, who may have power, as selectmen have in other places, to raise those charges that are to be defrayed by and within themselves, and for the admission of those poor or others, who desire to inhabit with them (they being to maintain them, if they fall in want), and for what other small matter and business, arising properly within themselves, fall under the cognizance of Selectmen ; also, that they may choose their Constables and Surveyors, for their Highway, and what other officers or persons the affairs abovesaid may occasion and necessitate them to employ : Yet they would be understood, that their desire is still to continue with, and be a part of the Town of Salem, viz. in bearing with them, and they with us, common Town and Country charges, in common interest and concernment, as choice of Deputies for the General Court and such like, as they have hitherto proceeded together." "The Court, on perusal of their petition, hearing what Salem Deputies said, judge meet to grant their request, provided the town of Salem do fully concur therewith and agree thereto. Which if they shall not, the Court judge it meet that they manifest the same at the next session of this Court." Whether the Court fully granted their request or not, public meetings were held in relation to the support of public worship, and for other purposes, as appears by the records. The first mention of the settlement at Bass-river side, in the records of the General Court, is in 1645, when the highway was ordered to be changed from River-head to the landing at Draper's-point, and in 1647, the inhabitants of Mackerel Cove are granted their petition, to be free from being called to watch at Salem.

On the 14th of October, 1668, the Coves was incorporated by the name of Beverly. The act of incorporation is as follows. "The Court, on perusal of this return [return on an order of notice issued to Salem], judge it meet to grant, that Bass-river be henceforth a Township of themselves, referring it to Salem, to accommodate them

with lands and bounds suitable for them, and that it be called Beverly." The first Town meeting was held on the 23d of November, 1668. It appears that Roger Conant and his friends, were dissatisfied with the name given to the town, by the Court, and soon afterwards, but without success, petitioned for its change to "Budleigh," the name of the town in England, from whence Conant came. This petition contains facts in regard to Roger Conant, and to the first settlement of Salem, which are not to be found elsewhere, and is as follows.

"*To the Honored General Court, consisting of magistrates and deputies.* (*The 28th of the 3d month,* 1671.)

The umble petition of Roger Conant, of Bass-river, alias Beverly, who hath bin a planter in New England, fortie eight years and upwards, being one of the first, if not the very first, that resolved and made good my settlement under, in matter of plantation, with my family, in this Collony of Massachusetts Bay, and have bin instrumental both for the founding and carriing on of the same, and when in the infancy thereof, it was in great hassard of being deserted. I was a means, through grace assisting me, to stop the flight of those few that then were heere with me, and that by my utter deniall, to goe away with them, who would have gon either for England, or mostly for Virginia, but thereupon stayed to the hassard of our lives. Now my umble suite and request is unto this honorable Court, onlie that the name of our towne or plantation may be altered or changed from Beverly, and be called Budleigh. I have two reasons, that have moved me unto this request. The first, is the great dislike and discontent of many of our people for this name of Beverly, because (wee being but a small place), it hath caused on us a constant nickname of beggarly, being in the mouths of many, and no order was given, or consent by the people to their agent for any name, until they were shure of being a towne granted in the first place.

Secondly, I being the first that had house in Salem (and neether had any hand in naming either that, or any other towne), and myself, with those that were then with me, being all from the western part of England, desire this western name of Budleigh, a market towne in Devonshire,

and neere unto the sea, as wee are heere in this place, and where myself was borne.

Now in regard to our firstnesse and antiquity, in this so famous a Collony, we should umbly request this small priviledg, with your favours and consent, to give this name abovesaid, unto our towne.

I never yet made sute or request unto the General Court for the least matter, tho' I think I might as well have done, as many others have, who have obtained much without hassard of life, or prefering the public good before their own interest, which I praise God I have done. If this my sute may find acceptation with your worships, I shall rest umble, thankfull, and my praiers shall not cease unto the throne of grace, for God's guidance and his blessing to be on all your weightie proceedings, and that iustice and righteousness may be everie where administered, and sound doctrine, truth and holiness everie where taught and practised, throughout this wilderness, to all posterity, which God grant. Amen.

Your worships' umble petitioner and servant,

ROGER CONANT.

It is likewise the umble desire and request of us, whose names ar heere underwritten, that the name of our town may be changed, as abovesaid.

William Dodg, Sen.	Peter Woodberry
William Dodg, Jun.	John Dodg
Exercise Conant	Ephraim Herrick
Edward Bishop	Osmond Traske
Lot Conant	John Sampson
Henry Bailey	William Rayment
John Rayment	Robert Hibbard
John Lovet, Sen.	Henry Herrick
William Dodg	John Black
Benjamin Balch	Isaac Hull
Cornelius Baker	Richard Haynes
Edmund Grover	John Gallop
John Hill	John Woodberry
John Grover	Zacharie Herrick
John Leech, Sen.	John Bennet
John Leech, Jun.	John Conant
Robert Morgan	John Lovett, Jun."

"June 1st, 1671. The magistrates having perused and considered this request, see no cause to alter the name of the place as desired, their brethren, the deputies, hereto consenting.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Consented to by the Deputyes.

WILLIAM TORREY, *Cleric.*"

Roger Conant, John Balch, John Woodberry and Peter Palfry, first settled in 1626, on the neck of land between Collins's Cove on the south, and the North river on the north, in Salem. Bridge Street, leading from the compact part of Salem to Essex (Beverly) Bridge, runs over this neck of land. Their first houses were near to the margin of the river, and their lots running from the river across the neck to Collins's Cove. John Balch removed to Beverly side of Bass river, in 1639. Conant and Woodberry removed at an earlier date. Palfry removed to Reading. Conant was born in Budleigh in England, in April 1591. In 1623 he came to Plymouth, thence in 1625 to Nantasket, in company with Lyford, a minister, and in the same year to Cape Ann, where he was superintendant of the fishing and planting of the Dorchester company. He there built a frame house, which was afterwards taken down, by Gov. Endicott, and removed to Salem, and is said to make a part of the old tavern, near the Court House, in Salem. In the Autumn of 1626, Conant and others removed from Cape Ann to Salem. It was owing to the firmness, resolution and perseverance of Conant, that the settlement at Salem was maintained until the arrival of Gov. Endicott, in 1628, with about a hundred colonists. Lyford accompanied Conant to Cape Ann, and from thence to Salem, but there forsook him, and went to Virginia. Conant was made a freeman, by the Court in 1630, and represented the town of Salem, in 1634. In 1636, he had a grant of 200 acres of land, at the head of Bass river, upon which he resided, and in 1671 two hundred acres in addition granted to him as an ancient planter, by General Court. His son Roger had a grant of land in Salem, in 1640, because he was the first born child in that town. Several of the descendants of the elder Roger

Conant, are now living in Beverly. He died in Beverly on the 19th of November, 1679, in the 89th year of his age.

In Farmer's Genealogical Register, his son Roger is mentioned as being alive in 1674 ; if this is correct, the following, which is carefully copied from an old bible, now in the possession of Henry Larcom of Beverly, must have been written by the widow of a third person, of the same name. "The ninth day of May, 1672, being Saturday, my dear little son Samuel Conant died, and the fifteenth day of June, being Saturday, my dear, dear, dear husband, Roger Conant died."

MEMOIR OF THE REV. JOHN HALE.

The Rev. John Hale was son of Robert and Rebeckah Hale, of Charlestown, and was born there June 3d, 1636. He was educated at Harvard College, and took his first degree in 1657. He attended to the usual course of studies, preparatory to the Christian ministry, and preached at Bass river-side, about the year 1664, that place being then a part of Salem, where a Meeting-House had been built in 1656, and public worship was attended, although those who were members, still retained their relation to the first Church in Salem. After preaching at this place, upon probation, for about three years, he was called to be their pastor, August 28th, 1667. There had been an application to the first Church at Salem, by those who had settled on the North side of Bass-river, in 1649, for permission to set up public worship by themselves. "They on the tenth of the twelfth month, 1649, (Edward Norris being the teacher), presented their request to the rest of the church, for some course to be taken for the means of grace amongst themselves, because of the tediousness and

difficulties over the water and other inconveniences, which motion was renewed again, the twenty-second of the seventh month, 1650, and the second day of the eighth month, they returned answer, that we should look out for us, some able and approved teacher to be amongst us, we still holding communion with them as before. But on farther experience, we upon the twenty-third day of the first month, 1656, presented our desires to be a church by ourselves, and after some agitation about it, when our teacher stood for us, it was put to vote, and consented unto, none appearing opposite, we protesting there was no division of judgment or affection intended, but brotherly communion. Our desire being consented unto, we proceeded to build a meeting-house on Bass river side, and we called unto us successively, to dispense the word of life unto us, Mr. Josiah* Hubbard† and Mr. Jeremiah Hubbard, and Mr. John Hale, and after almost three years experience of Mr. John Hale, our motion was again renewed, the twenty-third of the fourth month, 1667, and was as follows.—"We, whose names are underwritten, the brethren and sisters belonging to Bass-river, do present our desire to the members of the church in Salem, that with their consent, we and our children may be a church of ourselves, and we also present unto Mr. John Hale, to join with us, and to be our pastor, with the approbation of the members of the church. Roger Conant, Thomas Lothrop, William Dixy, Richard Dodge, Samuel Corning, Henry Herrick, William Woodberry, Sen., William Dodge, Sen., Humphrey Woodberry, Sen., Robert Morgan, Peter Woolfe, Richard Brackenbury, Hugh Woodberry, John Black, Josiah Roote, Sen., John Stone, Sen., Nicholas Patch, Lot Conant, Exercise Conant, John Dodge, Sen., John Hill, Ralph Ellingwood, Edward Bishopp, Sarah Conant, Bethiah Lothrop, Anna Dixy, Mary Dodge, Sen., Elizabeth Dodge, Elizabeth Corning, Anna Woodberry, Elizabeth Woodberry, Ede Herrick, Elizabeth Haskell, Ellen Brackenbury, Anna Woodberry, Jun., Mary Lovett, Martha Woolfe, Mary Dodge, Jun., Mary Woodberry, Hannah Woodberry, Hannah Baker, Abigail Hill, Sarah Leach, Elizabeth Patch, Mary Herrick, Lydia Herrick, Freegrace Black, Hannah Sallows, Bridget Luff. [49]

* Joshua

† Usually written Hobart.

Such as are members, but not in full communion, desire to be dismissed with their parents ; [here follow twenty-four names, the surnames, with two exceptions, Raiment and Hayward, may be found among the foregoing names]. This motion was answered the twenty-first day of the fifth month, as follows, viz. : This writing being read, together with the names subscribed, there was a unanimous consent, of the brethren present, unto their desire ; only it was left to the sacrament day after, when in the fullest church assembly, the consent of the whole church was signified by their votes, and so they gave their liberty to be a church by themselves, only they continued members here, until their being a church. The Lord grant his gracious presence with them. Upon this, the brethren had a meeting on the twenty-eighth day of August, and renewed their call to Mr. John Hale, that he would be pleased to accept of the office of a pastor, (whose answer was as follows. "When I look at the weight of the work which you call me unto, of which Paul cried out, who is sufficient for these things! I then looking upon my own manifold infirmities and indisposition of spirit, then unto so many discouragements, but when I duly consider the Lord's sovereignty over me, and all sufficiency for my support, I desire, when I see his work and call, to say with Esaiah, here I am, send me: and in particular, when I observe the remarkable providences of God, in bringing me hither, and paving out our way hitherto, and the room the Lord hath made for me in your hearts, (which I acknowledge with thankfulness to God and yourselves). I also look at the call of God in the present call, as a call to me ; being the more confirmed herein, by the concurrence of our apprehensions, which hath appeared in those things we had occasion to confer about, concerning our entering into and proceeding with church affairs, which I hope the Lord will enable me to practise accordingly. Wherefore, while you walk according to God's order of the Gospel, and in the stedfastness of the faith of Christ, and I see, that with a good conscience and freedom of spirit, I can carry on my work, and discharge my duty to God and man, and those that are under my care, according to the respective relation I may bear unto them, so long as the Lord is calling me to labour in this part of his vineyard, I desire to give up myself to

the Lord and his service, in the work of the ministry in this place. Requesting you to strive together with me in your prayers for me, that it may redound to his glory, the edifying of every soul that shall dwell amongst us, and for our joyful account in the day of Christ's appearance.

By me, JOHN HALE."

The twentieth of September following, these members above-mentioned, (of Salem), united together in a distinct Society, and the said Mr. Hale being dismissed from the Church of Christ at Charlestown, whereof he was a member, and recommended to the work of Christ here, concurred with them, when they solemnly made confession of their faith, and renewed their covenant unto the Lord, which was publicly and unanimously owned by them. These having proceeded thus far upon this solemn day of fasting and prayer, then immediately they proceeded to the ordination of Mr. Hale as pastor, who was ordained by the laying on of hands of the Reverend Mr. John Higginson, pastor of the Church of Salem, and of Mr. Thomas Cobbett, pastor at Ipswich, and of Antipas Newman, pastor at Wenham. Then were they owned to be a distinct church by the elders and messengers of the neighbour churches abovesaid, who gave their approbation and right hand of fellowship." In May following, a letter was received from Rev. John Higginson, of the Church in Salem, informing that all the members of the Church in Salem, living on Bass-river side, were dismissed, although not particularly named in the first instance, as being dismissed.

Previously to Mr. Hale's settlement at Bass-river side, he was married to Rebeckah, the daughter of Henry Byles, who came from Sarum in England, and settled in Salisbury as early as 1640.

She was received into the Church, by recommendation from the Church in Salisbury, September 22, 1667.

She was the mother of two children, viz.,

Rebeckah, born the twenty-eighth day of April, 1666.

Robert, born the third of November, 1668.

She died April 13th, 1683, aged 45 years.

Mr. Hale's second wife was Mrs. Sarah Noyes of Newbury ; to whom he was married on the thirty-first of March, 1684. She was received into the Church, by

recommendation from the Church at Newbury, October, 1684.

She was the mother of four children, viz.,

James, born the fourteenth of October, 1685.

Samuel, born the thirteenth of August, 1687.

Joanna, born the fifteenth of June, 1689.

John, born the twenty-fourth of December, 1692.

She died May 20th, 1695, aged 41 years.

Mr. Hale's third wife, was Mrs. Elizabeth Clark, of Newbury. The intention of marriage was published July 14th, 1698, and she was received into the Church, by recommendation from the church in Newbury, September 17th, 1699, so that the marriage took place between these two last dates. She survived Mr. Hale. The compensation which the Society agreed to give Mr. Hale, for his services amongst them, was settled two years before his ordination, as will appear by the following extract from the records, dated May 15th, 1665. "Whereas we do with one consent, invite Mr. John Hale to come amongst us, in order to settling with us in the work of the ministry; for his due encouragement in the work of the Lord among us, according to II. Chronicles, xxxi.—xxxiv. ; and that he may attend upon the work of the ministry, without distraction, we do promise and engage to pay unto him, £70 per annum, and his firewood : raised amongst us by a rate in equal portions, according to our former custom. And for the manner and time of payment, that he may not have to do with particular men's portion of allowance, the bill shall not be delivered unto him, nor shall he be troubled with gathering of it in ; but two men shall be chosen year by year, to take the care of bringing it into his house, and to make up the account at the appointed time. Nehemiah x. 34. Also, whereas we have built a house for the ministry, wherein it is defective, to be furnished by us; and there are two acres of home lot (to be fenced in by us), and as much meadow land belonging to it, as commonly bears about four loads of hay. We do agree that he shall have the use of that, so long as he continues in the work of the ministry with us. Yet because it is his duty to provide for wife and children, that he may leave behind him, and our duty to have a care of him in that respect, we do therefore promise and engage, that in the case he die in the ministry

with us, that either the house and two acre home lot aforementioned, shall be his, or that which is equivalent, to be paid (according to his last will and testament), within the compass of one year after his decease. It is also agreed by all of us, that Mr. Hale shall have the use and benefit of pasturing, the time he lives with us." The first persons chosen to make the rate for Mr. Hale's maintenance, for the year 1665, were Captain Thomas Lothrop, who was slain in the battle of Bloody Brook, September 13th, 1675, (old style), Mr. Thorndike, Roger Conant, the first settler of Salem, in 1626, and in 1665, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, Samuel Corning and Joseph Rootes. At another meeting, Lieutenant William Dixy and Humphrey Woodberry, have power to appoint the time, and to give notice to the inhabitants, when they shall come together to build the house for Mr. Hale's cattle, and whoever doth not come, shall pay 3*s*. The house to be 18 feet long, 10 feet wide, and seven or eight feet stud. William Dixy arrived from England, at Cape Ann, in 1629, settled in Beverly, was admitted a freeman in 1634, and died in 1690, aged 82. There is a tradition, that the first child born on the north or Beverly side of Bass-river, was his. Humphrey Woodberry was the son of John Woodberry, the companion of Roger Conant, in effecting the settlement at Salem. Humphrey was chosen the first deacon of the Beverly Church, February 24th, 1667-8, and died about 1685. Dixy, on the death of Captain Lothrop in 1675, and at the age of 67, succeeded Lothrop as Captain of the Beverly militia company.

"It is agreed, that farmer Dodge shall be paid for his ground which is bought for the ministry, either two cows or ten pounds. Humphrey Woodberry is to have after the rate of 20*s*. an acre, for his ground, and he is to have free liberty to pass through with a cart, when he hath occassion."

November 9th, 1667. In order that Mr. Hale should be supplied with wood, four men were appointed to determine how much every one should cut and haul, and see to the delivery of it. This method of supply was not long found convenient, and in 1671, they agreed with two persons to deliver thirty cords, corded up in Mr. Hale's yard, at 6*s*. per cord. And if that was not sufficient to com-

plete the year, to bring enough more at the same rate. The year for this mode of supply, was to begin in November, 1671.

November 5th, 1677. It was voted "that the wood for Mr. Hale should be bought out of the rate or tax assessed.

June 11th, 1669. Mr. Hale's salary was reduced to £60, but a piece of land was granted him, in lieu of the £10 taken from his salary. His wood was to be brought home to him, by the last Monday in October. This arrangement probably was not acceded to by Mr. Hale, as it appears to be inconsistent with subsequent votes. August 5th, 1684. It was voted, that from this time forward, the town will pay to Mr. Hale, £64 in money, instead of the £70 and firewood as formerly. This was acceded to by Mr. Hale. The salary of £70 was payable in produce, at a regulated price. This was called *Rate Pay*, which, with the wood, perhaps was not more valuable, than £64 per annum, payable quarterly in money. By a record in the town's book, of December 1681, in regard to building a new meeting-house for the town, the sum agreed to be given, was £370 in silver money, or in lieu thereof, £550 in produce, being a difference of forty-nine per cent. between the payment in silver money, and the payment in produce at the current prices. This last agreement with Mr. Hale, was not to affect arrearages, but they were to be settled upon the former principle. In the year before this, they had agreed to collect Mr. Hale's salary by contribution, and make up the deficiency by a rate. Each person to be allowed what he contributes, and not to be burdened with the delinquency of others. About the time of Mr. Hale's last marriage, £10 was added to his salary, so that it was £74 from thence to his decease.

March 5th, 1694. The dwelling-house, and about two acres of land whereon he lived, was granted to him and his heirs for ever.

Mr. Hale appears to have taken an active part in the examination of those accused of witchcraft in 1692. March 24th, 1692, he made the prayer at the meeting-house in Salem village [now Danvers], when Goodwife Nurse, was examined before the magistrates, Hathorne and Curwen, and was also present on the 14th of May following, at the examination of Mrs. Cary. Both of these persons were

tried, condemned and executed * for the alleged crime of witchcraft. Four of his parishioners were among those who were arrested, viz. Dorcas Hoar, who was condemned but not executed, Sarah Murrel, Sussanna Rootes and Job Tookey. In October of the same year, a person belonging to Wenham, accused his beloved wife, who was then enceinte of a son, who was born on the 24th December following, of the crime of witchcraft. This brought him to a stand; he knew the virtuous character of his wife; he was perfectly satisfied of the sincerity of her piety, and of the correctness of her religious views. Her religious character had won for her a reputation among her friends and neighbors, which was an effectual security against the malignity or the superstition of her accuser. It had then become a stated controversy among the New England divines, whether the devil could afflict any one, in the shape of a good man or woman. Until this complaint against his wife, Mr. Hale held to the opinion, that the devil could not so use the shape of a sincere christian; that when through the instrumentality of any one, the devil afflicted others, it was conclusive evidence, that the person thus made use of to gratify his malignity, was in league with him, and so no longer to be permitted to live among a christian people. But after the accusation of his wife, instead of suspecting the truth and sincerity of her accusers, he adopted the opposite opinion, which would reconcile the fidelity of her accuser, with the entire innocence of his wife, and throw the whole blame upon the devil. He however contended, that the devil might and did make use of the true christian, in afflicting others, who would accuse the instrument which he made use of against their will, of his own diabolical acts. This opinion prevailed extensively, and gave a new turn to the prosecutions.

Mr. Hale's natural good sense afterwards predominated, and in 1697, he wrote a book upon the subject of witchcraft, which was soon afterwards published. In this work, he maintained, that the true evidences of witchcraft, had not been insisted upon in the late trials and examinations, and that great errors had been committed, by both magistrates and ministers.

* Though Mrs. Carey was tried and imprisoned for witchcraft, yet she was not executed. Her name was probably mistaken for Martha Cory, who was hung on a similar charge. *Pub. Com.*]

March 23d, 1697. John Higginson, minister of the First Church in Salem, aged 82 years, speaking of Mr. Hale's book on Witchcraft, says: "As for myself, being under the infirmities of a decrepit old age, I stirred little abroad, and was much disenabled (both in body and mind) from knowing and judging of occurrents and transactions of that time: but my Reverend brother, Mr. Hale, having for above thirty years, been pastor of the Church at Beverly (but two miles from Salem, where the trials were), was frequently present, and was a diligent observer of all that passed, *and being one of a singular prudence and sagacity, in searching into the narrows of things:* he hath (after much deliberation) in this treatise, related the substance of the case as it was, and given reasons from scripture against some of the principles and practices, then used in the trials of witchcraft; and said something also in a positive way, and shewing the right application, that is to be made of the whole, and all this *in such a pious and modest manner*, as cannot be offensive to any, but may be generally acceptable to all the lovers of truth and peace." Mr. Hale, in the preface to his book, says, "I have been present at several examinations and trials, and knew sundry of those that suffered upon that account in former years, and in this last affair, and so have more advantages than a stranger, to give account of these proceedings. I have been from my youth, trained up in the knowledge and belief of most of those principles, I here question, as unsafe to be used. The first person* that suffered on this account in New England, about fifty years since, was my neighbor, and I heard much of what was charged upon her, and others in those times; and the reverence I bore to aged, learned and judicious persons, caused me to drink in their principles in these things, with a kind of implicit faith. But observing the events of that sad catastrophe in the year 1692, I was brought to a more strict scanning of the principles I had imbibed, and by *scanning*, to *question*, and by *questioning* at length to *reject* many of them, upon the reasons shewed in the ensuing discourse. No truth is more certain to a man, than that which he had formerly doubted or denied, and is recovered from his error, by the convincing

* Margaret Jones of Charlestown, executed, 1648.

evidence of scripture and reason. I have had a deep sense of the sad consequences of mistakes, in matters capital; and their impossibility of recovering when compleated; and what grief of heart it brings to a tender conscience, to have been unwittingly encouraging of the sufferings of the innocent. And I hope, a zeal to prevent for the future such sufferings, is pardonable, although there should be much weakness, and some errors in the pursuit thereof." It was honorable to the character of Mr. Hale, that he so far overcame the prejudices of his early education, and that he was able to combat the pride of opinion. Not merely of opinions entertained, but those which had been extensively acted upon, under circumstances of the most intense interest, among his neighbors and friends. That he changed his opinions, was no more than others did, but it *was more*, that he came out before the world, and admitting his own error, with great candor and fairness,* proved by the strongest arguments in his power, the fallacy of those principles which had governed his own conduct, as well as that of many of the principal men with whom he coöperated, in the horrid scene which had just passed. He was actuated by the soundest principles of true Philosophy:— he doubted, he questioned, he scanned, he rejected and was recovered from his errors, by the convincing evidence of scripture and of reason. Bigotry and superstition, if it had in some degree enthralled his mind, no longer maintained its hold.

An examination of the Church records during the whole period of Mr. Hale's ministry, furnishes convincing evidence of his liberality. Nothing is there to be found, indicative of any interference with freedom of opinion. Censures of the Church, for immorality of life, were not unfrequent in those days, but none appear on record for errors of opinion. The liberality of his practice, in relation to the administration of the ordinances of the Christian Religion, has generally been followed in the first Church in Beverly up to the present time. He was ready to make pecuniary sacrifices, when the circumstances of his people seemed to demand it. Thus in 1676, when the whole colony were suffering the greatest distress from King Phillip's war, Mr.

* Others did the same.

Hale ordered the selectmen to dispose of £6, about one twelfth of his year's salary, for public uses ; such as fortification, ammunition, and country rates. In 1683, he gave £5 towards building the second meeting-house. His labors in regard to the secular concerns of his people, were freely bestowed. Of this, the town records bear frequent testimony. When in 1680, the inhabitants between the Merrimac and Naumkeag rivers, were thrown into great consternation and distress, by the heirs or assigns of John Mason, laying claim to all the lands between those two rivers, including the whole town of Beverly, as well as several other towns, Mr. Hale was appointed, with others, to defend the town's rights, to memorialize the King and the General Court, and to perform various other services, which the exigency of the case required. The memorial of the town upon this occasion, to the General Court, was as follows, viz. :

The petition of the inhabitants of Beverly in the County of Essex, unto the Honorable General Court of the Massachusetts, sitting at Boston, February 22nd, 1681, humbly sheweth, that we the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King Charles the Second, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, having seen his Royal command, by his letters, bearing date September 30th, 1680, to the inhabitants between Merrimack and Naumkeag rivers, requiring them to make improvement of their lawful defence for the lands they possess, before his highness in Council, and having intimated that we may possibly be concerned in Mr. Mason's claim, do humbly declare, that we know not by his Majesty's letters, that we are comprised under that command, seeing there be sundry rivers named Naumkeag, and we know not which the letter refers unto. We humbly conceive this answer might suffice, until Mr. Mason, or some other in his behalf, do shew us his grant, or some exemplification thereof, whereby we may know whether we be claimed by him or no. That we may not seem unto such as suppose us to be comprehended, to be defective in our allegiance, we add that we being many, have our several particular titles to produce, if Robert Mason, Esq. put us upon it, and he that hath but one acre, expects a fair legal trial, for all that he can justly produce to plead for it.

So that we can produce quires, yea reams of paper, which we conceive it would be presumption in us to desire or expect our dread sovereign, to be diverted from the weighty affairs of three kingdoms for the hearing of, for we have had above fifty years quiet possession, and entered upon the place, with the good liking of the Indians, the ancient inhabitants of this country. We have ventured our lives and estates, and worn out much time and strength, in the subduing a wilderness for the increasing his Majesty's dominions and customs. And in the late wars with the heathen, have carried our lives in our hands to defend our possessions, with loss of about twelve English lives of our town, and expended some hundreds of pounds, to maintain our lands, and in this time of above fifty years, neither Mr. Mason, nor any for him, did either take possession, or disburse estate, or made demand of our lands, or expended one penny to defend them. We humbly conceive his Majesty's royal justice intends, not to put us to the charges of sending our deeds and evidences three thousand miles, before any demand of Mr. Mason upon the place, to try at least, whether we will own the lands as his, without putting us to so much charge, but that which we humbly pray for is, that whoever lays any claim to our lands, that the title may be tried upon the place, by his Majesty's government here.

First, because when our last messengers were in England, the Lord Chief Justice and others, did judge it equal, that whoever laid claim to any soil within the limits of the Patent, his title should be tried by his Majesty's government upon the place, and seeing his Majesty was graciously pleased to confirm this determination, and require all parties concerned to acquiess therein, we humbly plead the benefit of that determination.

Secondly, our Charter gives power to the government and company of the Massachusetts, to make such laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of the said company, and for the government and ordering of the said lands and plantations, and people inhabiting and to inhabit the same, as to them from time to time shall be thought mete, now according to the laws and ordinances made by this Royal authority and direction, have we a title to plead for our respective possessions, humbly pleading our title may be

tried by those laws, by which our lands are to be governed, according to our Charter.

Thirdly, our Gracious Sovereign was pleased, by his letters, dated February 15th, 1660, thus to signify his pleasure, viz.: "As we consider New England to be one of the chiefest, having enjoyed and grown up in a long and orderly establishment, so we shall not come behind any of our Royal predecessors, in a just encouragement and protection of all our loving subjects there." And we, by this our orderly establishment, did then hold our lands, and by the said orderly establishment, have since those letters, held them twenty years more, and do humbly desire and expect to be tried by those laws, here made, which are the means of your and our orderly establishment, and a branch of that just encouragement and protection, which we hope for, by the gracious promise of our dread Sovereign. Wherefore our humble request to this honoured Court, is that if Robert Mason, Esq., pretends a title to any lands in our possession, you will be instrumental in our behalf, to present for these our righteous pleas for the lands we possess, for the just improvement of our lawful defence before his Majesty in Council. Interceding that his Royal care and tenderness, expressed toward us his meanest subjects, may be still continued to confirm our long enjoyed privileges, granted by his Royal Highness and Royal predecessors, and we resolve through the grace of God, with our persons and estates, to approve ourselves his loyal subjects, even to the death. Praying to the throne of Grace, for the chiefest blessings of heaven and earth, to be showered upon his Royal head and heart, and remain your humble petitioners. In the name and by the order of the town.

Paul Thorndike.
John Dodge.
John Hill.
Exercise Conant.
Thomas West.

At a town-meeting, January 7, 1681, "the *Rev. Mr. Hale*, Captain Dixy and Mr. John Dodge were chosen by the town, to meet at Ipswich, the second Wednesday in February, to present such pleas and evidences for the title

of our land, as the town hath agreed upon in writing, and according thereunto, to join with such others as then shall meet, to draw up something to be presented to his Majesty, by such messengers as the General Court shall send."

April 20th, 1682. At a town meeting "*Mr. John Hale*, Farmer William Dodge, Samuel Corning, Sen., John Rayment, Sen., Exercise Conant and John Hill were chosen to go to Ipswich, on the 21st, to take notice of an address framed unto his Majesty, in the name and behalf of themselves and others, called parties unto Mr. Mason's claim."

March 13th, 1683. At a town meeting, "Lieut. Thorndike was chosen to go to Ipswich, to meet with others deputed by their respective towns, the last Tuesday of March, to consider and advise what may be best and most proper to be done for the securing of our lands and possessions."

In 1690, Mr. Hale was employed as a Chaplain, in the expedition of that year, to Canada. During his absence, his son Robert, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1686, and afterwards became a Physician, supplied the place of his Father, in preaching and the performance of other clerical duties, from August 4th, until his return, Nov. 20th. A strong motive with Mr. Hale, for engaging in this military office, was, that a company of soldiers was raised under the command of Captain William Raymond, among his parishioners, and he chose to follow them, to watch over the morals of so large a portion of the young men of his flock.

A township of land was granted to reward Captain Raymond and his soldiers. About forty-four years after this unfortunate expedition, December 31st, 1734, on the petition of Robert Hale, grandson of the minister, John Hale, said Robert then being the representative from Beverly in the General Court, three hundred acres of land were granted to the heirs of John Hale, on account of his services in said expedition.

There are several instances mentioned on the town records, besides those that have been particularly mentioned, of the kindness and liberality of Mr. Hale's parishioners towards him, in making him various grants, and providing for his better accommodation ; a sure indication

of the acceptableness of his services, and an evidence of his public spirit.

Mr. Hale died on the 15th of May, 1700, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and in the 36th year of his ministry, including the three years he preached to his people, before he was ordained.

He was buried in the Parish burying ground, and the place is still marked by a stone, with the following inscription, viz. "Here lyes ye body of ye Reverend Mr. John Hale, a pious and faithful minister of ye Gospel, and pastor of ye first gathered Church of Christ, in this town of Beverly, who rested from his labours on the 15th day of May, Anno Domine, 1700, in the 64th year of his age."

The estate on which he lived, is still owned by his descendants and his dwelling-house, though much altered and enlarged, still remains.

I will conclude this notice of Mr. Hale, with one more extract from the town records, relating to his last sickness.

"March 22d, 1704-5, the Selectmen allowed Jonathan Dodge five shillings, for his *great care and pains*, in fetching Mr. John Hale from Charlestown in a coach, and Jonathan Herrick is allowed five shillings, for being *helpful* on the same occasion."

MEMOIR OF THE REV. ABIEL HOLMES, D.D. LL.D., &c., BY REV. W. JENKS, D.D.

IT has fallen to the lot of very few members of the American clergy, to be more extensively or more favorably known, than our late respected associate. His diversified connections with various literary and benevolent societies, his highly respectable standing as a divine, placed in contact for nearly half a century, with the advantages of our first seminary of learning, and in habits of acquaintance with its successive governors and teachers; and, perhaps, more than all, the nature and value of those researches, to which he devoted so industriously, whatever leisure he might possess from the occupations of a laborious and most responsible profession, served to confer on him this well-deserved distinction: because, as has been justly remarked, "in all ages, the writing of HISTORY has employed the ablest men of all nations; and to this day, hardly any writer enjoys a greater, a more extensive, and what will probably be a more lasting reputation, than *a good historian.*'*

Our departed friend and fellow-laborer was descended paternally of a family which resided from an early period in Woodstock, a town formerly belonging to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, but now lying in Connecticut; and on the female side from the old Bay family of LATHROP, or LOTHROPP,† the first bearer of which name in New England, was minister of Scituate. The name of HOLMES is probably of the pure Saxon derivation; but to which of the English families who bear it, and whose distinct armorial insignia are, I think, full fifteen in number, his own is traceable, is not clear. It is perhaps sufficient to know, that he inherited a good constitution from his ancestors, and what merit now to be termed admirable developments

* PRIESTLEY. Lectures on Hist. L. I.
† Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. Letter of Rev. Dr. LATHROP.

of natural talent, in a person of the middle size, and well-proportioned, and of a temperament and countenance highly indicative of moderation and kindness.

His father was Dr. DAVID HOLMES, a practising physisician, who served during the war in Canada, for three campaigns, as a captain in the regiment of Col. FITCH, and left his "orderly book," of four volumes, to be subsequently quoted in the American Annals of his distinguished son. At the revolution, he was one of the earliest engaged in the struggle, having "joined the army in his professional character as a physician, on the first intelligence of the battle at Lexington, and continuing in the service until the fourth year of the war, when, worn down with the labors and fatigues of the camp, he returned home, and shortly after expired, in his 58th year." *

The son was born on the 24th of December, 1763, and at the time of his father's death, had reached his sixteenth year, having then nearly prepared for his collegiate course. Of his early propensities and pursuits, no traces are in possession of the writer ; but that his youth was marked by sedulous application, and bore besides the distinguishing impressions of serious religion, there is good reason to believe, for he became a member of the church in Yale College, "on the first sabbath in March, 1781," having been so admitted by President STILES, who had then been at the head of the college for nearly three years. The period of his college life, was one of peculiar trials and distress, on account of public affairs, New Haven having been made the scene of predatory warfare, and the anni versary commencement exercises, having been for years suspended by "the gloomy state of the country." †

Mr. HOLMES was graduated Sept. 10th, 1783, and it appears, although I am not able to give the date, that he must soon after have accepted the appointment of Tutor. During this year it was, that a state of things deeply interesting in a religious view, and equally so as to its general effects on character and usefulness, as respects the members of the literary institution, occurred in Yale College ; which, as his account of it exhibits the principles and feelings of an evangelical minister of Christ, and con-

* See vol. II, p. 85, and App. note 3, last ed.
† BALDWIN'S Hist. of Yale Coll. Life of STILES, pp. 261—265.

cern my own personal friend, I shall indulge myself with relating in his own well-weighed but decisive language. "In the course of this summer, considerable additions were made to the college church. It had never been so large since its foundation, as it was rendered by these accessions. The President, and the Professor of Divinity, had previously entertained great solicitude for this little flock, which was almost entirely composed of members of the Senior class, who were soon to take leave of the University. The admission of eighteen new members from the other classes, within one month, was justly viewed as a very interesting and joyful event. If the importance of Religion, in a seminary of learning, is duly considered, either as it respects the students themselves, or the community, in which they are becoming formed to act an influential part; what has now been recorded, will not be judged too inconsiderable for preservation. The writer, at least, must charge himself with impiety, should he forget an event, of which he was an eye-witness, and which, he is certain, *caused many thanksgivings to God.*—In a late interview with a worthy minister, who, at the time here referred to, was a student at college, and who knows the subsequent history of his fellow-students, who then joined the college church; on a particular inquiry of him, concerning their characters, it appeared that, without any known exception, they have steadily adhered to their early profession. *By their fruits*, said the Saviour, *ye shall know them.* Will any, after all, call this *enthusiasm?* Would to God, there were more of it in the world! This is an event, which, to use the language of the excellent Dr. DODDRIDGE,* in a similar case, 'I behold with equal wonder and delight; and which, if a nation should join in deriding it, I would adore as the finger of GOD.'"† Such a state of things has, happily, since this period, not unfrequently been found in many of the now multiplied literary institutions of the United States;‡ and it cannot be doubted by any believer of the Bible, that were all seminaries of learning thoroughly imbued with an influence genuinely religious, the hopes of

* "Life of Colonel GARDINER."
† Life of STILES, pp. 286, 287.
‡ See publications of the American Education Society, &c.

mankind, and peculiarly of our own country, would be far brighter and more cheering.

It appears that Mr. HOLMES preached first at Midway in Georgia, the year after leaving college, in the month of August. His settlement with the church and congregation there, was accomplished in 1785 ; and he continued to discharge the duties of his ministry among this people, whom he always remembered with affection, and to whose character he bore an ample testimony, until June, 1791, when ill-health, probably the effect of the climate, compelled him to leave the state. He had, the year before, become a son-in-law of President STILES, having married his daughter Mary, with whom, however, he lived in that union for five years only.*

The first congregational church in Cambridge had become vacant by the death of Rev. Mr. HILLIARD, in 1790. Mr. HOLMES was invited to supply his place, and, having accepted the invitation, was installed as pastor, Jan. 25th, 1792. This relation he sustained, until it was dissolved by a mutual ecclesiastical council, Sept. 26th, 1832, after a continuance of forty years.

In this memoir, the records of his long and useful ministry will not be expected. They are written, as are those of many other faithful servants of Christ, on the *fleshly tables* of multitudes of hearts, to appear at a future day. But a cultivation of a taste for learning, and the making of important acquisitions in science, and the exercise of a love of literature, as they are the product of a liberal education, so they cannot fail to occupy those intervals of a scholar's life, which are left him for professional engagements. That the duties of his ministry were discharged with industrious fidelity, and with punctuality, zeal and perseverance, has ever been acknowledged. That he was able to give attention to collateral pursuits, of a character not strictly within the necessary scope of a clergyman's studies, is in a great measure owing, doubtless, to a superior improvement of time, as well as to a peculiar bias of mind, or inclination to inquiries of a character other than solely theological.

But perhaps even this appearance of apology, is alto-

* Mrs. MARY HOLMES died at Cambridge, Aug. 29th, 1795.

gether uncalled for. God, in his wise providence, "shapes our ends," and leads us in a way we had not known. The death of his revered father-in-law, in the spring of the year 1795, placed in his hands, by a special bequest, no less than forty volumes of the valuable manuscripts, which contained the results of the learned president's extensive inquiries. This circumstance, possibly, gave no inconsiderable direction to his own. President Stiles had indulged in very diversified researches. These had been pursued with characteristic ardor, and sustained by an extensive and remarkably inquisitive correspondence with men, high in literary attainment, both at home and abroad, that is, within the bounds of the British dominions, and without them: for, at the time in which they were commenced, Mr. Stiles looked on England, like every other distinguished Anglo-American, with strong filial attachment, and felt himself specially entitled to the enjoyment of a free and full intercourse with all the subjects of its government, while he cultivated similar dispositions toward all members of the republic of learning, at large.

"On the receipt of this cabinet of manuscripts, above a year after the president's death," observes Mr. Holmes, "I began, with what diligence my health and professional labors would admit, to examine them; and judged, in the result, that they furnished copious materials for the biography of their author." This biography, "in compliance with the wishes and advice of several judicious friends of the president," he undertook. His "other advantages were, an intimate acquaintance with him, obtained by a residence of four years at the University, as his pupil; a subsequent residence there, as a tutor; a correspondence with him for several years, and an alliance with his family." Hence then he adds, "hoping that such a work would subserve the interests of religion and of science, I no longer hesitated to undertake it"—judging that "THE UNION OF PIETY WITH LEARNING, FORMS THE SUBLIMEST HUMAN CHARACTER." *

In this spirit was the Life of President Stiles written, and published as early as May, 1798. And, to my own mind, it scarcely admits a doubt, that, whatever were the

* Pref. to Life of Pres. Stiles.

taste, patriotism, industry, piety and scholarly acquisitions of the biographer, when he girded himself to this work, his progress in it, and contemplation of the venerated subject of it, must have tended, in no inconsiderable degree, to fix his taste, to enlighten and animate his patriotism, to inspirit his industry, to warm and sublimate his piety, and to fill him with desires, emulative of the kindred virtues and accomplishments of his relative. Add to this, the manuscripts themselves were exceedingly rich in local references, philosophical observations, historical details, biographical notices, statistical remarks and tables, and aspirations and plans of patriotic devotion. President Stiles had, nearly eighty years ago, addressed distinguished men on the subject of the history of these Colonies, and solicited communications. He sought interviews with observing scholars, in order to increase his own information, and received, from many, such communications as might at a subsequent date be moulded into history, whether civil, natural or ecclesiastical. As early as 1760 we find them, and in 1768, the celebrated Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, addressed him a letter of the nature alluded to, and which is now published in our Collections,* giving "a sketch of eminent men in New England," and intimating the purpose to which such notices were intended to contribute. How valuable to our friend, these ample materials were, let the numerous references and quotations of his great and principal work evince.

While the Life of President Stiles was in the press, Mr. Holmes was elected a member of this Society.† With what efficiency he engaged as a fellow-laborer, is well known to those of his associates who yet remain, and might appear from a simple recital of his official appointments, or literary contributions, or individual exertions. As early as the publication of even the second volume of our Collections, his name appears first, with those of Rev. Dr. Harris, the Hon. J. Quincy, now President of the University, and the lamented Professor McKean, on "the Committee of publication." Similar service also he performed, in assisting to prepare the fifth, sixth, seventh,

* Vol. x. 1st Series, p. 154. This volume is enriched with several other letters of similar kind.

† April 24th, 1798.

eighth and tenth volumes of the first series ; and in 1813, succeeded the Rev. Dr. ELIOT, as Corresponding Secretary—an office he continued to fill, until 1834, when he felt it necessary to resign the charge.

The life of President STILES, was not absolutely the first publication of our respected associate, although it attracted toward him no slight regard. He had published in 1787, his own pastoral Address, delivered at his ordination in Georgia. In 1795, he published likewise a Sermon on the National Thanksgiving appointed for the 19th of February of that year. He was also known, by a few friends at least, as principal contributor to an entertaining little volume of poetical effusions, "printed, not published," and termed the "Family Tablet," having been produced by members of that endeared association. This, as all his other literary productions, evinces an elegant, well-harmonised mind, a correct, classical taste, a playful, innocent fancy, under subjection however to a severe judgment. His style was pure, and not inharmonious ; precise, but neither stiff nor harsh. In several single Discourses, he occasionally appeared before the community, during almost the whole of his professional life ; and I well remember the approving sentence concerning them uttered by an accurate and distinguished scholar, of totally opposite sentiments in theology, but a strict and impartial scrutinizer of men and manners—a respected and efficient associate in our Society—indeed one of its founders, the Rev. Dr. FREEMAN. More than once he expressed to me the language of warm applause, when speaking of Dr. HOLMES's published Sermons.

But he meditated a greater literary labor. How early his thoughts had been directed to it, I have no means of knowing ; yet at the close of our ninth volume, for 1804, which contains two of his historical communications, he having previously published his history of Cambridge in a Centurial Sermon, is a "Literary Notice," purporting that "a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has it in contemplation to publish a work, to be entitled AMERICAN ANNALS. It will commence with the discovery of America, in 1492, and extend to the present time; and is designed to give a concise history of the most important events, that have taken place within that period, on the

continent of North and South America, and in the West India islands ; and of such events, in foreign parts, as had special relation to this country, or ultimately affected its interests."* Further details of the plan are given, and pledges made—all of which have, it is believed, been redeemed to the full.

In 1805, this work appeared in two volumes, 8vo., and it may perhaps be said, more than answered the public expectation. To prepare it, must have been a task truly Herculean. So diversified are its materials in character ; so scattered in their several localities ; so well presented, with accuracy, neatness and impartiality ; that it assumed at once and has uniformly maintained the character of one of the first standard works of our country. In fact, I know of no work of the kind which ranks higher. For it is by no means a meagre detail of facts ; but, as was originally proposed, "while it relates events in the order of time, on the plan of chronology, it dilates on articles of peculiar importance, after the manner of history, and gives authorities with precision." It established, at once, a high reputation for its author.

Were it not for the familiarity of the fact, which almost every writer has had occasion to observe, from the orator of Rome to our own day, that, when the mind is fixed on a certain object of inquiry, and pursues it with reference to its kindred subjects, these appear to multiply indefinitely ; we should be absolutely astonished at the variety of information contained in these volumes. But facts and remarks accumulated, doubtless, almost insensibly ; and the ever vigilant attention of the annalist was perpetually securing them for their appropriate place, with an industry and modesty happily embodied in the simple but significant motto that adorns the title page.†

The first edition of the work was reviewed in England, a few years after its publication, with, on the whole, kindly expressions of approbation, especially in relation to the part describing the affairs of the United States, in which, says the reviewer, "it displays great industry and research, and is peculiarly valuable." But, although, after the usual

* See the whole "Notice" on the last page of Hist. Coll. vol. IX.
† "Suum quæque in annum referre." TACITUS.

style of British reviewers of American works, until recently, the language of the article abounds with sarcasms in relation to our countrymen, and ludicrous misrepresentations, no reference whatever is made by Dr. HOLMES, in his second edition of the Annals, to these strains of vituperative jealousy; but, with Christian discretion and dignity, qualities observable in him in all his intercourse, public or private, with his fellow-men, he only reciprocates the feelings of paternal affection and esteem between the literati of the two nations.*

An edition of this work was published in England, in 1813, (as is said, for I have not seen a copy,) while the two nations were waging an unnatural war. Since that period, more of mutual respect has appeared, and far less of bitter criticism has dishonored the periodical literature of the mother country, in reference to our publications. It is to be hoped, the time is not far remote, when every trace of it will be obliterated and forgotten.

In 1829, the new and greatly enlarged edition, improved by the insertion of many articles of information, which had not before been accessible,† was printed by the author at Cambridge, under his own laborious and accurate supervision; leaving the work as it appears destined to descend to our posterity—among whom its value will be enhanced by the minuteness with which it points out original documents and authorities, to aid the researches of our future historians.

But great injustice would be done to our venerated friend, were he recollected only as an eminent contributor to the historical knowledge of his beloved country, high as that praise may be regarded. He aimed higher, in being an efficient helper with those who were seeking the extension and establisment of advantages, religious and moral, as well as literary. Hence, about the commencement of the present century, he united with a few friends in founding the "Society for promoting Christian knowledge, of which he was the respected President at the time of his death, having previously sustained the office of its first Secretary. Of the "Board of Commissioners of the Soci-

* See the concluding paragaaph of Pref. to 2d. ed.

† From the EBELING collection in the library of our University, and additions to the Athenæum, &c. See the account in the Preface before cited.

ety in Scotland for promoting Christian knowledge," formed in 1787, he was Vice-president. In the "American Education Society," which enjoys an influence so extensive and so salutary, as to have thus far aided nearly three thousand young men in the various stages of education, he was from the first a Director, and was active in its formation.* He was a member of the Boards of Trust of the Theological Institution at Andover, of Phillips's Academy in the same place, and of the Bible Society of Massachusetts; beside his being a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and of the American Antiquarian Society, his connection with our own Institution, and his sustaining a place, while he remained pastor of the first church in Cambridge, in the Board of Overseers of the University.

Considering his habits of scrupulous attention to every demand of duty, his punctuality and conscientiousness, it seems difficult to find the time for discharging such an extent of obligations; since very few if any of our offices or situations are sinecures.

In addition to the above, and the various publications of which a list will be given at the close of this memoir, Dr. Holmes delivered in 1817 a series of Lectures, in the

* I take liberty here to transcribe a part of the notice of Dr. Holmes's death, from the Appendix to the last Report of this Society, containing a view of the character of our regretted friend, in which, on revisal, my judgment still wholly acquiesces. It is extracted from a Sermon, delivered at Cambridge on the Lord's day after his decease, founded on Heb. ch. 13, v. 7. "The important character of pastor, leader and guide, Dr. Holmes sustained with high respectability, much consistency, uniformity and meekness. He was a ruler in the Church of Christ, 'not as lording it over God's heritage,' with arbitrary power, but governing by persuasive influence, and evangelical gentleness, combined with the constraining dignity of a firm adherence to principle. Few pastors, or men, have in my judgment, combined these two characters more successfully together. Studiously polite to all with whom he conversed, and scrupulously attentive to every demand of propriety, both in private and public life, he could use consistently, what no bigot or zealot can, the memorable language of the apostle—'we were gentle among you as a nurse cherisheth her children;' and with equal justice could say, in regard to any supposable demand, interfering with his sense of sacred duty, from any quarter, 'to whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you.'

"This blending of moderation and modesty with firmness, and decision of character, where decision and firmness are needed, constitutes, if I mistake not, an enviable, or rather a desirable distinction. Especially in these days of denunciation, estrangement, and obloquy, of superficial attainments and loud professions, of headlong rashness in enterprise, and boldness and confidence in assertion, we can hardly prize too highly, the peaceful, laborious, faithful and humble follower and minister of Jesus Christ, who is learned without vanity or dogmatism, pious without cant or fitfulness, and charitable without ostentation. And such, if I mistake not was, our beloved and lamented friend. Never in extremes, or changeable with extravagance, his deportment and character united, in no common degree, the gentleman, the scholar, and the Christian."

chapel of the University at Cambridge, on the Ecclesiastical History of his country, especially New England. Often did I urge on him, as doubtless did others of his friends, a preparation of these Lectures for the public view, in a more permanent form. And this he had, indeed, in a very great measure effected, by remoulding the Lectures into chapters, and making other alterations with special reference to the object. But they still remain in manuscript, although I cannot doubt that their appearance, were it found practicable and expedient, would be gratifying and profitable to a large portion of the community.

Of his first marriage, no children were left. He had four of the second marriage, three of whom, with their respected mother, daughter of the late Hon. Oliver Wendell, Esq., survive him.

Dr. Holmes died at Cambridge, in Christian peace and hope, June 4th, 1837. The following is a list of his publications, arranged in order of time.

1787. Proceedings of Council at ordination of Rev. Abiel Holmes, at Midway, Georgia, with the pastoral Address.
1795. National Thanksgiving Sermon, Feb. 19.
1798. Life of President Stiles, 8vo.
1799. Sermon at ordination of Rev. Jonathan Whitaker, Sharon.
" National Fast Sermon, April 25th, delivered at Boston and Cambridge.
" Sermon on the death of His Excellency, Increase Sumner.
1800. Dec. 29th, Sermon on the death of Washington.
" Feb. 22d, Sermon recommending the counsel of Washington.
1801. Jan. 4th, Century Sermon, giving the history of Cambridge. This was published also in the 7th volume of our Collections.
" Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Otis Lane, Sturbridge.
1803. Sermon at ordination of Rev. David Kendall, Hubbardston.
1804. Memoir of Stephen Parmenius of Buda, with his latin poem translated ; also, Memoir of the

Moheagan Indians; both published in vol. 9th of Hist. Coll.

" Sermon before the Massachusetts Missionary Society, May 29.

" Sermon on the death of Rev. President Willard.

1805. American Annals, 2 vols. 8vo.

" Sermon at Ordination of Rev. W. Bascom, Fitchburgh.

1806. Dec. 22d, Sermon at Plymouth, anniversary of landing of forefathers.

1807. Sermon at funeral of Rev. Dr. Tappan.

1808. Nov. 3d, Discourse before the Society for propagating the Gospel among Indians and others in North America.

1809. Apr. 6th, Fast Sermon.

" Dec. 25th, Christmas Sermon, at Cambridge.

1810. Sermon on the validity of Presbyterian ordination, at the Dudleian Lecture, in the University, May 9.

1811. Sermon at ordination of Rev. John Bartlett, Marblehead.

1812. Sermon at inauguration of Rev. E. Pearson, LL.D. Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in the Theological Seminary, Andover.

1813. Jan. 1st, Discourse at Boston, before the Society for Foreign Missions.

" July 5th, Address before the Washington Benevolent Society at Cambridge.

1814. Jan. 19th, Sermon at ordination of Rev. J. B. Gannett, Cambridgeport.

" Biographical Memoir of Rev. John Lothrop, in Hist. Coll. vol. 1, 2d series.

" October 24th, Address before the American Antiquarian Society, Boston.

1815. Historical sketch of the English Translations of the Bible.

1818. Sept. 17th, Discourse on opening the new Almshouse at Cambridge.

1819. Sermon before the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers.

1820. Dec. 24th, Two discourses at Cambridge on the completion of the second century from the land-

ing of the Forefathers at Plymouth. Printed, 1821.

1822. Sermon at funeral of Rev. Dr. Osgood, Medford.

1825. Sermon at ordination of Rev. Hosea Hildreth, Gloucester.

1826. Memoir of the French Protestants who settled in Oxford, Mass. in 1686, &c. Printed also in vol. II, 3d Series, Hist. Coll. 1830.

1829. Annals of America, from the Discovery by Columbus in 1492, to the year 1826; 2d (American) ed. 2 vols. 8vo.

OLD AMERICAN COINS.

[The following account of some American coins, issued before the establishment of the present government, by some of the States, was furnished by Doctor JAMES MEASE, of Philadelphia].

No. 1. This coin is larger than a half cent. On one side it has thirteen ribs or bars which run parallel to, and are equi-distant from each other. On the other side are the letters U. S. A. the S. being of larger size, running across the other two letters. It has no date nor any other inscription.

No. 2. On one side a head surrounded by "Georgius. Dei. Gratia. Rex." On the other side is a rose and the following inscription, "Rosa. Americana. Utile. Dulci. 1722.

No. 3. On one side a chain of *thirteen* circular links running around the face of the coin. In the centre a circle, having upon it the words "We are one," and around these words, "United States." On the other side there is a sun at meridian height, looking down upon a dial, beneath which appear these words, "Mind your business." The word "*Fugio,*" and the date 1787 also appear on the same side of the coin.

No. 4. On one side the American Eagle, having on its breast a shield, with the word CENT upon it. Around the face of the Coin is "MASSACHUSETTS 1788." On the other side is an Indian at full length with his bow and arrow, and the word COMMONWEALTH.

No. 5. On one side a sheaf of wheat, and the words "PEACE AND PLENTY;" on the other, a full length portrait of Fame blowing her trumpet, and these words "FOR THE CONVENIENCE OF THE PUBLIC." There is a date upon it, but the third figure is so badly done, as to leave a doubt whether it is 1784, or some earlier period.

No. 6. On one side a Sun, with *thirteen* stars around it, and the words "NOVA CONSTELLATIO;" on the other, the letters U. S. surrounded by a vignette, and the words "LIBERTAS ET JUSTITIA 1785."

No. 7. Is the Jersey Half-penny, having on one side a shield, surrounded by the words "E. PLURIBUS UNUM;" on the other a Horse's head and a plough, with the words "NOVA CÆSAREA, 1785."

No. 8. On one side a head and the word "AUCTORI CONNEC," on the other a female figure very much in the form of a gingerbread child, holding what may be an olive branch in one hand, and a bow and arrow in the other, with the date below it of 1787. This is the old farthing of our boyhood.

No. 9. Has on one side a head, and the words "Georgius III Rex." On the opposite side is a shield cut into quarters, containing respectively the coats of arms of England, Scotland, Ireland and Virginia, surmounted with a crown, and surrounded with "Virginia, 1773." A coin similar to this was a year or two ago dug up in a garden, and with the description given of it, there was published the following history.

The following historical facts are here distinctly referred to. During the usurpation of Cromwell, the colony of Virginia refused to acknowledge his authority, and declared itself independent. Shortly after, finding that Cromwell threatened to send a fleet and army to reduce Virginia to subjection, and fearing the ability of this feeble state to withstand this force, she sent over in a small ship, a messenger to Charles II., then an exile, at Breda, in Flanders. Charles accepted the invitation to come over, and be king of Virginia, and was on the eve of embarking, when he was recalled to the throne of England. As soon as he was restored to the crown of England, in gratitude for the loyalty of Virginia, he caused her coat of arms to be quartered with those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as an independent member of the Empire. The above coin is clearly confirmatory of these facts. Hence the origin of the phrase "Old Dominion," frequently applied to Virginia.

The coin No. 2, resembles very much, one lately found in Charleston, and of which the following account was published in the Charleston papers:

CURIOUS COIN.—The workmen in preparing the foundation of St. Phillips Church, have found a Coin, the age of which is now 113 years, with the head of George the First. The inscription around which is—Georgius, D. G. Mag. Bri, Fra. Et. Hib. Rex. On the opposite side is a Rose—the inscription, Rosa, Americana, 1722. Utile Dulci. It probably is a coin of one of the Old Thirteen Colonies. Another of these coins was found in April, 1835, in digging a garden in Washington; Pensis, bordering on Brook County, Virginia.—J. M.

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from January 1, 1837, to January 1, 1838, agreeably to the Records kept at the Health Office.

1837.	*Under 1 year.*		*1 to 2.*		*2 to 5.*		*5 to 10.*		*10 to 20.*		*20 to 30.*		*30 to 40.*		*40 to 50.*		*50 to 60.*		*60 to 70.*		*70 to 80.*		*80 to 90.*		*90 to 100.*		*Unknown.*		*Still-born.*	*Total.*
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	18	11	7	8	8	8	3	1	0	4	6	7	8	6	9	8	6	4	2	10	4	8	1	2	0	2	1	0	10	163
Feb.	13	12	4	8	5	11	2	0	3	2	7	9	8	7	6	7	5	9	2	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	6	134
March	14	16	6	5	6	6	3	2	3	4	5	8	10	5	11	9	3	1	3	1	4	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	8	141
April	17	12	12	8	8	5	6	2	2	4	8	11	7	4	7	9	6	4	4	3	2	2	1	1	0	3	0	2	4	154
May	19	8	2	3	2	12	6	1	3	8	8	13	9	5	5	5	8	5	3	3	1	3	1	4	0	0	2	0	8	147
June	7	12	3	3	3	6	4	1	2	3	11	8	8	7	5	4	5	4	2	0	3	3	2	2	0	1	0	0	12	121
July	20	13	5	8	5	5	4	6	5	5	13	10	10	7	5	4	3	2	2	5	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	146
Aug.	30	29	17	20	8	5	3	0	3	8	13	9	11	12	3	7	2	2	8	4	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	5	204
Sept.	22	21	18	14	11	6	4	3	1	12	12	8	9	5	3	7	3	4	3	2	8	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	11	193
Oct.	11	12	7	9	10	9	4	1	3	8	6	10	8	6	6	3	2	2	2	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	14	141
Nov.	10	10	8	11	7	8	4	5	3	9	7	14	7	8	7	4	2	3	5	11	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	10	159
Dec.	13	8	9	9	6	0	1	1	3	5	12	7	7	11	12	2	6	3	2	4	3	2	1	2	0	0	1	2	8	140
	94	164	98	106	79	81	44	24	33	61	108	118	101	87	81	65	55	42	39	51	22	37	12	18	1	9	8	5	100	1843

The following are the Diseases, as far as they have been reported to the Health office, which have occasioned the Deaths in the City, during the past year.

Accidental,	13	Dyspepsy,	1	Jaundice,	1
Abscess,	3	Erysipelas,	6	Marasmus,	17
" in the Brain,	1	Feebleness at birth,	1	Measles,	23
" in the pleura,	1	Fever, intermittent,	3	Neuralgia,	4
" lumbar,	2	" inflammatory,	31	Old age,	69
Aneurism,	3	" typhus,	62	Palsy,	13
Angina pectoris,	1	" gastric,	3	Rheumatism,	3
Apoplexy,	31	" puerperal,	1	Scarlatina,	39
Asthma,	2	Gangrene,	11	Scirrhus of the Stomach,	1
Brain, diseases of,	15	Hæmorrhage,	3	Scrofula,	13
Burns,	12	" from the lungs,	3	Small-pox,	13
Cachexy,	15	" from the uterus,	1	Sorethroat,	10
Cancer,	14	Heart, diseases,	24	" ulcerated,	1
Catarrh,	1	Hernia,	1	Spine, disease of,	9
Child-bed,	18	Hooping cough,	19	Still-born,	100
Cholera,	10	Infantile diseases,	59	Suicide,	10
Cholera-infantum,	70	Inflammation,	4	Syphilis,	4
Cholic,	10	" of the brain,	23	Teething,	22
Consumption,	212	" of the heart,	2	Tumor of the brain,	2
Convulsions,	52	" of the pericardium,	2	" of the glands,	1
Croup,	44	" of the larynx,	3	" of the ovarium,	1
Delerium-tremens,	11	" of the lungs,	114	" on the lungs,	1
Diabetes,	2	" of the pleura,	18	Ulcer,	3
Diarrhœa,	11	" of the peritoneum,	1	Uterus, rupture of,	1
Diseases unknown,	269	" of the stomach,	4	Worms,	4
Dropsy,	42	" of the bowels,	41	Wounds,	1
" in the head,	59	" of the liver,	8		
" in the chest,	9	" of the kidney,	1		366
" in the abdomen,	2	" of the bladder,	1		485
Drowned,	23	" of the uterus,	2		992
Dysentery,	33	Influenza,	15		
" acute,	1	Intoxication,	17		1843
	992		485		

Population in 1835, 78,603;—1837, 80,325.

LIST OF PORTRAITS IN THE HALL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[Reference having been made on page 18, to some of the portraits, the Librarian believed, that, as the Hall has been much visited for the purpose of seeing them, it would be desirable to have a more general account of them; and therefore furnishes the following. Some biographical notices are added; which, though necessarily very brief, it is hoped are correct as to facts and dates.]

I. DISCOVERERS.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. ["Copy from an original, in the gallery of Medicis, at Florence." *Presented* by ISRAEL THORNDIKE, Esq.]

AMERICUS VESPUCIUS. [*A fine old painting.*]

CORTES. [Inscribed, "This picture of Cortes was brought from Europe by one of the Huguenot families, that settled in New England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz; and bequeathed to the late Rev. John Foster, D. D., of Brighton. It is presented by his Widow, to the Massachusetts Historical Society."]

When presented, it was so soiled with age, that the lineaments were scarcely distinguishable; but they were restored by the skilful care of Col. Henry Sargent, some of the productions of whose pencil, also, ornament our walls.

SEBASTIAN CABOT. [*Copied by J. G. Chapman, from a remarkable portrait, by* HANS HOLBEIN. *Presented by the Hon.* T. L. WINTHROP.] The original picture was purchased in England, at a great price, by Richard Biddle, Esq., of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and he kindly consented to have this copy made for the Historical Society of Massachusetts. The expression is that of profound and even painful thought; and in the deeply marked lines, and dark hazle eye, there yet linger tokens of the force and ardor of character, of this extraordinary man.

The canvas bears this inscription, on the left side: EFFIGIES SEBASTIANI CABOTI, ANGLI, FILII JOHANIS CABOTI VENETI, MILITIS AURATI, PRIMI INVENTORIS TERRÆ NOVÆ SUB HENRICO VII ANGLIÆ REGE.—And on the right, SPES MEA IN DEO.

For other particulars of the original portrait, see the "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," [by Mr. BIDDLE], Lond. 1831, p. 523–5.

II. WINSLOW FAMILY.

[These fine portraits were most obligingly deposited in our Hall, for the gratification of Visiters, by a descendant of the Family.]

Mrs. Alice Wensley. [*An original portrait; in the full dress and costume of olden time.*]

This lady was the daughter of Edmund Freeman of Plymouth; and, with his family, one of the passengers in the May-Flower. In 1639, she was married to Deacon William Paddy; and, after his death, became the wife of Samuel Wensley, Esq. A daughter of hers by her last husband, was wife of the Hon. Isaac Winslow, only son of Governor Josiah Winslow.

Governor Edward Winslow. [An original, painted in London in the year 1651, when he was agent for the Colony of Plymouth, in England; as was also that of Josiah Winslow, his son, who was with him. They have been ascribed to Vandyke, but it is said incorrectly. It is inscribed "A. D. 1651; Ætatis suæ 57."]

Governor Edward Winslow was born at Droitwich, Worcestershire, Great Britain, on the 20th of October, 1595; and came to Plymouth with the pilgrims, in the May-Flower, in 1620; was assistant 13 years, and Governor in 1632, 1636, and 1644. He died near Jamaica, May 8th, 1655, aged 61, on his passage from England to the West Indies.

Governor Josiah Winslow. The eldest son of Gov. Edward Winslow; born in 1629; elected assistant, 1667; and Governor from 1673, seven years;—being the first Governor who was a native of New England.—He died, at Marshfield, December 18th, 1680, in the 52d year of his age.

He has been styled "the most accomplished man of his day, in New England."

Mrs. Penelope Winslow, wife of Gov. Josiah Winslow. She was the daughter of Herbert Pelham, Esq., who was nearly related to the Duke of New-Castle. She died in 1703, aged 73.

General John Winslow. He was son of the Hon. Isaac Winslow, who was several years the senior member of the Council of Massachusetts; grandson of Gov. Josiah Winslow; and born in 1701. In 1740, he commanded a company in the expedition against Cuba; and afterwards rose to the rank of Major General, in the British service. In 1755, he was second in command, in the expedition against Nova Scotia. The next year, he commanded at Fort William Henry, on Lake George.—He died at Hingham in 1774, at the age of 73.

Doctor Isaac Winslow. [*Painted by Johnson.*] He was son of Gen. John Winslow; born at Marshfield, April 27th, 1739; was a physician of eminence; and died October 3d, 1819, aged 81.

John Winslow, Esq. Son of Dr. Isaac Winslow; born July 19th, 1774; became an eminent Lawyer; and died at Natches, Mississippi, August 24th, 1822, where he had gone on account of his health; leaving three sons and three daughters. The two eldest sons, John and Pelham, have since deceased; the youngest, Isaac, resident in Boston, is the only survivor in this country, descended from the first Governor Winslow; through whose kindness, these family portraits

are deposited, as also a large round table, and an antique chair of Gov. Edward Winslow's, brought from England, in the cabin of the "May-Flower."

III. GOVERNORS AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS.

JOHN ENDICOT. [*This portrait was copied in* 1737, *by Smibert, from the original painting in* 1664. *Presented by the Hon.* F. C. GRAY.]

He was a native of Dorchester, England, and came to this country in 1628, as agent of a company who were establishing a Colony at Salem, on a territory purchased of the Plymouth company. In 1641, he was elected Deputy Governor; and, two years after, was placed in the chair of Chief Magistrate; and, with few intermissions, was Governor from 1649, till his death, March 15th, 1665, in the 77th year of his age.

JOHN WINTHROP. [*This portrait was copied by* C. OSGOOD, *from an original in the Senate Chamber. Presented by the Honorable* T. L. WINTHROP.]

He arrived, with the first Colonists of Massachusetts, June 12th, 1630, having a Commission as their Governor. To this office he was elected annually, with the exception of six or seven years, till his death in 1649, March 26, aged 63.—He kept a Journal of occurrences and transactions in New England, from 1630 to 1649; which has been published from the original manuscripts, with notes, by the Honorable James Savage, in two volumes, 8vo.

JOHN CLARK. [*A large original picture, marked* "Ætatis suæ 66. Anno 1675." *Presented by a descendant, Doctor* JOHN CLARK HOWARD, *of Boston.*]

He was born in England, Oct. 8th, 1609; received a learned education; was a Physician in London; married Elizabeth, daughter of John Hayes, Esq., of Bedfordshire; came to New England among the first settlers; was one of the founders of Rhode Island. In 1644, he formed a church at Newport, and became its pastor. In 1651, he was sent to England with Roger Williams, to promote the interests of the Colony; and remained, as agent for the Colony, till he procured the Charter in 1663. After his return, he was elected three years successively, Deputy Governor; and died April 20th, 1676, in the 67th year of his age.

JONATHAN BELCHER. [Inscribed "F. LIOPOLDT *pinxit* Anno 1729:" *Painted in London, while he was agent of the Province at the British Court.*] Son of the Honorable Andrew Belcher of Cambridge; born in January, 1681; graduated at Harvard College, 1699; Member of the Council of Massachusetts; agent of the Province at the British Court, 1729; Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire from 1730 to 1741; and afterwards of New Jersey; and died August 31st, 1757, aged 76.

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, LL.D. [*Supposed to be the only original portrait. Presented by* PETER WAINWRIGHT, *Jun., Esq.*]

Born in Boston, September 9th, 1711; graduated at Harvard College, 1727; Member of the Council; sometime Chief Justice of the Superior Court; Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, from 1750 to

1770; and Governor from that time to 1774. He died in Great Britain, June 3d, 1780, aged 69.

He published a History of Massachusetts, from its first settlement until 1750, in 2 volumes, and a volume of Papers relative to its history. An additional volume has been published in London, 1828, from a manuscript preserved in the family, continuing the History till the commencement of the American Revolution.

JOHN WENTWORTH. [*Presented by* Sir JOHN WENTWORTH.] Born at Portsmouth, N. H., in the year 1671; was Lieutenant Governor of the Province, from 1717 to 1729; and died December 12th, 1730, aged 58.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS. [*An original painting. Presented by Hon.* JOSIAH QUINCY.] Born April 10th, 1750; deacon of the Old South Church 23 years;—for several years, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts; he died May 26th, 1817, aged 77. An eminent Christian; and an active member of many charitable societies.

OLIVER WOLCOTT, LL.D., was born at Litchfield in Connecticut, in 1760, and was the son of OLIVER WOLCOTT, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He graduated at Yale College in 1777, and joined the force raised to repel Tryon's expedition. He served in several subordinate offices, till 1780, when he removed to Hartford. There he was successively appointed one of the Committee of Pay table, Comptroller of Public Accounts, and Commissioner to settle the claims with the United States.

On the establishment of the Federal Constitution, he was appointed by President Washington, Auditor of the Treasury of the United States, in 1789, Comptroller in 1791, and Secretary of the Treasury in 1795. In this office he continued under Mr. Adams, till the close of 1800. He was then appointed one of the Circuit Judges under the new Judiciary act, afterwards repealed.

On losing this office, he established himself in New York as a merchant, and remained in business there, till 1817, when he removed to Connecticut, and was shortly after elected Governor. To this office he was re-elected, till 1826. In 1828, he again returned to New York, and died there in 1833, aged 73 years.

THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, LL.D. [*A fine portrait, painted by* C. OSGOOD. *Presented by several Gentlemen of Boston.*]

Graduate of Harvard College, 1780; late Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts; President of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the Philadelphia Philosophical Society; of the New York Historical Society; of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen; of the Imperial Academy of Agrarian Economy at Florence; &c. &c.

IV. GENERALS.

WASHINGTON. [*Painted at Philadelphia by Wright. Presented by* ISRAEL THORNDIKE, Esq.]

LA FAYETTE, Marquis. [*Taken at Paris, for Mr. Jefferson. Presented by* Mrs. J. W. DAVIS.]

BENJAMIN LINCOLN. [*Painted by Sargent. Presented by several gentlemen of Boston.*

V. DISTINGUISHED LAYMEN.

JEREMIAH DUMMER. [*A large and admirable portrait, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.*]

A native of Boston, and a graduate of Harvard College in 1699, and early distinguished himself by extraordinary brilliancy of genius, and progress of knowledge. Designing to devote himself to the ministry, he entered the University of Leyden, and obtained the applause of the celebrated Lipsius, professor in that seminary. He afterwards abandoned the clerical profession, and became a civilian. He went to England, and in 1710, was appointed Agent for Massachusetts, and was an able defendant of its charter liberties. He died at Plastow, in 1739.

PETER FANUEIL. [*Presented by* Miss JONES, *of Boston.*] The founder of the Hall which bears his name; died March 3d, 1743.

BENJAMIN POLLARD. [*Presented by* ISAAC WINSLOW, Esq.] Former High Sheriff of the County of Suffolk; and first Colonel of the Boston Cadets.

CHARLES PAXTON. [*Presented by* PETER WAINWRIGHT, Esq.]

JOHN PHILLIPS, LL.D. [*Presented by* Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY.] Son of the Rev. Samuel Phillips of Andover; born December 27th, 1719; graduated at Harvard College in 1735; for several years a member of the Council in New Hampshire; April 21st, 1778, he with his brother Samuel Phillips of Andover, endowed the Academy in that town; and in 1789, gave to the Institution twenty thousand dollars. Of the Academy of Exeter, he was the sole founder; and it was incorporated in 1781, with a fund of fifteen thousand dollars. He died April, 1795, aged 76, bequeathing to this Academy, two thirds of all his estate; and one third of the residue to the Seminary at Andover.

JAMES ALLEN. [*Painted by Copley; presented, with the next, by the Widow of the late James Allen, Esq.*] Born in Boston, July 24th, 1739. He left Harvard College, after a residence of three years, to devote himself exclusively to polite literature. He was the author of several poems of much celebrity; and died in 1808, in his 70th year.

JEREMIAH ALLEN, Esq. [*Painted by Stewart.*] High Sheriff of the County of Suffolk.

JOHN DAVIS, LL.D. [*Painted by Cole. Presented by Hon.* T. L. WINTHROP.] Judge of the United States District Court of Massachusetts. Late President of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and of several other learned Societies.

VI. CLERGYMEN.

JOHN WILSON. [*A fine original portrait. Presented by* HENRY BROMFIELD, Esq.] First Minister of Boston; to which he came with Governor Winthrop in 1630. He died August 7th, 1667, aged 78.

JOHN BAILEY. [*Presented by his great grandson,* Mr. NATHANIEL WILLIS, *of Boston.*] He was born in Lancashire, Great Britain, Feb. 24th, 1644; was Minister at Limerick, in Ireland; came to New England about 1683; was settled at Watertown, October 6th, 1686;

removed to Boston, 1692, and became assistant Minister with Rev. Mr. Allen of the first Church; and died December 12th, 1697, in his 54th year.

INCREASE MATHER, D. D. [*A very old painting. Presented by* Mr. JOHN DUGAN.] Minister of the North Church in Boston; and President of Harvard College. He died August 23d, 1723, aged 85.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS. [. . . *Presented by Hon.* JOSIAH QUINCY.] He was Minister of the South parish in Andover; and died June 5th, 1711, in the 82d year of his age.

WILLIAM WELSTEAD. Minister of the New Brick Church, Boston; died April 20th, 1753, aged 58.

GEORGE BERKLEY, D. D. [*Painted by Smibert, on his passage to Newport, Rhode Island. Presented by* THOMAS WHETMORE, *Esq. of Boston.*] He was born March 12th, 1684, at Kilcrin in Kilkenny, Ireland; educated at Trinity College, Dublin; was Dean of Derry, and afterwards Bishop of Cloyne; came to Newport, R. I., in 1729, on his way to establish a College in one of the Islands of Bermuda; resided there two years and a half, when he returned. He was a distinguished benefactor to Yale College, and died at Oxford, Great Britain, January 14th, 1753, being nearly 69 years of age.

THOMAS PRINCE. [*Presented by the Hon.* JONATHAN PHILLIPS.] He was a native of Middleborough, and graduated at Harvard College, in 1707. After studying theology, he visited England, and preached at Coombs, where he was invited to settle; but he preferred to return to America. He returned to Boston in 1717, having been absent about seven years; and was ordained Pastor of the Old South Church, October 1st, 1718, and labored there, with great popularity and usefulness, till his death, October 22d, 1758. He published a valuable Chronological History of New England; and made large collections for a civil and religious history of it, in manuscripts and books. These were kept in an apartment of the tower of the Old South Church, and called "The New England Library." The manuscripts were principally destroyed by the British, at the early period of the Revolutionary war, and several of the books were taken away; part of those that remained, are now deposited in the library of the Historical Society.

CHARLES CHAUNCY, D. D. [. . . . . *Presented by* JOSEPH WOODWARD, *Esq.*] He was born at Boston, January 1st, 1706; graduated at Harvard College in 1721; and ordained Pastor of the First Church in Boston, in 1727, where he labored till his death, in 1787, in the 83d year of his age. He was eminent for his talents, learning, and love of liberty, civil and religious.

SAMUEL COOPER, D. D. [*Painted by Copley. Presented by Rev.* CHANDLER ROBBINS.] Born at Boston, Massachusetts, March 28th, 1725; graduated at Harvard College, in 1743; and in 1746, ordained pastor of the Brattle Street Church. After an unusually popular ministry of near 37 years, he died December 29th, 1783, in the 59th year of his age.

JOHN CLARKE, D. D. [*Original portrait, painted and presented by Col.* HENRY SARGENT.] Born at Portsmouth, N. H., April 13th, 1755; graduated at Harvard College in 1774; ordained pastor of the first Church in Boston, as colleague with the Rev. Dr. Chauncy, July

8th, 1788; and deceased April 1st, 1798. [*See more in the Historical Collections*, Vol. VI, 1—9.]

Jeremy Belknap, D. D. [*Painted by Sargent. Presented by several members of the Society.*] Born at Boston, June 4th, 1744; graduated at Harvard College, 1762; ordained pastor of the Church in Dover, N. H., February 18th, 1767; installed in the Presbyterian Church in Boston, April 4th, 1787; and deceased June 20th, 1798, aged 54.

Besides the publication of several sermons and religious tracts, he was the author of "the History of New Hampshire," in 3 volumes; of the "American Biography" in two volumes; and of "a discourse before the Massachusetts Historical Society," of which he was the founder, "on the completion of the third century, from Columbus' discovery of America." [*For a biographical memoir, See Collections of the Historical Society*, Vol. VI, p. 10—18.

VII. AGED WOMEN.

Ann Pollard. [*Presented by* Isaac Winslow, *Esq.*] Wife of William Pollard, of Boston. She deceased December 6th, 1725, aged 105 years. This portrait was taken, when she was 103 years old.—"She left of her offspring 130." She used to relate that she went over in the first boat that crossed Charles river, in 1630, to what has since been called Boston; that she was the first that jumped ashore, and she described the place as being at that time, "very uneven, abounding in small hollows and swamps, and covered with blueberry and other bushes."

Mrs. Mary Davis. [*Presented by the Rev.* Dr. Bentley *of Salem.*] On the back of this painting is the following record, but without dates; and it is all that we have been able to find respecting this old lady.

"Mrs. Mary Davis, aged 117.—She had three husbands, by whom she had nine children. She had fifteen grand-children; 215 great-grand children; 800 great grand children's children. At 104 years, she could do a good day's work at shelling corn; at 110 she sat at her spinning wheel. She was driven from the eastward (Maine), 40 years."

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DONATIONS.

The thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society are presented for the following donations.

T. M. HARRIS, *Librarian.*

List of Donations, from July 27th, 1837, to July 27th, 1838.

Report on the Geology of Maine, by Dr. C. T. Jackson, 8vo, Augusta, 1837. *Presented by Hon. T. L. Winthrop.*

Compend of Moral Philosophy, by Rev. Charles Morton, in Manuscript. *Hon. John Pickering.*

Eulogy on James Madison, Boston, 1836; and oration on the life and character of La Fayette. 8vo, Washington, 1835; by Hon. J. Q. Adams. *The Author.*

Report of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, and their printed Letter. 8vo, 1836. *Professor Rafn.*

Annual Report of the American Education Society, for May, 1837. *Rev. Dr. Cogswell.*

Documents of the First Session of the 23d Congress; 18 volumes. *A. O. Dayton, Esq., Secretary of State.*

Letter to Major G. Mackay, from T. Walley, John Joy, and H. Hill; June 17th, 1769, (Manuscript). *Mr. Joseph J. Couthoy.*

Profile of Mr. Thomas Wallcut. *His Nephew, the Rev. R. F. Walcutt.*

Journal of Essex County Natural History Society. *Ichabod Tucker, Esq.*

American Quarterly Register, for August. *Rev. Dr. Cogswell.*

J. W. Toomer's Oration at the first Centennial of the South Carolina Society; March 28th, 1837. *The Society.*

Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, vol. 5. *The Society.*

Acts of the 61st General Assembly of New Jersey. *The State.*

North American Review for July, 1837. *Rev. Dr. Palfrey.*

Parchment Commission from George II, to Benning Wentworth, as Governor of New Hampshire. *Hon. John Pickering.*

Sir Grenville Temple's Travels in Greece and Turkey. 2 vols. 12mo, 1836. *Hon. T. L. Winthrop.*

History of Rehoboth, by L. Bliss, Jun. 8vo, Boston, 1836. *The Author.*

Gazetteer of the United States, by J. E. Worcester. Andover, 1818, 8vo. *The Author.*

Pulaski vindicated, by Col. Paul Bentalon. Baltimore, 1824, 8vo. *The Author.*

Catalogue of the Library of the Antiquarian Society, Worcester, 1837, 8vo. *The Society.*

Inaugural Discourse, by Rev. Jasper Adams, Geneva, N. Y., 1827, and Elements of Moral Philosophy, Cambridge, 1837. *The Author.*

Dr. Beck's Eulogium on Simeon de Wett, Albany, 1835, 8vo. Barnard's Address before the Albany Institute, Albany 1836; Catalogue of Amherst College, 1836. *Dr. Jacob Porter.*

Address before the American Historical Society, by Hon. Levi Woodbury. Washington, 1837. *The Author.*

List of persons, copartnerships, and corporations taxed in Boston, 1836. A volume of rare tracts, relating principally to Major General Ludlow. 1691—1696, 4to. *I. P. Davis, Esq.*

A box of papers, relating principally to Indian affairs, preserved in the family of Col. Israel Williams, at Hatfield.
John Williams, Esq. of Conway.

Rev. John Cotton's Exposition of the 13th Chapter of Revelations. London, 1635, 4to. *J. F. Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia.*

Four tracts, in the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muskokee, and Osage language. Utica, 1831. *William Gibbs, Esq.*

North American Review, for Oct. 1837. *Professor Palfrey.*

History of Kennebunk Port, 1837. *Captain Charles Bradbury.*

Twenty numbers of the Political state of Great Britain. 1716—1732.
Mr. S. G. Drake.

Documents of the 2d Session of the 24th Congress. (12 Volumes).
J. Forsyth, Secretary of State.

A volume of curious tracts. 1670—1742. 12mo.
Rev. R. F. Wallcutt.

A file of the Rhode Island Republican, [containing a series of communications, relative to the History of Rhode Island; written by Bull, Esq., descendant of Gov. Bull.] 56 Numbers. *I. P. Davis, Esq.*

Sermon at the ordination of Rev. John Parkman in Greenfield, Oct. 11th, 1837, by Rev. Francis Parkman, D. D. *The Author.*

Discourse on the evidence that the American Indians are descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. By M. M. Noah. *The Author.*

Dr. George Hayward on diseases of the knee joint, 1837. Rev. H. Coleman's sermon on the times, 1837. George A. Stevens's Address to the Juvenile Houses' Association for the suppression of prophanity, 1837. Rev. G. Whitney's sermon on the moral and religious uses of Mechanical exhibitions. Annual Report of the blind Asylum, 1837. J. D. Green's address before the Boston Phrenological Society. Annual Report of the Seaman's Aid Society. *Rev. Alexander Young.*

Ten, various Addresses and Reports. *Lemuel Shattuck, Esq.*

American Almanac for 1838. *J. E. Worcester.*

History of Massachusetts, from July, 1775, to 1789 inclusive. By Alden Bradford, Esq, Boston, 1825, 8vo. History of Massachusetts for 200 years. [From 1620 to 1820. By Alden Bradford, Boston, 1835.
The Author.

American Quarterly Register for November, 1837.
Rev. Dr. Cogswell.

History of Boston, by Caleb H. Snow, Boston. 1835.
Hon. T. L. Winthrop.

Historical causes and effects. By William Sullivan, Esq., Boston, 1837. *The Author.*

Address to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, on the 9th Anniversary, by Hon. William Lincoln, Esq., 1837. *The Author.*

First exhibition and fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association; with Governor Everett's Address, 1837. *Gov. Everett.*

Opinions on speculative Masonry, by James C. Odiorne. Boston, 1830. *The Author.*

Documents of the first Session of the 25th Congress. (4 Volumes). *J. Forsyth, Secretary of State.*

Dudleian Lecture Sermon. May 14th, 1834, by Rev. Alvan Lamson. *The Author.*

Rev. Mr. Lunt's Christmas discourse, 1837. Rev. J. Pierpont's discourse at the Hollis Street Church, Dec. 3d, 1837. Rev. W. G. Eliot's discourse at the dedication of the First Congregational Church, at St. Louis. Tribute to the memory of Rev. Noah Worcester, D. D., by Rev. W. E. Channing. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. J. F. Sargent, by Rev. W. P. Greenwood, 1837. *Rev. Alexander Young.*

History of Ferdinand and Isabella, by W. H. Prescott. Boston, 1838. 8vo. 3 vols. *The Author.*

Reports of the Engineers of the Western Railroad Corporation, 1838. *Josiah Quincy, Jr.*

Twelfth Annual Report of the Prison Discipline Society, 1837. Considerations on the Eastern diocese, 1837. *Rev. Alexander Young.*

Refutation of the pretended claim of William Vans. Boston, 1837, 2 vols. 8vo. Dorchester Controversy: a collection of papers. Boston, 1812. Visit to England, by Rev. John Codman. Boston, 1836, 12mo. *Rev. Dr. Codman.*

Report of a Committee appointed to continue Meteorological observations on the 21st of March, June, September and December, 1836, and 1837. *Doctor Jacob Porter.*

Governor Belcher's letter book for the years 1747, 1748, fol. *American Antiquarian Society.*

Military papers of Col. Moses Greenleaf, during service in the American Revolution. *His son, Simon Greenleaf, Esq.*

Fac simile of the Declaration of Independence, on a large sheet. *Lieutenant Hood.*

Gov. Hutchinson's Collection of papers relating to the History of the Massachusetts Bay. 8vo. Boston, 1769. *Alden Bradford, Esq.*

North American Review for January, 1838. *Professor Palfrey.*

American Quarterly Register, Vol. x, No. 2. February, 1838. *Doctor Cogswell.*

History and proceedings of the House of Lords, from the Restoration in 1660, to the end of 1740, (*eight volumes* 8vo), and of the House of Commons, to 1760, (*nineteen volumes*). *Hon. T. L. Winthrop.*

Sermon on the close of a Century since the erection of the Episcopal Church in Newburyport, by Rev. James Morss. 8vo. 1758. *Edward S. Rand, Esq.*

Address before the Norfolk bar, Feb. 23d, 1837, by James Richardson, Esq. *Joseph Willard, Esq.*

American Quarterly Register, for February, 1838. *Rev. W. Cogswell.*

Sermons on the mystery of godliness, by Rev. John Barnard, Boston, 1730. The Sham Patriot unmasked, 1806: Discourse before the Humane Society, 1787, by Rev. Dr. J. Lathrop. Burgesdicius' Logic, 1680, and Shepard's Sound Believer, 1742. *Rev. Mr. Sibley.*

Whitehall's Behemoth arraigned, in answer to Hobbes. London,

1600. Manuscript Sermons, by Rev. Mr. Phillips, of South Andover. Manuscript Sermons (writer unknown), and a Sermon on these bad times, 1837. *Rev. S. J. May. Scituate.*

Dissertation on the Chinese system of writing, by J. S. Du Ponceau. Philadelphia, 1838, 8vo. *American Philosophical Society.*

Governor Belcher's letter book (to complete a set). 1750—1752, folio. *N. G. Snelling, Esq.*

Columbian Centinel, 1834, 1835. Boston Daily Advertiser, 1836, 1837, 2 volumes; Daily Advertiser and Patriot, 1836; and Daily Centinel and Gazette, 1836, 1737, (*half-bound*). *Hon. T. L. Winthrop.*

Discourse occasioned by burning the effigy of the Stamp-men in New London, Connecticut, 1765. *I. P. Davis, Esq.*

History of the Colony of New Haven, by Edward R. Lambert, 1838. *The Author.*

History and antiquities of New Haven. By J. W. Barber, 1831. *The Author.*

Discourse on the life and character of N. Bowditch, LL.D., by Rev. Alexander Young, 1838. *The Author.*

Large Map of Maine, by Moses Greenleaf, Esq., 1815, (colored to indicate the source of titles, grants, &c. and the progress of settlement. Plan of the town of Portland, as originally granted to the settlers; and Catalogue d'ouvrages sur l'Histoire de l'Amerique, et en particuluier sur celle du Canada: par J. B. Fairbault. Quebec, 1837. *Simon Greenleaf, Esq.*

Sermon on the death of Joseph Bradlee, Esq., by Rev. N. L. Frothingham, 1838. *Rev. Alexander Young.*

North American Review, for April, 1838. *Professor Palfrey.*

Address at Concord, N. H., before the Female Anti-Slavery Society, Dec. 25th, 1837, by Nathaniel P. Rogers; with the 3d Annual Report, by Mary Clark. *Miss Mary Clark.*

Legislative documents of the Massachusetts General Court, during the Session of 1838. *Legislature of Massachusetts.*

American Archives, fourth Series, Vol. 1. Washington, D. C., 1837, folio. *Peter Force, Esq.*

Narrative of the shipwreck of Horace Holden, in 1832, on one of the Pelew Islands, 12mo, Boston, 1838. *Hon. John Pickering.*

Thirty Pamphlets, principally relating to Boston. *Lemuel Shattuck, Esq.*

Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, vol. 4th, 1838. *Dr. T. H. Webb.*

Two Sermons preached at Grafton, Nov. 15th, 1772; being the last delivered in public there, by Rev. Aaron Hutchinson, their Pastor. Boston, 1773. *William Brigham, Esq.*

Sermons by the Rev. John Disney, D.D. vol. 3d and 4th, London, 1816. Outlines of a penal code, by John Disney, Esq., London, 1826. And an original blank Stamp-Act paper. Original letters, to and from Thomas Hollis, Esq. *John Disney, Esq., of London.*

Eulogium, delivered at the reinterment of the remains of Christopher Columbus, on the 13th of January, 1796; by Don Joseph Augustin Cabellero, in the Cathedral Church at the Havana, Cuba. [The original copy from which the Address was delivered, in the beautiful handwriting of the Orator.] *George Knight, Esq.*

Bonner's Plan of Boston, 1722. Captain Cyprian Southack's Charts

of the North East coasts and West Indies, with copies of letters to Earl Bellamont and others, 1696-7 to 1700. Cantemir (Prince), History of the Ottoman Empire, translated by Tindal. fol. Lond. 1734. [College. Leo Modena's History of Africa, translated by Pory, fol. Lond. 1600. Hanway's History of the British trade over the Caspian Sea, 4to, 3 Vols. Lond. 1753. Boyle's Usefulness of Experimental Philosophy. 4to, Oxford, 1663. Gervase Markham's treatises on Husbandry, &c., &c. 4to. Lond. 1631. Cowell's Interpreter of Law Terms and Words, 4to. Camb. 1607. Bishop Wilkins' Life and Works. 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1802. Spectacle of Nature. 8vo. Vol. 2d. Lond. 1737. Quesnell's Reflections on the New Testament, translated. 8vo. 6 vols. 1719. Polygraphic Dictionary. 8vo. Lond. 1735. 2 vols. Oldmixon's British Empire. 8vo. 2 vols. Lond. 1741. Ethan Allen's Oracles of reason. 8vo. 1784. Brookes's Gazetteer. 8vo. 12th ed. Montrose, 1805. De La Pallue's Idée du Monde. 12mo. 3 vols. 1787.

Family of the late William Taylor.

EMENDATA ET ADDITAMENTA.

[The following emendations and additions were presented in relation to our volumes by Alden Bradford Esq. L. L. D., one of the earliest members of this Society, and whose Historical researches and publications justly make his statements and corrections highly important]

Boston, October 24th, 1836.

In some late researches which I have been making, I had frequent occasion to consult the volumes of the Historical Collections. And I have found much valuable information, relating to the early history of New England, and especially of Massachusetts. But some mistakes and errors, perhaps typographical in part, were detected; which, as these volumes will probably be quoted hereafter, as authority, in deciding questions in chronology and biography, I have thought it important to notice. I am aware they are not very material, and some of them may be considered *nugæ;* yet as accuracy in all such cases, is desirable with the antiquarian, I offer some corrections; which the Society will make such use or disposition of as they may deem proper.

With great respect &c.

Alden Bradford.

The Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Volume I, First Series, page 204, *Shone* should be Shove: perhaps an error of the press. Mr. Shove was minister of Taunton; at the date of the account, Sept. 1674. In page 192 of Vol. ix. he is called *Shore;* which may also be an error of the press. Page 251 of Vol I. for 1616, it should be 1716. Vol. II. page 43, for August 14th, in margin, it should be June 30th. Vol. III. page 242, Johnson began to build on Boston side in September, not November: for he died September 30th. Same page *Dudley* was probably not among the *first* settlers of Boston.

His early abode, next after Charlestown, seems to have been the New Town. Page 15, same Vol. it should be *1639, not 1739; and arrows instead of errors, page 28. *Reayne*, no doubt should be Keayne: see pages 47 and 48 of same Vol. Page 36 of III Vol. it should probably be Oldham, not Culdom. Page 45, should read, great injury both to you, &c. Page 46, I presume *Allden* means Robert, and not John, see 48th page. Same page, 48, Thorned should probably be Thornel, or Thornhill. * Page 108, the date should be 1748, not 1784.

Vol. V. 216 page, 1634 must be an error—no doubt it should be 1636. Vol. VII, 268 page, 1608 has generally been given for the events, instead of 1610, as it is here given. Vol. VIII, Plymouth had not a *charter* from the king, though often promised, and once ordered to be made out.

Vol. IX, page 18, for Grove, I think it should be Graves. Same page, Dorchester is said to be the first church. Not only was Plymouth before it, but Salem also. Perhaps it is proper to place Dorchester next after Salem: for it was formed in March, in England; and the Dorchester people arrived last of May. Page 19; the church gathered in Charlestown was not, strictly speaking, divided till 1632, after Mr. James came, when it was made a distinct church; but the majority being on the Boston side, as early as November, the meetings for religious worship were held on that side for the inhabitants in both places. Vol. IX, 21, desired, instead of *denied*. Page 41, 1684, should be 1584. Page 20, it may be proper to notice that Roger Williams was not of the company of 1630, nor was he invited into the Colony. Page 149, Shaumut was settled in September; and in November was more populous or wealthy than Charlestown, as appears by the tax. Page 75, 8th line from the bottom, read 1671 and 176, 12th line from the top read 70. Page 179, it is believed that 1647 should be 1655. Cotton Mather says about 1655, seventeen scholars left the College because they were compelled to lose a great part of a year; but many of them became useful in the church and commonwealth. Brimsmead and Robinson were among these. And 1660, should be 1666—Mr. Brimsmead was preaching in Plymouth about 1660. Page 183, Mr. Robinson was about thirty-five years minister in Duxbury; he was settled in 1702, and removed to Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1737-8, where he resided several years before he died. Mr. Wiswall was minister of Duxbury about twenty-five or six years, having been settled there not before 1676. Mr Holmes, his predecessor died in December, 1675. Page 199, not Nantasket, but Narragansett.

Vol. X, 2, not Broom, but Brown, elder in the church of Watertown —error of press no doubt. Page 8, line 4, taught* for thought. Page 17, it should be 1635, not 1685. Page 25, Matthews was also charged with heresy, and imprudent speeches by some of the Malden church; for which they complained of him to the magistrates. It was *merely* a censure on the church for not first consulting the magistrates before inviting him. Page 32, Providence, not prophecies. Page 34, 1804, not 1604, dire not due. Page 28, 1656, not 1636.

Vol. X, 168, there is quite a blunder, though the statement was made by Dr. Chauncey. Peter Bulkley, who was graduated in 1660, was an eminent statesman, and a son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, first minister of Concord, the author of a volume with title of Gospel Convenant. Page 173, it should be 1637-8. The true time was March, 1638. Page 206,

* The errors thus * marked do not exist in the *second* edition, 1810 Ed.

Chronological table, Williams was banished from Massachusetts Jurisdiction December, 1635; and went to Providence the Spring following.

Vol. I, 2d Series, page 1; Leonard Hoar died in 1675. Page 29, the gift of £1000 to the Colony was by Dr. Wilson, a brother of Rev. Mr. Wilson of Boston.

Vol. II, 94. Would it not be more correct to place Watertown church in June, when the covenant was adopted, according to Cotton Mather? Johnson makes it the 7th, but it was as early as Boston, formed first in Charlestown. Page 91, Boston church should date from 1630, as already observed, and Charlestown in 1632. Page 106. Randall is probably a mistake for Randolph. Page 107, near the bottom, 1636, not 1630. Page 164, 1629 should be 1630. Page 81, and 83. Is not 198, for the number of ships in the first twelve or thirteen years, more correct than 298? Some of the ships brought 120, and some even a greater number; 298 would give nearly 30,000 or quite; but the number in that time was about 20, or 21,000. Let it be remembered also, that of the seventeen ships said to have brought passengers in 1630, one of them, the Handmaid, came by way of Plymouth, and brought passengers to that place, and therefore probably, did not bring a great number for the Bay; and one left England in February, probably, not with *many* passengers. As there are two numbers mentioned, that which is the most probable should be preferred. And some of the larger ships had 200 passengers.

Vol. III, page 123; the date should be 1630. Page 147, not cold, nor gold, but *could*. Page 151, not forest, but fort.

Vol. VI, 42d page, for 30,000, I suggest 3000, as more probable. Page 157, Norris, not Morris. Vol. V, 68 page. Mr. Cushman had probably hired the vessel—he was not the captain. Page 99, Monamoy, (Chatham) not Merrimack. Page 115, not designs, but diseases probably. Page 260, crowns, not drowns. Page 335, R. Williams did not go to Providence to settle till Spring, 1636. He went first only to Pawtucket. Page 429, Winslow, not Winthrop.

Vol. VII, 1 and 11th page. Should it not be Fiske, and neither Fish, nor Friske? Page 28, Mr. Wilson was first settled in Dorchester and then in Medfield.

Vol. VIII, 101 page. Mr. L. probably was Gov. Leverett; from what is said in one or two preceeding paragraphs. Gov. Dudley died in 1665. This could not be Joseph, just then left College, and Thomas, only twelve years before, was not probably the person intended. It could not be Thomas Danforth, Deputy Lt. Governor, for he was then at the head of the *Whig* party, and much opposed to the commissioners of Charles II, and to an extensive exercise of the royal prerogative. Was it Richard Dummer of Newbury? He was sometime one of the magistrates, and as late as this period. Page 100, Mr. E. might be Rev. Mr. Eliot; for several of the clergy attended this meeting; and Mr Eliot was sometimes a *politician*.

Vol. IX, page 9, it is probably Sagadahoc and Monhegin near its mouth, are here intended. Page 37, by Auguam, Agawam is meant probably. Page 28, R. G. *perhaps* was Richard Greene, mentioned page 82 of same volume, who had the charge and oversight of Weston's plantation at Wassaguscus. It is probable he was a man of some note and observation.

Vol. X, 2d Series, Chronological Table. The first date is an error, founded in a mistake of Vol. V, page, 8, near the bottom. It was not the

Cabots, but Columbus who discovered Cuba, Hispaniola, &c. in 1492. The MS. *no doubt* read thus—In 1497, he (Sebastian Cabot) with his father John Cabot, sent out by commission of Henry VII, ranged a great part of this unknown region, or coast, and (in *some years following;* a mistake for it was the same year as above,) discovered many places from 40th degree of South to 67th of North latitude: whereas, Columbus contenting himself with the riches of Cuba, Hispaniola and other Islands which he fortunately fell upon in the year 1492. But he did not discover the main land till 1498, a whole year after Sebastian Cabot had been upon the continent—Whether there is a mistake in Hubbard, when he says, from 40th degree of South to 67th of North; or whether it was only meant from North latitude 67 to the South, to 40th degree, I shall not attempt to decide.

Page 270, General Index. John Doane was not a printer; nor does Prince authorize the assertion. He says—that the printer of Morton's *Memorial* probably, called Doane, *Dove* by mistake. See Vol. VII, 83 of Prince's Annals. Page 307, General Index. It is a mistake, that the Countess of Lincoln ever intended to come to Plymouth, (so far as known), see Vol. V, 47. Hubbard says only, that Mr. Wincob, (who was of the family of the Countess of Lincoln) at first intended to go with the Leyden people.

Page 342. Pessacus was not a Sachem of Massachusetts, but of Narragansett, see Vol. VI, 452d page.

Vol. VII, page 41. The punctuation is such as to lead any one not acquainted with the history of the churches and pastors, in early times, into great mistakes. It would be more intelligible if it read thus, (as no doubt it was meant to be)—"Among whom were the Rev. Elders of Boston, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson; Mr. Allen of Charlestown; Mr. Shephard and Mr. Dunster of Cambridge; Mr. Knowles of Watertown; Mr. Allen of Dedham; Mr. Eliot of Roxbury; Mr. Mather of Dorchester."

Vol. I, 3d Series page 211. 1634 cannot be correct—it was in winter of 1635-6, or spring of 1636.

Vol. II, 267 page, Bristol should be added to Plymouth and Barnstable Counties, as composing Plymouth Colony.

Vol. III. The Journal of Joselyn is so full of mistakes and errors, and some calculated to lead *tyros* astray, though many of them of little consequence, I cannot undertake to notice them in this statement, not intended to be so long as it is. But it would seem that as the Society has published it in their volumes, they would take measures to prevent its leading any astray.

General Index, page 320, X Vol. 2d Series. It is a mistake to say Mr. Matthews of Lynn, the place referred to does not authorise it. A Mr. *Line* was witness against Mr. Matthews.

Dudley says there were seventeen ships came to Massachusetts, with passengers, in 1630; and it is implied they all belonged to the company with Winthrop; which is not precisely correct. Only *eleven* ships came with Winthrop, who arrived in June or July. Capt. Pierce came more than a month before Winthrop; but brought none of the company; and yet he might have left a few persons at Salem. The John and Mary brought the Dorchester people, who, though they became united here, were not of Winthrop's company in England. The Handmaid came to Plymouth late in the season, and had very few for Massachusetts. The Gift arrived in August, after a passage of 13 weeks, but had some of the

Massachusetts. Different early writers will be reconciled by this statement; and it is important, chiefly, in this respect.

It will not perhaps, be impertinent here, to notice some of the contradictory accounts, as to the number of ships with passengers, which came from England to Massachusetts during the first eleven or twelve years, exclusive of those with Endicott in 1628. It is said by one very early writer, (Johnson) that there were 198 ships; and again he says there were two hundred and ninety eight; and the last statement has usually been given by later writers. There is a misprint in one of these statements; and probably in the last. The accounts of the number of passengers have been more uniform; and the estimate gives 21,000.

In the eleven ships with the Winthrop company there were about 1500; and with Higginson, in 1629, there were 300, beside 60 women and young children. Prince says that some of the ships had 200 passengers and some 150, and 120, &c., though some had only 100. Now if each ship brought 120, or even 110, on an average, which is probable, (for the 11 ships with Winthrop brought 1500) than 198 would bring 21,280; and 298 ships would have but 70 each on an average. Besides it is not probable that 28, or 30 ships a year came with passengers for 10 or 11 years; and two years of the eleven, but few passengers came over.

Vol. V, 2d Series, page 11. *Salterne* is inserted by conjecture. Prince and Belknap speak also of *Savalet*, who was often on the coast fishing, and for discoveries. See Belk. Biog. 320th page, I Vol.

Rev. Mr. Mellen, in his account of Barnstable, says Governor Hinckley, was a native of that town. And the writer of the description of Scituate, says he was born in Plymouth or Scituate. Neither of these are correct. He was born in England, 1618—and came over with his father, one of Rev. Mr. John Lothrop's church, in 1634, at the age of sixteen.

In IXth Vol. 2d Series, the editor conjectures, that the initials R. G. at the close of a letter to J. P. (John Peirce), indicate Richard Gardiner. Perhaps they indicate Richard Green, brother in law and agent of Thomas Weston, one of the merchant adventurers, and the person who made a settlement at Wessaguscus. See pages 28 and 82.

Vol. III, 1st Series, 242d page, the writer of an account of Boston, and generally very correct, says, "Isaac Johnson and others began a settlement at Boston, in November." Johnson died in September; and had fixed on Shawmut for his residence, and put up a house there before his death. And so many removed from Charlestown to Shawmut, that the religious public meetings on the Lord's days, were on that side of the river, for the inhabitants of both places; and so continued, till the fall of 1632, when the Charlestown people had a minister of their own, Mr. James, and became a separate and distinct church and society. Winthrop soon took up his residence in Boston; but Dudley did not. The date, 1632, for the first meeting house is perhaps a mistake, unless they worshipped in a private house for two years; which might be.

In Vol. VI, 3d Series, 4th page, Nathan Turner should be Nathaniel Turner. The Indian hostilities, as narrated from page 178, to the swamp fight on page 182, were all in 1675 and not in 1674, as there printed.

Vol. II, 2d Series, page 267, it is said, "The colony of Plymouth included the present counties of Plymouth and Barnstable, and part of Rhode Island." It also contained the county of Bristol.

APPENDIX.

LETTER FROM HONORABLE JUDGE DAVIS, RESPECTING ISAAC ALLERTON.

BOSTON, *August 6th*, 1838.

DEAR SIR,

Having been favored by you, with the perusal of the printed copy of Rev. Mr. Bacon's letter, intended to be included in the volume of the Historical Society's Collections, now in the press, I would submit to the Publishing Committee some further *addenda*, in reference to an inquiry, which that gentleman was requested to make, respecting the place in the modern city of New Haven, where Isaac Allerton's house was erected. There can be no doubt, that the Captain Isaac Allerton, mentioned in President Stiles's History of the Judges, who "came early and settled in New Haven, and built a grand house on the creek, with four porches," was the *Isaac Allerton* who came to Plymouth in the May-Flower, and was a most active, intelligent and distinguished associate in that memorable community. This is satisfactorily proved, as well as his ultimate settlement and death in New Haven, by Mr. Bacon's communications, in which he is sustained by Professor Kingsley, in a note to his interesting "Historical Discourse," recently delivered in New Haven.

"That this Isaac Allerton of New Haven," says Professor Kingsley "is the same who was at Plymouth, is evident from the circumstance, that in his will, he refers to his brother Brewster; and it appears from Morton's

Memorial, that Isaac Allerton, of Plymouth, married a daughter of Elder Brewster."

The place in the city of New Haven, corresponding to Allerton's location, is thus given by Rev. Mr. Bacon, in his letter of July 30th.

"In the town-plot of New Haven, the direction of the streets was determined by two creeks, both of which have now disappeared. The principal creek, was that from which Governor Eaton and his company appear to have landed. Near its margin stood the old oak, under which they worshipped. Along the bank of this creek, for a considerable distance, was marked out what is now called George Street, the south-western boundary of the 'nine squares.' This creek being filled up with the deposite, which is continually forming in our harbor, the tide was, many years ago, shut out by a dike, and nothing now remains of it but a minute rivulet which finds its way through the low grounds, between George Street and Meadow Street, on the one hand, and Morocco Street and Hill Street on the other. What is now State Street, the south-eastern boundary of the nine squares, was laid out along the other creek, the course of which is now shown by the Farmington Canal, from where it crosses Grand Street, to where it enters the harbor. Along these two creeks, and along the margin of the harbor between them, was what you have called 'the Piræus.' Allerton's house and home lot, must have fronted upon what is now Union Street, between Cherry Street on the north, and Fair Street on the south. I walked around the ground a few days ago, with Professor Kingsley, to see what might be learned from such a survey. The 'two acres,' if I remember right, which Allerton had there, are now thickly covered with houses, and the original conformation of the ground, is, of course, greatly changed; yet it is obvious, that when Allerton built his house there, it was just such a spot as would strike the fancy of a 'sea-captain.' There was a gradual but very considerable slope towards the harbor, on the south, and towards the creek on the west. The prospect now is obstructed, in every direction, by buildings, but then he must have had, from his upper windows, a fair view of a great part of the town, in one direction, and of the harbor and sound, even to Long Island, in

another, while, on the north, the fine bluff of East Rock, and very likely, that of West Rock, the refuge of the Regicides, were full in view."

It is to Allerton's old house, which was taken down in 1740, that the well known tradition, respecting the concealment of the Judges, by *Mrs. Eyres*, is to be referred. Whatever of fable there may be in some of the traditionary stories, on this subject, there appears no sufficient reason to doubt, that the fugitive Judges, Whalley and Goffe, did find temporary shelter and concealment in that house, in 1661. But the lady protectress, could not have been Mrs. Eyres. The mistress and owner of the house for life, at that time, was Mrs. Allerton, the widow of Isaac Allerton ;—her granddaughter, Elizabeth, afterwards Elizabeth Eyres, wife of Simon Eyres, was, in 1661 the perilous crisis with the Judges, not eight years of age, as appears by the record of her birth, certified by Mr. Bacon. She probably then lived with her grandmother, as Mr. Bacon conjectures, her father being absent, and if the Judges were sheltered in the house, might have been a witness, perhaps an assistant in the transaction, but certainly not a principal.

In these views, Mr. Bacon concurs. In his letter of July 30th, he says, "The inferences which, in your letter of the 24th inst., you derive from the traditions in Dr. Stiles's narrative, compared with the records, are the same which I had in my mind, upon reperusing the history of the Judges, after my letter was written."

An old plan of New Haven, taken in 1748, represents all the dwelling houses then standing in the town, among the rest *Simon Eyres's*, with a reference to *Isaac Allerton*, as original grantee of the lot. The plan contains a scale, and transferring the locality of that house, the substitute for Allerton's mansion, to a corresponding place in Buckingham's large plan of New Haven, published in 1836, the accuracy of Mr. Bacon's estimate, as given in his last letter, will be apparent. That letter contains the following postscript ; "I find from the records, what escaped my notice on a former search, that 'Simon, son of Simon Eyre, was born the 5th day of September, 1682.' This may be the one who occupied Allerton's homestead, in 1748, the great-grandson of the Plymouth Pilgrim."

We cannot but be grateful to Mr. Bacon, for the new and exact views which he has given, of an ancient worthy, in his latter days, whose honored repose, after a life of vicissitude and trial, we can thus assuredly contemplate in the beautiful city of New Haven.

Your friend and obedient servant,

JOHN DAVIS.

Rev. Dr. Harris, Chairman of Committee of Publication.

P. S. There is a misprint in the date of Mr. Bacon's letter, (p. 248). Instead of "15th Jan." it should be 15*th June*, and in p. 243, l. 4th from bottom, for "add" read "adds."

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

EXTRACT FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC SOVEREIGNS, FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

BY ANDRES BERNALDEZ.

[Translated from the original Manuscript.]

[The following pages are translated from a chronicle, *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos* — written by Andres Bernaldez, curate of Los Palacios, a town of Andalusia in Spain. The greater part of the work is devoted, as the title implies, to a general history of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. His residence in the immediate neighborhood of the theatre of the Moorish war, led him to give particular attention to the events of that chivalrous struggle, for which he is one of the very best authorities. The curate was intimate with several of the distinguished men of his time, whom he entertained under his hospitable roof in their journeys through the country. Among these was Columbus. The latter seems to have conceived a great regard for his host, who to much simplicity of character, united more learning than usual at that time, and an inquisitive spirit on all subjects of rational interest. The chapters of his chronicle now translated, are devoted to an account of the great navigator gathered from his personal intercourse with him, as well as from the journals and papers which Columbus deposited in his hands. As the record of an honest contemporary, familiar with the subject of the story, it is of the highest value, and will doubtless possess much interest for the American reader. The original is still in manuscript; and no part of it has hitherto been translated from the Castilian. The present version is made from a copy belonging to Mr. Prescott, in whose 'History of Ferdinand and Isabella,' is the following brief sketch of Bernaldez and his literary labors.

"The curate of Los Palacios was a native of Fuente in Leon, and appears to have received his early education under the care of his grandfather, a notary of that place, whose commendations of a juvenile essay

in historical writing led him later in life, according to his own account, to record the events of his time in the extended and regular form of a chronicle. After admission to orders, he was made chaplain to Deza, archbishop of Seville, and curate of Los Palacios, an Andalusian town not far from Seville, where he discharged his ecclesiastical functions with credit, from 1488 to 1513, at which time, as we find no later mention of him, he probably closed his life with his labors.

"Bernaldez had ample opportunities for accurate information relative to the Moorish war, since he lived, as it were, in the theatre of action, and was personally intimate with the most considerable men of Andalusia, especially the marquis of Cadiz, whom he has made the Achilles of his epic, assigning him a much more important part in the principal transactions, than is always warranted by other authorities. His chronicle is just such as might have been anticipated from a person of lively imagination, and competent scholarship for the time, deeply dyed with the bigotry and superstition of the Spanish clergy in that century. There is no great discrimination apparent in the work of the worthy curate, who dwells with goggle-eyed credulity on the most absurd marvels, and expends more pages on an empty court show, than on the most important schemes of policy. But if he is no philosopher, he has, perhaps, for that very reason, succeeded in making us completely master of the popular feelings and prejudices of the time; while he gives a most vivid portraiture of the principal scenes and actors in this stirring war, with all their chivalrous exploit, and rich theatrical accompaniment. His credulity and fanaticism, moreover, are well compensated by a simplicity and loyalty of purpose, which secure much more credit to his narrative than attaches to those of more ambitious writers whose judgment is perpetually swayed by personal or party interests. The chronicle descends as late as 1513, although, as might be expected from the author's character, it is entitled to much less confidence in the discussion of events which fell without the scope of his personal observation. Notwithstanding its historical value is fully recognised by the Castilian critics, it has never been admitted to the press, but still remains engulfed in the ocean of manuscripts, with which the Spanish libraries are deluged." "*History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic of Spain.*" Vol. II. pp. 108, 109.]

CHAPTER 118.

How the Indies were Discovered.

In the name of Almighty God. There was a man of Genoa, a dealer in printed books, who traded in this province of Andalusia, and whose name was Christopher Columbus: a man of very lofty genius, without much acquaintance with letters, but very learned in the art of cosmography. From what he had read in Ptolemy, and in other books, and by his own acuteness, he had learned respecting this earth,

upon which we are born and live, that it is placed within the sphere of the heavens, that it does not in any part touch them, or any other firm substance, by which it is supported, but land and water are encircled round about by the void space of the heavens. He likewise ascertained in what way land abounding in gold might be discovered, and that, since this earth, or terraqueous globe, may be passed entirely around, by land and by water, (as John de Mandeville relates,) whoever should have suitable vessels, and should pursue the right course, by sea and land, might sail directly west from Cape St. Vincent, and return by way of Jerusalem and Rome to Seville; which would be to go completely round the circumference of the whole earth. Also, he constructed a map of the world, to which he devoted much study, and thus perceived that, in whatever direction one should sail across the ocean, he could not avoid finding land; and moreover he satisfied himself as to the route, by which a region of much gold might be discovered; a favorite subject of his thoughts.

Knowing that King John, of Portugal, was much interested in discovery, he offered his services to that monarch; but his theory being stated, no credit was given to it, because the Portuguese King had in his service many eminent and learned navigators, who made light of it, and took for granted that there were in the world no other discoverers greater than themselves. So Columbus came to the court of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, and explained to them his theory; to which they likewise gave but little credit: but he conversed with them, and assured them that what he said was certainly true, and showed them his map of the world, till he excited in them a desire to know something about those countries, of which he told them. And having dismissed him, they summoned their astrologers, astronomers, and courtiers who were learned in cosmography, whose advice they required; and the opinion of the majority of them, after hearing Columbus, was that his views were correct. Accordingly, the King and Queen concluded an agreement with him, ordered three vessels to be fitted out at Seville, with men and provisions, within the time that he desired, and despatched him, in the name of God and our Lady, upon his discoveries.

Columbus set sail from Palos, in the month of September, 1492, and pursued his voyage through the sea to the Cape Verd islands, and thence west, towards the point where we see the sun set, in the month of March; in which direction all the mariners believed it impossible to find land. And indeed, the King of Portugal had several times sent vessels in that direction to make discoveries, (for many persons believed that countries very rich in gold lay in that quarter) but they could never discover land, and always returned with their labor lost: but for the good fortune and the desert of our King and Queen, it pleased God that the discovery should be made in their time. In one of the ships went as captain Martin Alonzo Pinzon, a citizen of Palos, a distinguished navigator, and a man of great wisdom in nautical matters. From the Cape Verd islands they pursued their course towards the point to which Columbus's faith directed him, for thirty-two days, before they discovered land. During the last of these days, the greater number of the sailors, seeing that they had already gone more than a thousand leagues, and had discovered nothing, thought there was no sense in proceeding farther,—that they were already lost beyond all hope, and that it would be a miracle if they should be able to find their way home. However, Columbus and the other officers, with soothing words, persuaded them to go on, and assured them that, with God's help, they were certain of finding land.

One day, as Columbus was looking towards the heavens, he saw birds flying very high, from the one side to the other. He pointed them out to his comrades, crying "Good news!" and half a day later, they discovered land. Here they lost the largest of their three vessels, which ran aground and went down; but none of the men were lost. Upon this first island they landed, and Columbus took formal possession for the King and Queen, with standard and banner flying; and he gave it the name of San Salvador; but the natives call it Guanahani. They found that all the people, both men and women, went naked as they were born; and though at first they fled from our men, yet these succeeded in communicating with some of them, and by giving them presents, which they had brought in the ships, quieted their fears. To the second island which he discovered, Columbus gave

the name of Santa Maria, in honor of the Virgin: the third he called Fernandina, in honor of King Ferdinand: the fourth he called Isabella, in honor of the Queen: and the fifth, Juana, in honor of the Prince, Don Juan: and in the same way, to each of the islands which they discovered, they gave a new name. Along the island Juana they coasted towards the west; and they found it so large, that they supposed it must be a continent. As they perceived neither towns nor villages upon the sea-coast, but only scattered habitations, with the people of which they could obtain no communication, since they fled as soon as they saw them, they went back to an excellent harbor, whence Columbus sent two men into the interior, to learn whether the people had any king or chiefs. These men journeyed three days, and found a vast number of settlements, built of wood and straw, with innumerable multitudes of people, but no indications of any kind of government; whereupon they returned.

The Indians who had been taken, told the Spaniards by signs that this land was not a continent, but an island; and following the coast, towards the east, a hundred and seven leagues from the point where they first landed, they came to a cape, from which they saw another island, distant about eighteen leagues, to which Columbus gave the name of Hispaniola. They coasted along this island, on the northern side, as they had done with Juana; and though all the islands were wondrously beautiful, they found this of Hispaniola more beautiful than all the rest; for in it there are many harbors, excellent in comparison with the best to be found in Christian countries, and many large and noble rivers; the land is high, with many beautiful mountains and very lofty ridges, covered with a thousand varieties of trees, so high that they seem to reach to heaven. I believe that these never shed their leaves; for it appears that in the season when it is winter here, and all the trees lose their foliage, there they were all as they are with us in the month of May; some were in flower, and some in fruit; and in their branches the nightingale and other birds were singing as they do here in May. Some of these have feathers of six or seven different kinds, which are admirable for their variety. The abundance of fountains, trees and plants, is wonderful.

There are pine-groves, plains, and level tracts of very great extent. The trees and fruits are not like ours. There are mines of gold, of inestimable value. It appeared to Columbus, and the others who were with him, from the richness and beauty of the land, that it must be very profitable for tillage, for planting and raising crops, and for pasturing cattle sent from Spain. They found in this island of Hispaniola very large rivers, with very sweet waters, and they knew that there was much gold in their sands. They saw that the trees of the mountains were not like ours. They also saw, and learned from the Indians, that in this island there were large mines of fine gold.

The people of these islands, and those before mentioned, all went naked as they were born, both men and women, with as little embarrassment or shame as the people of Castile in full dress. Some of the women wore simply a strip of cotton, with a cord for a girdle: others used a leaf of a tree, which was large, and suitable for the purpose: others wore a mantle of cotton cloth, bound around the hips, and reaching to the middle of the thigh; and I believe that this was worn during pregnancy. The natives had no iron or steel, and no arms or other things made from these or any other metal, excepting gold. They were and are a very timid race, for a thousand of them would flee from three armed Spaniards. Their only weapons were canes, or reeds, with no iron about them, but having some sharp substance at the end; which could do very little injury to our men: and though they have these arms, they cannot use them, or stones, which are a powerful weapon, for they have not the courage. In the course of the voyage above related, it happened that Columbus sent two or three men from the ships to a certain town, to communicate with the natives. They came out without number to meet them, but when they saw them come nearer, they all fled, and not a single one remained behind. Afterwards, however, when they had got rid of their terror, they were very quiet, and much pleased, and took great delight in conversing with the sailors. These people were all simple, peaceable, liberal, and well disposed, sharing with each other, making free with whatever they possessed, and giving without stint. Those that came to the ships, after they had recovered from their fears, showed

towards our people much love and good will; and for whatever was given them they returned many thanks, and received it with much gratitude, as if it were a sacred relic, and gave whatever they had in return. One of the sailors, for a leathern strap, received a lump of gold, worth two *castellanos*;* and others as much, and even more, for trifles of little value: for a new *blanca*† they would give two pieces of gold, worth three *castellanos*, or an *arroba*,‡ or two of spun cotton, which is very abundant in those regions. Columbus and his companions, in this voyage, did not learn what was the religious belief of these people, but they pointed towards the heavens, making signs that they believed that there was all power and holiness. And they thought and believed that these strangers, with their fleet, had come from heaven, and were inhabitants of another world; and accordingly in every village, after they had overcome their terror, they received them with the reverence inspired by such a belief. This was not in consequence of their simplicity or defect of understanding, for they are a very subtle race, of much acuteness, and they navigate all the neighboring seas, and it is wonderful to hear the account they give of everything, except that they never before saw or heard of people wearing clothes, or such vessels as those of the Spaniards.

On his first arrival in the Indies with his fleet, Columbus took by force some of the natives, in order to obtain from them information concerning the country; and either by signs or by words, they and the sailors very soon came to understand each other. These men were of great service during the voyage, for at every place at which they touched, some of them were set at liberty and sent on shore, and they went through the country, crying with loud voices, "Come! come! and see the people from Heaven!" and those who heard them, when they had possessed themselves of the news, went to tell others, from village to village, and from town to town, over the country, to come and see these wonderful people, who had come from heaven; so that all the men and women thronged to see so great a marvel, and after they had lost their fear and felt themselves safe, they

* An ancient Spanish coin.
† A copper coin, of the value of half a *maravedi*.
‡ Twenty-five pounds.

all came, without hesitation, to the people in the ships, and brought them food and drink, — so that it was astonishing to see them. In all these islands, the natives had a kind of boats, in which they sailed, and which they called *canoes*, about as long as a *fusta*,* some large and some small, but all narrow, for each one is made from the trunk of a single tree. They make them with very sharp flint-stones; some, of the size of a *fusta* of eight benches; but a *fusta* cannot keep up with them in rowing, for they go with incredible swiftness. With these canoes, they navigate all those seas, and exchange their commodities with each other. Some of them will hold sixty men, and others, still larger, will carry eighty men, each with his oar in his hands. In all these islands, the Spaniards did not observe any diversity in the appearance or the customs of the natives, or in their language; but they had all broad foreheads and faces, round heads, measuring as much from temple to temple as from the forehead to the back of the head, dark hair, and bodies of the middle size, and of a tawny color, nearer white than black. They all appeared to understand each other, and to be of one tongue; which is a surprising fact — that in so many islands there should be no diversity of language; but it may have been caused by navigation, for they were lords of the sea; whereas in the Canary islands, where they have not the means of navigation, the natives do not understand each other, but each island has its own language.

I have already related how Columbus sailed along the coast of the island to which he gave the name of Juana, a hundred and seven leagues in a straight line; by which it seemed to him to be larger than England and Scotland together. To the west of this island were two other provinces, which Columbus did not visit. One of these the Indians call Naham, where they say men are born with tails; but from what I have read and seen upon the map of the world, I do not believe that this is the place; — if it is, however, with God's help, it will soon be made known. These islands, or provinces, according to the account of the Indians, may be about fifty or sixty leagues each in length.

The island Hispaniola, which the Indians call Hayti,

* A small vessel, with lateen sails.

placed beside the others of which I have spoken, is like gold beside silver. It is very large and beautiful, with groves, rivers, mountains, plains, and noble seas and harbors. Its circuit is greater than that of Spain, from Colibre, which is in Catalonia, near Perpignan, by the sea-coast, around Granada, Portugal, Galicia, and Biscay, to Fuenterabia, which is at the extremity of the latter province. The Spaniards went eighty-eight leagues in a straight line from west to east; which showed the great extent of the island; for it is very large, and most favorably situated with reference to the gold mines, and for all kinds of commerce, with either continent. Columbus founded a town here in Hispaniola, (called by the natives Hayti) to which he gave the name of the city of La Navidad. Here he left forty men, with artillery, and arms, and provisions, beginning the erection of a fortress; for which purpose he left skilful workmen, with provisions for a certain period, and chosen men from those he had brought with him, men of intelligence and information: and indeed it was necessary, as it seemed, to leave them; for, one of their vessels having run aground at this place, and been lost, there was no way of carrying them all home. Columbus declared that they were left solely for the purpose of commencing a settlement; and he formed an alliance with a king of that region, the parties pledging themselves to each other as close friends, and, as it were, brothers; and Columbus commended to the king's protection the men whom he left there. The vessel was lost in Hispaniola, near the spot where the forty men were left.

Here, at the entrance to the Indies, are certain islands, which the natives of those above-named call the Caribbees; and which are peopled by a race, whom they regard as very fierce, and hold in great terror, because they eat human flesh. They have many canoes, with which they make incursions into all the neighboring islands, carry off whatever they can find, and take prisoners as many men and women as they can, and kill and eat them; which is a matter of great astonishment and horror. They are not more ill-looking than the others, but they have this abominable custom, and they are a more valiant race than the rest; and their weapons, of which they use a great abundance, are arrows, or sticks, sharpened at the end, or pointed with fishes' bones,

for want of iron, which they do not possess. They wear their hair long, like women, and are held in dread as ferocious, by the natives of the other islands; but this is because the latter are a very cowardly, domestic, and peaceable race, and not that the Caribs are brave, or that our men think more of them than of their neighbors. In the islands of these Caribs, as well as in the others above-mentioned, is gold in incalculable quantity, cotton in vast abundance, and especially spices, such as pepper, which is four times as strong and pungent as the pepper that we use in Spain, and which all the natives esteem very valuable for its medicinal virtues. There are also flax, aloes, mastich, rhubarb, and many other good things, as it seemed to Columbus. None of our quadrupeds or animals were found in these islands at this time, except some little dogs, and in the level country some huge rats, which they call otters, and which are used for food, and are very savory, being eaten like our rabbits, and considered equally good. There are many birds, all different from ours, and in particular, many parrots.

Having made these discoveries, Columbus returned to Castile, arrived at Palos on the 23d of March, 1493, and entered Seville with great honor, on the 31st, being Palm Sunday; his reception being suited to the complete success of his project. He brought with him ten Indians, four of whom he left at Seville, and the other six he took to Barcelona, to show to the King and Queen, who received him very graciously, gave him great credit for what he had done, and gave him orders for the fitting out of another and larger squadron, with which to return. They also bestowed upon him the title of Admiral of the Great Ocean-Sea of the Indies; and commanded, for the honor of that dignity, that he should be called *Don* Christopher Columbus. He left Barcelona, recommended to that very honorable and discreet man, Don Juan de Fonseca, at that time Archdeacon of Seville, the same who was Bishop of Badajoz, afterwards of Cordova, and afterwards of Palencia, and also Count of Pernia, and who then had the charge, under the King, of the fleets and the extension of commerce of Seville and of Andalusia. This arrangement being made, Columbus came to Seville, where in a short time he was provided with the squadron spoken of above, and with the requisite men,

provisions, and supplies, with captains, officers of justice, learned men, naturalists, and men distinguished in counsel and in arms; and with everything else necessary for the enterprise — with good ships, and good crews, and skilful goldsmiths, to detect and refine the gold.

CHAPTER 119.

Of the Second Expedition to the Indies.

By the grace of God and the command of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus sailed from Cadiz, on the 22d of September, 1493, with the squadron despatched by their Highnesses from Spain for the Indies, consisting of seventeen vessels, well provided, and having on board twelve hundred fighting men, or nearly that number, and with wind and weather favorable for the voyage. This weather lasted two days, during which they made little progress; but after that the weather became so propitious, that in two days more they reached the great Canary island, where they went into port, — this having become necessary, in order to repair one of the vessels, which was making a good deal of water, — and remained the whole of the day. The next day they set sail, but they were delayed by calms, and were four or five days in reaching Gomera, where it was necessary to remain several days, to lay in supplies of meat, and wood, and water, for their great voyage; so that, what with the weather, and their detentions in port, and one day they were becalmed, after leaving Gomera, it was twenty days before they arrived at the island of Yerro. From this place, by God's goodness, the weather was most excellent, so that never did fleet make so good a voyage; for within twenty days they came in sight of land; and they might have done it in fourteen, if the ship Capitana had been as good a sailer as the rest. In all this time, they never encountered a storm, except once, on the eve of St. Simon and Jude, when they had a storm, which lasted four hours, and put them in considerable peril. On the first Sunday after All Saints', about daybreak, a pilot of the ship Capitana cried out "Good news! there is land in

sight!" whereat many were greatly rejoiced. The pilots of the squadron, on that day, computed the distance from the island Yerro, one of the Canaries, to the first land which they saw, to be about eight hundred leagues; some made it twenty less, — but the difference is not important. Add to these three hundred, which is the distance from Yerro to Cadiz, and we have for the whole distance from the extreme points of Spain (which are Cadiz and the ports of Andalusia) to the nearest ports of the Indies, eleven hundred leagues.

This same Sunday morning, they saw ahead of them an island, and directly afterwards, on the right, appeared another new land, with lofty ridges of mountains, which, on the side towards them, was very thickly covered with trees: and as it grew lighter, trees and islands began to appear on all sides, so that they saw, that day, six islands, in different directions, and most of them quite large. They steered for the first which they discovered, and having arrived off its coast, proceeded more than twenty leagues in search of a harbor, but without success; for wherever they could see, the mountain appeared to extend, very beautiful and very green, to the water's edge; — which was a delightful sight, since in Spain, at that season, there is scarcely anything green. As they did not find a harbor, the Admiral thought it best to go to the other island, which they had seen on the right, and which was four or five leagues distant, one of the vessels, meanwhile, remaining at the first island, seeking for a harbor, in case there should be occasion to visit the island again. The men in this vessel succeeded in finding a good harbor, and saw habitations and people; and immediately, the same night, they departed, and joined the rest of the squadron, which had gone into port in the other island, where the Admiral landed, and much people with him, with the royal standard in his hand, and took possession, in due form, for their Highnesses, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, his wife, sovereigns of Spain. In this island there was a wonderful abundance and variety of trees, which no one knew any thing about, and therefore they were afraid of their fruits, which were of different color, and some of them green, and the trees themselves were all green. They found a tree, whose leaf had the finest possible odor of

cloves: it was like the laurel, only not so large. There were wild fruits of various kinds, and some of the men, who were not very prudent, tasted them; and some of these who barely touched them with their tongues, became swollen in the face, and were seized with violent fever and pain, so that it seemed as if they would go mad; but, by means of cooling remedies, they were cured.

In this island they found no human beings, nor any signs of them, and they believed it to be uninhabited. They were there but two hours by daylight, for it was evening when they arrived, and the next morning they set sail for another island, seven or eight leagues distant, which, as seen from this, appeared very large. They arrived by the side of a huge mountain, which seemed to reach to the very heavens, from the middle of which rose a lofty peak, and from this there poured forth great quantities of water, on different sides, and more especially on the side towards the ships; so that, even at three leagues' distance, it had the appearance of a large stream of water, and seemed to fall from heaven, so high was its source. Being seen so far, it occasioned on board the vessels many wagers and disputes; some saying that it was white rocks, and some that it was water; but as they came nearer, they saw how the fact was; and it was a very famous and wonderful sight, to see so large a body of water fall through so great a distance, from so small a point. Immediately on their arrival, the Admiral sent a light caravel to search for a harbor; the captain of which, having proceeded some distance, discovered huts, and people in them, who as soon as they saw him and the men who were coming with him, took to flight, and the captain entered their huts, and found everything that they kept there, for they had taken away nothing. There he found and carried off two parrots, very large, and very different from any that had been seen; he found, also, much cotton, spun, and ready for spinning, and other articles of their household goods, of all which he took away a little. He likewise brought away four or five bones of human legs and arms; as soon as they saw which, they knew that these were the islands of the Caribs, inhabited by a race of cannibals. The Admiral, bearing in mind what had been told him by signs by the Indians, in his former voyage, concern-

ing an island which was in sight from the place where he then was, set out for the place which the caravel had visited, to see what he could find there; the rather, because it was nearer Spain, and, as he judged, in the most direct route to Hispaniola, where he had left the forty men in his first voyage; and indeed, by God's goodness, and the excellent skill of the Admiral, they were going in as direct a course thither, as if they had been following a well known, beaten highway. The island is large, the coast extending, on the side which they saw, apparently twenty-five leagues. They coasted along it, more than two leagues, finding, wherever they went, very lofty mountains, though in other parts of the island they could perceive extensive plains, and meeting with a few small settlements near the sea, whose inhabitants all fled as soon as they saw the ships. At the end of these two leagues, they went into port, it being very late; and the same night the Admiral, notwithstanding his suspicions from what had been seen, gave directions that early on the following morning some of the men should go on shore, to take prisoners, from whom they could learn what people this might be.

The next morning, accordingly, some of the captains set out upon this errand. Some of them came upon the natives at their hour for eating; and they captured a youth of about fourteen years, who, as they afterwards learned, and as he himself said, was one of those who had been taken prisoners by the natives of the island. The others went in a different direction, and they took a little boy, that was holding a man by the hand, who left him behind that he might himself escape. A part of the men were immediately sent back with this boy; the rest remained, and some of them took several women, some being natives of the island, whom they brought off by force, and others captives, who went with them voluntarily. One of the captains, and with him six men, got separated from this party, and lost their way, and could not find it again, till, after four days had passed, they came upon the sea-coast, and by following it along rejoined their companions in the ships, who, perhaps not unreasonably, supposed them lost, and devoured by the Caribs; though among these men there were pilots and mariners who could find their way to Spain and back by

the stars, and it might have been believed that they could not have perished in so short a time. On the same day that this party was sent on shore, there were walking by the sea-shore many men and women, gazing at the ships, and marvelling greatly at a sight so strange; and when a boat put off for the land, to speak with them, they cried, "*Fainon! fainon!*" which means "Good! good!" and they waited till the sailors were just getting out of the boat upon the shore, beside the mountain, giving themselves barely time to escape. The result was, that none of the men could be taken by force, and only two were taken at all, who were first enticed, and then forcibly carried off. Of the women they took more than twenty, some of them natives of the island, who were brought away by force, and others captives, who came voluntarily; and indeed many of the captives came to the ships, fleeing from the natives, who were keeping them to be eaten.

In this harbor they remained eight days, in consequence of the absence of the captain, as above related; during which time, the men often went on shore, to visit the dwellings and villages of the people, which were near the coast; and there they found immense quantities of human bones, and skulls hung up about the huts, like vessels for household uses; — these were the bones of the men that they had eaten. They found but few men, because, as the women said, they were gone with ten canoes, on a hostile expedition to the other islands. The natives of this island seem to have had a more regular government than those of the others. They had much better habitations, though all of straw, of better form, and better furnished. They likewise seemed to be more industrious than their neighbors; they had much cotton in their huts, spun, and ready for spinning, and cloths of the same, so well woven as not to be at all inferior to those of Castile. The captive women, being asked who these people were, who held them in captivity, answered that they were Caribs: and when they came to understand that the Castilians held them in abhorrence for their evil custom of eating human beings, they were greatly rejoiced. When any Carib men or women were brought on board, they privately told some of the men that they were Caribs, and although under the protection of the Cas-

tilians, they seemed still to have a great fear for them. The Caribs were distinguished from the others, by their wearing on each leg two bands of cotton cloth, the one at the knee, and the other at the ankle; by which means the calf of the leg became very large, and the parts confined by the bandages very much contracted. This they appeared to regard as a beauty, in addition to its serving as a mark by which they might know each other. Such are the Caribs, who have this evil custom.

The island of which I have been speaking, is called Quaxuquena; the one which was first discovered, Quaxiqui; and the remaining one, Ayan. The inhabitants of all these are of one stock, as it were, and do not harm each other, though they make war upon all the neighboring islands, going sometimes, in these expeditions, as far as a hundred and fifty leagues, with many canoes, which are small boats that they have, made each from the trunk of a single tree, as has been described in the preceding chapter. Their weapons are arrows; and in place of iron, which they do not possess, they use points made of the bones of the turtle, or the spines of a particular fish, which seem intended for the purpose, as much as if they were made of iron; with these it is easy to do much injury, and even to kill; though, to our Spaniards they are not a very formidable weapon. They make incursions into the other islands, and carry off the women that they find, especially the handsome girls, whom they keep for servants and concubines. There were more than twenty of these girls, among those that were brought on board the ships, who said the Caribs treated them with terrible cruelty, and, what seems incredible, that they were accustomed to eat the children that they had by them, and to rear only those that they had by the native women. The men that they find, they carry home, and kill them as they are wanted; and those that they are obliged to kill in order to take, they eat on the spot; and they say that there is no food in the world like the flesh of a man. This detestable custom of theirs was sufficiently proved by the bones which were found in their houses; for all that could be eaten was completely gnawed off, and nothing was left but what they could not eat for its toughness. In one of the huts, a man's neck was found boiling.

When they take any small boys, they cut off their privy members, and use them as servants till they are grown up, or till they choose to kill them, when they make a feast, and slay and eat them; but they say that the flesh of boys and women is not so good as that of men. Three of these boys escaped and came to the ships, who all had this member cut off close to the belly.

At the end of four days, the lost captain with his men returned. Their comrades had already given them up, having sent several other parties in search of them, which all came back, (one of them that same day,) without learning any thing of them. Their return caused great rejoicing on board the ships, as though a new treasure had been found. This captain and the men with him brought ten boys and women, but neither they nor the others of the exploring party could find any men, whether they had fled, or whether there were few of them at home, as the women said. The captain and his companions came back from the mountain in so forlorn a plight, that it was sad to see them. They said that they lost their way in consequence of the thickness of the forest, which was so great that they could not see the sky, and some who climbed the trees at night to look at the northern stars, could not succeed in seeing them; and if they had not come upon the sea-coast, they would not have been able to find their way back. The fleet left this island, by the grace of God, eight days after their arrival there, and about noon of the next day, having been becalmed, reached another island, not very large, twelve leagues from the last. At this island they touched, but as they found it uninhabited, having been depopulated by the Caribs, they did not stop there. The same evening they saw an island, in approaching which in the night they found shallow, and did not dare to proceed, till it should be day. In the morning another and quite a large island appeared, but they did not stop at either, wishing to make haste to carry comfort to the men who had been left in Hispaniola, in the former voyage, and whom it was not God's pleasure that they should find alive — as will be related hereafter.

The next day, they came to another island which made a fine appearance, and seemed well peopled. Here they went into port, and the Admiral sent a boat, with its comple-

ment of men, to take if possible, some of the people, in order to learn of what race they were, and also to obtain information respecting the course they should pursue, — which was necessary, notwithstanding the Admiral, though he had never made this voyage before, was directing his course very accurately, as it turned out. Some of this boat's company went on shore, and came to a village, where the people had already concealed themselves, and took five or six women and boys, most of whom they knew to be captives, such as they had found in the other island, — for here, too, were Caribs. As the boat was about returning, a canoe, in which were four men, two women, and a boy, came up from below, and as soon as they saw the ships, they were so transfixed with astonishment, that for a whole hour they did not move from the same spot, about two gunshots from the ships. Meanwhile, they were watched by the men in the boat, and by the whole fleet; and they continued so lost in wonder, marvelling what this thing could be, that the boat succeeded, without being seen by them, in coming so near to them and to the land, that they could not escape by flight, though they tried hard for it, as did the boat's company to prevent them. As soon as they saw that their flight was cut off, with great boldness they put their hands to their bows, the women as well as the men: I say with great boldness, because they were but four men and two women, against the boat's crew, and, indeed, against the whole squadron. The men in the boat were more than twenty-five, two of whom were wounded, one of them receiving two arrows, and the other, one in the side; and if it had not been that they carried shields and bucklers, and that they contrived to get so near them, and that the Indians, in their haste to attack them, overturned their canoe, more would have been wounded. After the canoe was upset, the Indians remained in the water, swimming, and as the water was shallow, and they made every effort to use their weapons, it was with great difficulty that they were taken; and after all, one of them would have escaped, if he had not been badly wounded by a thrust from a lance, of which he died.

These Caribs are distinguished from the others of whom I have spoken, by the fact that those of Cambi have their hair in great profusion, a little clipped, and on their heads various

representations of crosses and other figures, according to the fancy of each individual, which are made with sharp reeds. The Caribs, as well as all the other Indians, are without beard, it being exceedingly rare to find a man who has any; for they pluck it all out before it is grown, so that they seem never to have had any. The Caribs who were taken at this place, had their eyes and eye-brows stained, which they do, as it seems, for ornament, and in doing it they suffer terribly. One of them said that in one of these islands, called Caris, — the one which they discovered first, and which the fleet did not visit, — there was plenty of gold, and that, if they had mattocks and implements for making roads, they might carry away as much as they pleased.

The same day, the fleet set sail, at the end of six or seven hours, and after a time came in sight of another island, which lay in the way that they were to take. They came near it in the night; and the next morning reached the coast, and found it a very large island, and the land very high, and, for the most part, without trees; which they had not found to be the case with any other that they had as yet seen. They did not succeed in landing, except one caravel with lateen sails, whose crew went on shore and found fishermen's huts; but the Indian women that they carried with them said the island was not inhabited. They sailed along the coast the greater part of that day: in the evening of the next, they reached another island, called Boriqui, along which they coasted the whole of one day, and they judged that the coast extended, on that side, thirty leagues. This island is very beautiful, and apparently fertile; and is visited by the Caribs in their expeditions, who carry off great numbers of the people to be eaten. The inhabitants have no canoes, and no knowledge of navigation; but they have bows and arrows, like the Caribs, with which they fight and defend themselves, and if they chance to gain the victory over their invaders, they eat them, in the same way as the Caribs would have done with them. The squadron remained in a harbor of this island two days, during which many of the men went on shore, but could take no prisoners, for all the people fled as if afraid of the Caribs. All these islands were discovered for the first time by the Admiral in this voyage: and though they were all very beautiful, this last appeared to surpass the rest.

These are all the islands that the Admiral, in his first voyage, had left behind him, towards Spain, to be discovered; though, indeed, it is believed that there must be islands forty or fifty leagues still nearer to Spain, because, before they first came in sight of land in this voyage, they saw some pelicans flying, which are a marine bird of prey, and do not alight nor sleep upon the water. These birds were seen, in the evening, to rise very high, wheeling round and round in the air, and then set off in search of land, where they might sleep; and as it was late, they could not have gone more than twelve or fifteen leagues. This was on the right of the squadron, towards Spain; and from the circumstance all inferred that there must be land in that direction, but they did not go in search of it, because it would have taken them out of their way, and delayed them on the voyage.

The squadron left the island of Boriqui one morning, and the same day, before night, came in sight of land, which was not recognised by those who had been on the former voyage, but which, from the account of the Indian women on board, they suspected might be that Hispaniola, of which they were in search; and in fact it was the same Hispaniola, called by the Indians Artilia. Between this and Boriqui, they passed another island, — but not a large one.

CHAPTER 120.

How they came to the island of Hispaniola, and found that the men, who had been left there, had been put to death.

The Admiral, with his squadron, having thus arrived at Hispaniola, they found that part of the country, where they went into port, level, and very low: and they were all doubtful whether it was that island, for neither the Admiral nor the others had seen this part of it before. The island is very large, and is divided into provinces, the one in which they arrived being called Ahia, another, adjoining this, Sarmana, and a third, Boio. From this port, the fleet proceeded some seven leagues, to a more elevated part of the island; for the place where the men had been left by the Admiral,

might be near the middle of the island. As they were going along, to the right of the province called Samana, the Admiral sent on shore, with some little trifles, one of the Indians whom he had carried home from his first voyage. The same day, the Biscayan, who had been wounded by the Caribs who were taken captive, died; his death being occasioned by his imprudence. As they were sailing near the coast, a boat was sent on shore to bury him, and two caravels were sent to guard the boat. As soon as the boat touched the land, a great number of Indians came to it, some of whom wore gold on their necks and in their ears. They wished to return with the Christians to the ship; but they did not choose to take them, because they had no permission from the Admiral; and when they found that they would not take them, two of the Indians got into a canoe, and came to one of the caravels, whose men received them on board, with their canoe, and took them to the Admiral's ship. They said, through an interpreter, one of the Indians that were brought back from Spain, that a king of that province had sent them, to learn what people they were, and that he invited them to land, and that he would give the Admiral much gold, and provisions, such as he had. The Admiral sent him some shirts, and caps, and other trifles, and said that, as he was going to the residence of Guacanarino, he could not stop; but that, at some other time, he might be able to visit him.

The squadron continued its voyage, till it came to a harbor, which the Admiral called Mt. Juan, and in which they remained two days, to make observation of the face of the country; for the Admiral had not yet found the spot, where he had left his infant colony. They landed, and found, near the place, a river of excellent water, but the land was all marshy and unsuited for habitation. While they were observing the river and the land, some of the men fell in with two dead bodies, the one having a noose about the neck, and the other about the foot: and the next day, they found two other bodies, farther on, one of which was in such a condition, that they could perceive that it had much beard; which led some of the men to suspect evil, the Indians, as has been said, being all without beard, and this harbor being but twelve leagues from the place where the Christians had

been left in the first voyage. After two days, they set sail for this place, where the men had been left under protection of the Indian king of that province, called Guacanari, who appeared to be one of the principal chiefs of the island. Late in the same day, they arrived off the place, on the right, but there being shoals in the neighborhood, and it being the same place where the Admiral had lost his ship in the former voyage, they did not dare to enter the harbor till the next morning, when they might sound their way, and go in safely: so they remained, during the night, a league from land. In the evening, before they had come to anchor, a canoe appeared in the distance, and in it five or six Indians, coming in haste towards the fleet. The Admiral, supposing they would follow till they overtook it, did not choose to wait for them; and they persevered in their attempt to reach the fleet, till they were about a gunshot from it, when they stopped, to observe the ships, and seeing that they did not wait for them, they returned.

After they had anchored, the Admiral ordered two muskets to be fired, in order to see whether the Christians, who had been left with Guacanari, would answer; for they also had had muskets left with them: and the result of this experiment greatly afflicted the men, and excited a natural suspicion. While they were thus all filled with sadness, four or five hours having passed, the same canoe which they had before seen, came towards the fleet, the men in it calling out for the Admiral; and the captain of one of the caravels, which they first reached, brought them to the Admiral's ship. They would not speak till the Admiral had first spoken to them, when they called for a light, that they might know him; and after they had recognised him, they went on board his ship. One of them was a favorite of Guacanari's; and after their first return, that evening, Guacanari had sent them back, with two baskets of gold, as presents, the one for the Admiral, and the other for the captain who was with him in the first voyage. They remained on board the ship, talking with the Admiral, in presence of all the rest, and expressing much pleasure, for three hours. Being asked concerning the Christians, who had been left there, the favorite answered that they were well, but that some of them had died from disease, and others in a quarrel, which

had broken out among them: that Guacanari was in another village, wounded in the leg; for which reason he had not come, but would come the next day: that two other kings, the one called Taonaboa, and the other Marienia, had come to fight him, and had burned his village. The same night, they returned, saying that they would come again the next day with Guacanari; and they departed, leaving the men on board the fleet greatly comforted. The next morning they remained waiting for Guacanari, but he did not come; and in the mean time, some of the men went on shore, by the Admiral's command, and came to the village where Guacanari had been accustomed to reside, which they found burned, and to a house, tolerably fortified by a palisade, in which the Christians had dwelt, and which they had for their own, and this, too, they found burned and demolished. They found, also, some watch-cloaks and other garments, which the Indians had brought and thrown into the house. The Indians that they saw, were very shy, and would not venture to approach the Christians; but by throwing them beads, and hawk's-bells, and other trinkets, they allured to them a kinsman of Guacanari, and three others, who went on board the boat, and were carried to the ship. Being asked concerning the Christians, they answered that they could not have believed what had happened. The kinsman of Guacanari, being asked who had killed them, said it was King Caonaboa and King Marienia; that they had burned the dwellings of the village, that many had been wounded, that Guacanari was so at that time in another village, and that he would go immediately and bring him. After something had been said in reply, he departed forthwith for the place where Guacanari was, and they remained, all the rest of that day, waiting for him, but he never came.

The next day the Admiral went on shore, with some of his men, to the place where the town had stood, and where the Christians had been left, and found it entirely consumed: they saw the garments of the Christians in the grass, but found no dead body. Some suspected that Guacanari had slain them: — others asked, why should he burn his own town? The Admiral commanded that all the place, where the Christians had fortified themselves, should be dug over, because he had directed them, as soon as they obtained any

considerable amount of gold, to bury it: and while this was going on, he went to visit a place, a league distant, which had seemed to him a good site for building a town. They came to a hamlet, of seven or eight huts, the Indians in which fled, as soon as they saw them, carrying off whatever of their property they could, and leaving the rest hidden in the grass near their huts. These were a race so brutish, that they had not sense enough to know where to steal to advantage: and being upon the sea-coast it was surprising to see how like brutes they lived, their huts filled with grass round about, and so mean, that it is a wonder how they lived. Here they found many things that had belonged to the Christians, such as a Moorish robe, which had never been unfolded, but remained just as it had been brought from Castile, and hose, and a part of the ship that was lost in the first voyage, and pieces of cloth, and other things: they found also some things, which had been kept with great care by the natives,—a little wicker vessel, much mended, and the skull of a man, very choicely kept, which they supposed might be that of a father, or mother, or of some king, preserved as a relic, agreeably to some custom of the country. From this place, the Admiral and his companions returned to the spot where the town had stood, and found many Indians, with the men whom he had left there digging in search of any gold which might have been hidden there by the Christians; and they had assisted them in finding gold to the amount of a mark's weight,* and had shown them where were the dead bodies of the Christians, already covered by the grass, which had grown above them. These Indians all said, with one voice, that Caonaboa and Marienia had slain them; but they declared that the Christians kept three or four wives each, which, with the jealousy excited by their doings with the Indian women, and some outrages committed by them, which had aroused the people to put them to death, had been the cause of the calamity, that had befallen these unhappy men.

The next morning, because he had no convenient place, in which to remain till he could ascertain the truth of all this, the Admiral sent a caravel to explore in one direction, while

* Eight ounces.

he himself went in the opposite; and he found a very safe harbor, with a shore excellently suited for mooring vessels. When he returned, the caravel, which had taken the other direction, and in which had gone Melchor, and four or five others, all cavaliers of worth, had already arrived. As these were coasting along, a canoe came towards them, with two Indians, one a brother of Guacanari, whom a pilot on board the caravel recognised, and called out "Who goes there?" They answered, as the pilot said, that Guacanari begged them to come on shore, to the place where he was residing, which was a town of some sixty dwellings. The principal men in the caravel went on shore, to the place where Guacanari was, and found him lying in his bed, playing the part of a sick and wounded man. They conversed with him, asking concerning the Christians, and in reply, he told the same story as the rest; that Caonboa and Mariena had killed them, and had wounded him in his thigh, which he showed them, bound up, so that they believed it was as he said. When they took their leave, he gave each one a trinket of gold, according to what he supposed to be the rank of each, judging from their dress. The Indians wrought the gold into very thin leaves, for masks; they also fashioned it to be worn upon the head, and to hang from the ears and nostrils; and for all these purposes, they wrought it with much delicacy, as, indeed, they must. They kept none of it as an article of wealth, or a thing of great value, but only for its beauty.

Guacanari, by signs, or as he best could, desired his visiters to ask the Admiral to come and see him, as he was thus wounded; and as soon as the Admiral arrived, they told him their adventure, and the Admiral determined, the next morning, to go as Guacanari requested. He arrived at the place, with his companions, within three hours, the distance from the fleet being about three leagues. When they arrived, it being the hour for eating, the Admiral ate before landing, and then immediately ordered all the captains to put off in their boats for the shore; for, before they started, that morning, Guacanari's brother had come to speak with the Admiral, and urge him to make haste to go where Guacanari was. The Admiral went on shore, and with him all his men of note, in such gallant trim, that even in a large

city they would have made a fine appearance. He took some things with him for a suitable present to Guacanari; for, they had already received a considerable quantity of gold from him, and it was proper to make some return for his courtesy. When the Admiral, with his captains and men of note, arrived at the house in which Guacanari was, they found him lying in his bed, which was made of cotton, like a net, and suspended in the air, as is the custom of these people. He did not rise, but made a salutation in his bed as well as he knew how. He spoke with much feeling, and with tears in his eyes, of the death of the Christians, and began to tell how some of them had died of disease, and how others had gone to Caonaboa's country to seek for gold mines, and had been put to death there, and the rest had been attacked and slain in their own town. From the appearance of the dead bodies, this might have happened two months before.

At this time, Guacanari gave the Admiral eight marks and a half of gold, and five or six belts, set with stones of various colors, and a cap, wrought in the same style; which last he gave him with great veneration. Among those who were present, were the Doctor Chanca from Seville, and another surgeon of the squadron; and the admiral told Guacanari that these were men skilful in curing diseases and injuries, and that he had better show them his wound. He answered that he would gladly do so. The Doctor told him it would be necessary that he should, if possible, go out of the house, which was too dark for him to see well; which he immediately did, (I believe, rather from embarrassment than from inclination,) leaning upon the Doctor. When he was seated, the surgeon came, and began to unbind him; and then Guacanari told the Admiral that the wound had been made by a stone. The bandages being removed, the doctor and the surgeon examined him, and found nothing the matter with that leg, more than with the other; though he pretended that it was very painful. This certainly increased the suspicions of these two men; but with all this, a cautious man could not easily determine what was the truth in this matter, the facts, from which to judge, being involved in such obscurity; for certainly there were many things to show that a hostile people had been there. The

Admiral himself did not know what to do; but it seemed to him, as to many others, that for the present, until the truth could be satisfactorily ascertained, it would be best to dissemble, for that after the truth should be known, whoever chose might seek satisfaction.

In the evening, Guacanari went with the Admiral to the ships, and they showed him the horses, and other things on board, at which he was greatly astonished, as something very strange. He took some refreshment on board, and returned, the same evening, to his house. The Admiral told him that he wished to live there with him, and to build houses there: he answered, that this pleased him, but that the place was unhealthy, on account of its being damp, which it certainly was. All this passed through interpreters, two Indians, who had been carried to Seville by the Admiral, and brought back by him: and these two were all that remained of seven, that left Seville, five having died on the voyage; and these escaped by a miracle, having been in great danger. The next day, they remained at anchor in the harbor. Guacanari wished to know when the Admiral would leave; he sent him word that he should depart the next day; and the same day Guacanari's brother, before spoken of, and others, came to the ship, and brought gold with them. There were in the ship ten of the captive women, that had been taken in the islands of Berriquen; and this brother of Guacanari spoke to them, and suggested to them a plan, which they put in execution that night, as follows: when the men were in their first sleep, they let themselves down, very quietly, into the water, and swam to land; and when it was discovered, two of them had already escaped, and the rest had gone so far that the boats could recover only four, whom they took as they came out of the water. The distance which they swam was a long half-league. The next morning, the Admiral sent to tell Guacanari to send back these women, who had escaped the preceding evening, or direct instant search to be made for them; but when the messengers came to the village, they found it deserted, and not a single person in it.

This day, the squadron remained in port, the weather not being favorable for going out. The next morning, the Admiral sent all the boats in search of a harbor; and they

coasted along, looking a favorable spot for a settlement. The Indians of this neighborhood had not become familiar with the Castilians, and they came to a village from which all the inhabitants had fled: here they found, at a distance from the huts, stretched out upon the mountain, an Indian, wounded in the shoulders by a dart, so that the breath was expelled through the wound, which had prevented his fleeing farther. The natives of this island of Hispaniola (called by them Ayte) fight with darts, or sharp sticks, which they throw with straps, as our boys do here in Castile. They throw them very far, and with sufficient accuracy to do great mischief to people who have no armor. This wounded Indian told the Admiral that Caonboa and his men had wounded him, and had burned the dwellings of Guacanari; so that, with their imperfect knowledge of the facts, and the uncertainty of the whole matter, the Admiral and all the rest were left in doubt, and could not satisfy themselves how the death of the Christians had happened.

Not finding a healthy site for a settlement in this region, the Admiral determined to return, by the coast, to the place where he had first touched on his arrival from Castile; because the accounts of gold had reference to that quarter. The weather was so unfavorable, and the way so long, that three months had passed before they landed: and it pleased our Lord that, in consequence of this bad weather, which did not suffer them to go farther, they should land in the best place that could have been selected, where there was a large harbor, and a good and abundant fishery, of which they stood much in need, for they had become tired of their meat, and could obtain none in all this island, which was so richly adapted to produce everything. Close at hand was a large river, and hard by another, of considerable size, of very excellent water. Here he commenced building a city, to which he gave the name of Isabella, upon the river emptying into the sea, in a very beautiful situation, where an open plain extended to the water, bounded by a ridge of sharp rocks, so that on this side there was no need of any other defence. The other side was surrounded by a thicket, so close that a rabbit could hardly make his way through it, and so green, that at no season could it be set on fire. They began by sowing a variety of garden-seeds, which they had

brought from home; and they grew more in eight days than they would have done in Castile in twenty. The laying out and commencement of the settlement having been made, the Admiral set about forming acquaintances with the captains or kings of the region, who are there called *Caciques.* They brought him their articles of food, and many Indians were continually coming to barter, with gold, or loaded with *maize,* which is an excellent vegetable, like colewort, growing under ground, from which they prepare various kinds of food which are very nourishing, and upon which these people sustain themselves, in the room of bread. There is another vegetable, which they call *ajes,* and which likewise grows under ground; and another called *cazari;* with many other kinds of vegetables and fruits, all very different from those which we have here in Castile.

What could be learned concerning this people, was, that they were very simple and ignorant, and felt no shame in going about naked as they were born. The women, for the most part, wore a mantle of cotton, bound about the hips, or a skirt made of the leaves of trees. Their ornament consisted in painting themselves, some black, others white, and red, and other colors, in such variety, that it was a laughable thing to see them. Their heads were shaved in spots, and in spots locks of hair were left, in more ways than can be described: and whatever our men did to their heads, they thought it would bring good luck if they should do it to theirs. Indeed, it seemed that these people, if they could have understood our language, would have wished at once to become Christians; for whatever they saw the Christians do, they did the same; kneeling, clasping their hands, repeating the paternoster, the ave-maria, and other prayers, crossing themselves, and saying that they wished to be Christians. They were in fact idolaters, for in their houses were images of various sorts, all very deformed and ugly. They also carried these shut up in cases, and in belts of cotton; and being asked what they were, they answered "*Ture,*" which means something belonging to heaven; and if the Christians would take these images away from them, telling them they were a detestable thing, and they should throw them in the fire, they manifested much sorrow, and it seemed that they felt much devotion towards them. They

thought, moreover, that the Castilians, and everything which they had, had all come from heaven, and they called them all "*Turey*," which means, in their language, heaven.

As soon as they had established themselves, and commenced their settlement, the Castilians spread themselves over this region, and soon saw the admirable things which were to be found in this island, or rather, this province. They found that there were trees, which bore wool, and very fine too, so that those who understand the art say that very rich cloths may be made from it; and these trees are so numerous that whole caravels might be freighted with the wool. It is difficult to gather it, because the trees are very thorny; but a way of doing it might easily be devised. They saw an immense quantity of cotton, upon trees, which produce it perpetually, and which are of the size of a peach-tree: also trees which bore wax, like that of bees in color and taste, and burning like it,— there being little difference between the two. There are an infinite number of trees producing excellent and very fine turpentine: a great deal of gum tragacanth, also very good: and trees, which appeared to the naturalists who went out in the fleet, to be the same which bear the nutmeg, except that they were without fruit; and they judged them to be the same from the taste and smell of the twigs and the bark. They saw a root of ginger, which an Indian carried suspended from his neck: there are also aloes, not like those which have been seen in Castile, but undoubtedly a species of the same plant. They found, also, a kind of cinnamon, though not so fine as that which is brought by way of Alexandria; which may be owing to its not being gathered at the proper season, or perhaps to the nature of the soil. There are likewise the lemon-colored myrobalans, but they found none except under the tree, and the ground being very moist, these were spoiled: they had a very bitter taste, which they supposed to be owing to their being spoiled; for in everything except the taste, they were like the genuine myrobalans. There is pepper, also, very good, and twice as strong as that which we use. It grows upon bushes, like a garden-plant, is not so hard as that which is brought to us from Alexandria, and a little larger, and is considered very medicinal and very valuable by the Indians, who plant and gather it.

As the people of all these islands are destitute of iron, it is wonderful to see their tools, which are of stone, very sharp and admirably made; such as axes, adzes, and other instruments, which they use in constructing their dwellings. Their food is bread, made from roots, which God has given them instead of wheat; for they have neither wheat, nor rye, nor barley, nor oats, nor spelt-wheat, nor panic-grass, nor anything resembling them. There is *cassavi*, which is collected in clusters, resembling the panic-grass, except that the grains are larger and whiter. There is also *maize*, and *ajes*, and other vegetables and roots, upon which they have lived, up to this time, and other healthful fruits and articles of food, which God has given them, wherewith to nourish and sustain themselves, and with which they have nourished and sustained themselves since God our Lord placed them there. No kind of food, which the Castilians had as yet tasted, was like anything that we have here. There were no beans, nor chick-peas, nor vetches, nor lentils, nor lupines, nor any quadruped or animal, excepting some small dogs, and the others, which look like large rats, or something between a large rat and a rabbit; and are very good and savory for eating, and have feet and paws like rats, and climb trees. The dogs are of all colors, white, black, &c. There are lizards, and snakes, but not many, for the Indians eat them, and think them as great a dainty, as partridges are to the Castilians. The lizards are like ours in size, but different in shape; — though, in a little island, near the harbor called Mt. Juan, where the squadron remained several days, a lizard was several times seen, as large around as a young calf, and as smooth as a lance; and several times they undertook to kill it, but could not, on account of the thickness of the trees; and it fled into the sea. Besides eating lizards and snakes, these Indians devour all the spiders and worms that they find, so that their beastliness appears to exceed that of any beast.

The Admiral had with him on this voyage, as I have said, seventeen vessels, of which four were ships, and thirteen caravels, and on board them, twelve hundred fighting men, to remain there and prosecute the conquest of the country, and to learn the truth concerning the gold, and to obtain it for the King and Queen, either by consent of the inhabitants,

or by force. He also brought out twenty-four horses, ten mares, and three mules, swine, goats, cows, and sheep, a few of each, for breeding, for which the country was very well suited, being much more healthy for animals than for men. The Admiral had determined to send back the vessels to Castile, before going to search for the gold mines, according to the information which he had obtained from the Indians. One of these mines was in Cibao, which is a province abounding in gold, and the other in the dominions of King Caonaboa, who was very powerful in that country. They met with many indications that much gold was to be found in the country: in more than fifty rivers, and brooks, and springs, they found much gold, which might be collected; and samples were brought from all parts: and they believed that when they had gained possession of the country, great quantities of gold might easily be obtained, since it was found in the sands of the streams, and the Indians did not dig more than a foot into the earth, having no implements for the purpose.

Having obtained this information, the Admiral despatched the vessels for Castile, keeping such as he thought necessary; and he sent all the gold he could obtain, for the King and Queen. The ships arrived at Cadiz, where they did not dare to land till the bishop Don Juan de Fonseca should be there, that they might deliver to him the gold. This form was afterwards kept up, and all the vessels which came from the Indies, went into Cadiz, and there delivered what they had brought to this dignitary, until their Highnesses promoted him to a higher office than this, and raised him to the honor, which he deserved, of being their Ambassador to the Emperor of Flanders, to treat concerning the intermarriage of their children. They created him Bishop of Badajoz, and afterwards of Cordova, and afterwards of Valencia, advancing him from good to better; and all these dignities were worthily sustained. After he relinquished the charge of the fleets, and the reception of the gold, other forms and regulations were established for its reception. In this same year, 1494, in which the vessels arrived from the Indies, leaving in Hispaniola the Admiral and his men, commencing the building of their town, Don Juan de Fonseca sent another squadron with supplies for this colony, of bread,

wine, and other provisions, which came in good time, and were of great use to them. The vessels arrived from the Indies in March, 1494, and the squadron with the provisions was despatched a few days afterwards.

The Admiral had not forgotten the death of the thirty-nine men who had been slain, but made investigation, and ascertained from the Indians themselves, who it was that had killed them. He made incursions into the interior, and captured vast numbers of the natives; and the second time that he sent home, he sent five hundred Indian men and women, all in the flower of their age, between twelve years and thirty-five, or thereabouts, all of whom were delivered at Seville to Don Juan de Fonseca. They came, as they went about in their own country, naked as they were born; from which they experienced no more embarrassment than the brutes. They were sold, but proved of very little service, for the greater part of them died, from the climate.

A division arose between the Admiral and some of the men under his command, who were unwilling to obey, and who said that the King and Queen had been deceived in being told that there was so much gold in the country: they declared that this was not true; and that if there really was any gold, it would cost as much and more than it was worth, to find and obtain it. Many persons here in Castile gave credit to this representation, and there was great murmuring against the Admiral. He, as sovereign over these men, sent several of them home as prisoners, and among them, Fernin Zedo, a citizen of Seville, who had gone out as an artisan to detect and refine the gold, and who now scoffed at the idea of gold, and said, as did others, that the gold which the Indians had, and had given to the Admiral, had been in their possession a long time, and had been handed down in succession from their ancestors. The Admiral also sent Bernardo de Piza, *alguacil* of the court, and others, who were delivered as prisoners at Seville. Hence arose many complaints against the Admiral, and all very unjust, as the truth afterwards appeared. All this happened after he had gone to discover the continent at the south, where he was detained four or five months of the year 1494.

CHAPTER 121.

How the Admiral went to search for gold, in the province of Cibao; and what he thought of the country; and of the fortress, which he built.

After the departure of the vessels, as above related, from the infant city of Isabella, under the command of Antonio de Torres, brother of the nurse of the Prince Don Juan, which was on the 3d of February, 1494, the Admiral bestirred himself in fortifying the city, and arranging various matters, which were calculated to improve the condition and manner of living of its inhabitants. Having done something towards this, he set out, on the 12th of March, with the requisite number of men, both foot and horse, to visit the province of Cibao, distant from the city eighteen leagues, towards the south. He arrived at the province, after crossing a level tract, and passing several harbors, to which he made a level road: and here in Cibao he built a fortress, in which he placed a number of men, with a magistrate, and workmen for the building, in order to subdue the people of this region.

Cibao, the name of the province, signifies *rocky;* for the country is very much broken into hills and mountains, very high, and covered with rocks, though, for the most part, not very rough; without trees, but not without grass, for the country is very fertile in grass, which resembles the panic-grass, but is thicker, and grows higher than corn, in some places reaching to the horses' saddles; and so it continues at all seasons, unless it is burned. Under this grass, all these mountains and hills are full of *gijarros (?)** large and round as those in rivers, or on the sea-shore, all, or the greater part of them blue. The whole province is a very strong country, and easily defended, temperate and very salubrious, and it rains there very frequently. At the foot of each hill, is a brook or river, small or large, according to the size of the mountain: the water is pure, pleasant to the taste, cold, and not harsh, like some other waters, which are injurious to the constitution, but, on the contrary, it is medi-

* Guijarros? Pebbles.

cinal, and a remedy for the stone, many persons having been cured by it. In all these brooks and hills there is much gold, in grains.

CHAPTER 122.

Of the gold, and the experiments made upon it; and how the Indians collected it.

The fortress, which the Admiral built in Cibao, he called St. Thomas; and while he was there, engaged in the building of it, many Indians came, eager for the hawk's-bells and other trifles, none of which were given them, till they had first brought gold; and when this was told to them, they ran to the river, and in less than an hour each one of them would bring back a leaf, or a shell, full of grains of gold. One old Indian brought two grains, weighing three *castellanos*; being larger than any that the Admiral had as yet seen, excepting one, which Guacanari had presented to him, and which he had sent by the captain Antonio de Torres to the King and Queen, with other smaller ones. The greater part of these had been melted down, if Fernin Zedo was to be believed, who passed for a man of great science in relation to gold, though he was mistaken in this case, for the grains were native, and had not been melted; and it afterwards turned out that Fernin Zedo knew very little about the matter. He also told the Admiral that some of the grains were not pure gold, but had been adulterated with brass; for saying which he had no authority, and here too he was wrong, for it was ascertained that the foreign substance came from the mine, where the gold was found; and besides, it is not probable that the Indians would mix brass with gold, since they value the former a hundred times more highly than the latter.

When he received the two grains from the old man, the Admiral gave him a hawk's-bell, which he took with as great joy, and was as well pleased, as if he had had a present of a rich town. He told the Admiral that these grains were small, in comparison with some that there were in his country, which was five leagues distant; and he repre-

sented their size by stones as large as a walnut, saying that he had found grains of that size, and larger. Others said that grains were sometimes found as large as an orange, and larger; and others had seen them as large as a stone which they pointed out, and which weighed a dozen pounds. The largest which has actually been seen, up to this time, was a grain of eight *castellanos.*

The Indians, hereabout, are a brutish race, lazy, and averse to labor, which disposition they manifest in relation to dress; for their winter is quite cold, and they, although they have no wool, have abundance of cotton, with which they might clothe themselves, and make much cloth, and defend themselves from the weather; but their indolence makes them prefer to go about like brutes, suffering from the cold and the heat. The Admiral returned to the city of Isabella, from Cibao, leaving the party there in good condition, in order to go and discover the Indian continent; thinking that in this way he might find the great and very rich city of Cathay, which is in the dominions of the Grand Khan.

CHAPTER 123.

How the Admiral went on a Voyage of Discovery.

The Admiral set out, to discover the Indian continent, on the 24th day of April, 1494. He left in the city as president, his brother, a friar, who was called Brother Benedict: and he prescribed the duties, which each one was to perform. He took with him three caravels, having the common sails, and in a few days arrived at the very excellent harbor of St. Nicholas, which was in the island of Hispaniola, over against cape Alfaito, in Juana, which was supposed to be an island, but which was in fact a continent, this being the extreme cape of the Indies in this direction. For this cape he steered, and arrived there, and instead of following the northern coast, as he had done in his former voyage, sailed towards the west along the other coast, on the southern side. Both these coasts run towards the west, the one a little to the north, and the other to the south; for the land is narrow at first, and widens as you go on. Leaving the land on his

right, the Admiral sailed on, thinking to run round the island, and then proceed from the cape on his proposed voyage, the object of which was to seek the province and city of Cathay, which he said might be reached by this route. This province is in the dominions of the Grand Khan, and, as described, by John de Mandeville, and others who have seen it, is the richest province in the world, and the most abundant in gold, and silver, and other metals, and silks. The people are all idolaters, and are a very acute race, skilled in necromancy, learned in all the arts, and courteous: and of this place many marvels are written, which may be found in the narrative of the noble English knight, John de Mandeville, who visited the country, and lived for some time with the Grand Khan. Whoever wishes to inform himself on this subject, may read the 85th, 87th, and 88th chapters of his book, where he will find that the city of Cathay is very noble and rich, that the province takes its name from the city, and that both province and city are in the region of the Indies near the country of Prester John, and in the northern part of the continent, where the Admiral sought for them.

It must needs have taken a long time to reach this place, for the Grand Khan was anciently lord of the people of Buhia and Bahia, and we may say that the great Tartary begins from the boundary of Hungary, which is a country lying, in relation to Andalusia, in the direction in which the sun rises in the month when the days are longest; and in that direction merchants are accustomed to go to the country. By the route which the Admiral had taken in his search for Cathay, it is my belief that after going round the earth, by sea and land, twelve hundred leagues farther, he would not have reached it. And so I told him, and made him know and understand, in the year 1496, when he first returned to Castile after this expedition, and when he was my guest, and left with me some of his papers, in presence of Don Juan de Fonseca. From these papers I have drawn, and have compared them with others, which were written by that honorable gentleman, the Doctor Chanca, and other noble gentlemen, who were with the Admiral in the voyages already described. From these I have obtained my information: and I have written this account of the Indies, as a wonderful and notable matter, which it pleased our Lord to

bring to light in the happy reign of Queen Isabella, the first wife of King Ferdinand.

The Admiral, supposing Juana to be an island, proceeded along the coast, a great distance. He inquired of the Indians, whether it was an island or a continent; but they are a stupid race, who think that all the world is an island, and do not know what a continent is; who have no written language, nor records of antiquity, and delight in nothing else but in eating and in women: and so they said that it was an island, though some said it was an island which he could not sail round in forty moons. As he followed the coast, the land continued to stretch out more and more, on the south, so that he thought it best to return to Juana, and sail west, and thence north; in which way he thought he might find the noble city and most rich province of Cathay. He was obliged to follow a route, which led him farther from the land, and enabled him to discover the island of Jamaica, whence he returned, and sailed along the coast of the continent seventy days, going very near the Aurea, at the end of which time, he turned back, from fear of the weather, the great length of the voyage, and the want of provisions. While on this voyage, it occurred to him that, if he should be prospered, he might succeed in returning to Spain by the east, going to the Ganges, thence to the Arabian gulf, thence, by land, from Ethiopia to Jerusalem, and to Joppa, where he might embark on the Mediterranean, and arrive at Cadiz. The passage might certainly be made in this way, but the part of it made by land would be very perilous, for from Ethiopia to Jerusalem the inhabitants are all Moors. Moreover, it might be accomplished wholly by water, by going to Calaud, which is a city discovered by the Portuguese; and in order not to go by land, but all the way by water, it would be necessary to sail round the country of the negroes, and return by the way by which the Portuguese come from Calaud with their spices. Suffice it to say, that the Admiral, after having proceeded in this voyage, three hundred and twenty leagues, of four miles each, from cape Alfaeto, returned by a different route from that by which he went. As he passed this cape, which is at the extremity of the land called Juana, he erected crosses there, and took possession for their Highnesses; which was well done, since this cape appeared to

be the extreme point of the continent at the west, between which and cape St. Vincent, in Portugal, is embraced the entire population of the world: so that whoever will set out from cape St. Vincent, may go constantly towards the east, without crossing any sea, till he arrives at cape Alfaeto; and may return again, in the same way to cape St. Vincent: — and may God speed him on his journey.

CHAPTER 124.

How the Admiral came to a country, where the trees bear fruit twice a year: of the fishes and serpents which they found: and how they went to Jamaica.

To go back, and state more particularly the islands, lands, and seas, which the Admiral discovered in this voyage: — he pursued his course, as it has been described, till he came to a large and most excellent harbor, which he called Puerto Grande. In this country, the trees and plants bear fruit twice in the year; a fact which was satisfactorily ascertained: and from these fruits a most delicious odor arose, which could be perceived at some distance on the water. There were no habitations in this harbor, but as they went in, they saw several fires burning, close to the water, and a dog, and two beds, but no men. They landed, and found more than four quintals of fish, upon spits, before the fires, and rabbits, and two serpents; and very near they saw, at the foot of the trees, in many places, a great many serpents, the most nasty, hideous, ugly creatures, that any human being ever saw, all with their mouths sewed up. They were all of the color of dry wood, the skin of the whole body very much wrinkled, especially on the head, where it came down over the eyes, which were terribly venomous; and all were covered with very hard shells, like the scales of a fish, and from the head to the end of the tail, along the middle of the body, were long, ugly projections, sharp as points of diamond. The Admiral ordered the fish to be taken, and with them refreshed his men. Afterwards, as they were going in a boat in search of a harbor, there came from a point of the highlands a great number of people, to whom they made signs

that they should approach; and one of them did so. The Admiral had an Indian, whom he employed as an interpreter, one of those that had been to Castile, and who understood the Castilian language very well, and also that of the Indians. The strange Indian spoke from the summit of a rock; and when he heard the other, he lost his fears, and called his companions, who were about seventy men, and who said that they were going hunting,* by command of their cacique, for a feast which he wished to make. The Admiral commanded that hawk's-bells and other little trinkets should be given them, and begged them to pardon him for having taken their fish, saying that he had touched nothing else; and when they learned that he had not taken the serpents, they rejoiced greatly, and replied that he was welcome to what he had taken, and that they would fish again that night.

The next day, before sunrise, the Admiral set sail from this place, towards the west, following the coast of the country, which they saw to be very beautiful, and thickly settled. As they perceived the vessels, great numbers of men and boys, small and great, came running to the shore to see them, bringing bread and other things to eat, showing the bread and gourds full of water, and crying "Eat, take, people from heaven!" — they asked them to land, and go to their houses; and some came in canoes for the same purpose. In this way they sailed along, till they came to a gulf, where there were a vast number of villages, and the lands and fields all looked like the most beautiful gardens in the world; the land being elevated and mountainous. They anchored here, and immediately the people of the region came, and brought them bread, water, and fish. At daybreak the next morning, they departed, and having gone as far as to a certain cape, the Admiral determined to quit this route, and sail towards the south, in search of Jamaica: and the wind being propitious, at the end of two days and two nights, they arrived, and landed in that island.

This is the most beautiful country that eyes have seen: it is not mountainous, though the land appears to approach the heavens: it is very large, larger than Sicily, being eight hun-

* Probably for fish:—see *post*, chap. 126.

dred miles in circuit: it is filled with valleys, and fields, and plains, and is fertile beyond measure; so that even to the water's edge, as well as in the interior, it is covered with settlements, very extensive, and not more than a quarter of a league from each other. They have more canoes here, and larger, than in any other region hitherto discovered, each made in one piece, from the trunk of a tree; and each cacique in all that neighborhood has a large canoe, which he takes as much pride in using, as a nobleman here would take in keeping a large and beautiful ship. They have them wrought, from stem to stern, with various figures and paintings, so that their beauty is admirable. The Admiral measured one of the large ones, which was ninety-six feet long, and eight feet wide.

CHAPTER 125.

Of the Island of Jamaica.

As soon as the Admiral approached the land, in this island of Jamaica, immediately there came out against him, a league into the sea, some seventy canoes, filled with men armed with darts, in warlike array; but when they saw that the Admiral and his men, with their three caravels, went on their way without noticing them, they were frightened, and took to flight. He kept his caravels in order, and a herald came off to one of them, and people with him, to whom the Admiral gave clothing, and many other things which they prized very highly, and dismissed them. He anchored at a village, to which he gave the name of Santa Gloria, as showing his sense of the beauty of the glorious country; for the gardens of Valencia are not to be compared to any part of this whole island. They slept there that night, and the next morning, at daybreak, went to search for a secure harbor, for the purpose of cleaning and repairing the vessels. Having gone four leagues towards the west, they found a most excellent harbor, and the Admiral having sent a boat to explore the entrance, there came out against it two canoes, with many men in them, who threw a great many darts at the boat, but fled immediately, as soon as they saw signs of

resistance, though not so swiftly as entirely to escape chastisement.

The Admiral entered the harbor and anchored; and so many Indians came down to the shore, that they completely covered it. They were painted with a thousand colors, but the greater part black, and all naked, according to their custom: they wore feathers of various sorts on their heads, and had their breasts and bellies covered with palm-leaves: they made a horrible screaming, and threw their darts, but could not reach the vessels. As it would be necessary to obtain water at this place, and timber for repairing the vessels, the Admiral saw that it would not be proper to let these men go, without such punishment for their boldness, as would make them more cautious in future. In order to let them know something of the arms of Castilians, they came near them with their cross-bows, and when they had made some good shots, and the Indians were becoming terrified, they leaped on shore, discharging their cross-bows as they went. When the Indians saw that the Castilians were coming upon them, they all took to flight, men and women, so that not one remained in the whole region; and a dog, which had leaped from one of the vessels, followed them, and bit them, doing them great injury; for one dog, against the Indians, is worth ten men.

The next day, before sunrise, six of these Indians came to the shore, calling aloud, and saying to the Admiral that all the caciques begged him not to land, and that they would come to see him, and bring bread, and fish, and fruits. This message greatly pleased the Admiral, who pledged to them his friendship and his faith; and the caciques, with many Indians, came to him, and brought a great supply of provisions, with which the men were greatly refreshed, having abundance of everything, as long as they remained there; while the Indians were much pleased with the things which the Admiral gave them. And the vessels being repaired, and the men rested, they departed from this place.

CHAPTER 126.

Of a great number of Islands, which were Discovered.

The Admiral set sail, with his three caravels, and sailed twenty-four leagues towards the west, as far as the gulf Buen Tiempo; and the weather being unfavorable for following the coast of Jamaica,—respecting which island they had ascertained, that there was no gold in it, nor any other metal, though, for the rest, it is like a paradise, and richer than gold could make it,—he took advantage of the contrary wind to return to the continent of Juana, intending to follow its coast, which he had left, in order to ascertain whether it was a continent. They stopped in a very beautiful province, called Macaca, and anchored near a very extensive settlement, the cacique of which already knew of the Admiral and his caravels, before their arrival, having heard of his first voyage of discovery. Indeed, all the caciques of that country knew of it, and the whole country and the islands were in an uproar about so novel an affair, and about the ships, all saying that it was a people from heaven; and this, notwithstanding the Admiral had not sailed along the coast, but the other, on the northern side. On his arrival at this place, the Admiral sent as presents to the cacique some things which these people valued very highly; and the cacique sent refreshments, with a message, that they knew about the Admiral from hearsay, and about his father from Simon, an Indian, whom the Admiral had carried to Castile, and given to Prince John. The Admiral landed, and inquired of the cacique and the Indians of the place, whether the country was a continent or an island; and the cacique and all the rest answered, that it was a vast country, of which nobody had seen the end, but that it was an island. These people of Juana are a very gentle race, and free from evil thoughts. There are great differences between them and the inhabitants of all the neighboring islands; and the same may be observed in the birds and other animals, which here are of a better breed, and more tame.

The next day, they left this place, and sailed towards the north, bearing a little to the northwest, by the coast of the

country. About the hour of vespers, they saw at a distance that the coast turned towards the west, and they took that direction, in order to shorten the way, leaving the land on the right. At sunrise, the next morning, as they were looking from the topmast, they saw the sea covered with islands, twenty-four in the whole, and all green, and covered with trees; — the most beautiful sight that the eye ever beheld. The Admiral chose to go towards the south, leaving these islands on his right; for, remembering to have read that this whole sea is filled with islands in this way, and that John de Mandeville says there are in the Indies more than five thousand islands, he determined to proceed, and not give up his exploration of the continent of Juana, till he had ascertained whether it was really an island or not. The farther they went, the more islands they discovered, so that, that day, they discovered a hundred and sixty-four: and God gave them constant good weather for navigating among these islands, so that the ships, as they ran through the waters, seemed to fly. On Whitsunday, 1494, they stopped at a place which was uninhabited, — but not from the inclemency of the sky, or the barrenness of the soil, — in the midst of a large grove of palm-trees, which seemed to reach from the sea-shore to the very heavens. Two springs of water came out of the ground, their outlets being large enough to admit a large orange. When the tide was on the flood, the water spouted up with considerable force; and it was so cold and so sweet, that there cannot be better in the world; and this coldness not harsh, like that of some waters, which injure the stomach, but, on the contrary, most salubrious.

Here they all rested themselves, upon the grass about these fountains, enjoying the charming fragrance of the flowers, and the melody of the songs of the birds, so many and so sweet, and the shade of the palm-trees, so tall and so beautiful, that the whole was a wonder. There were no people here, but there were signs that men had been there, the branches of the trees being cut. From this place the Admiral went, with his boats, to visit a river at the east, a league distant, the water of which they found so warm, that one could scarcely bear his hand in it. They proceeded up the river two leagues, without meeting with people or hab-

itations; and everywhere the country was of the same beauty, and the fields very green, but abounding in *grutas* (?)* as red as scarlet; and everywhere the odor of the flowers, and the singing of the birds, were very sweet, as all might perceive. As the number of islands in this region was so great that he could not give to each a separate name, the Admiral called them all by the common name of *the Garden of Arms.*

On the day following, the Admiral being very desirous to find some one from whom he might obtain information, there came a canoe to hunt for fish: — for they call it hunting, and they hunt for one fish with another. They have fishes of a particular kind, which they hold by a line fastened to their tails, and which are like the conger-eel in shape, and have a large mouth armed with suckers, like the cuttle-fish. They are very fierce, like our ferrets, and when they are thrown into the water, they go to fasten themselves upon some of the fishes there, and do not let go their hold, till they are drawn out of the water. The fish is very light, and as soon as he has taken hold, the Indians draw him out by the string tied to his tail, which is very long, and immediately throw him into the water again; and in this way, they take one every time. As these hunters were at a distance from the caravel, the Admiral sent his boats to them, contriving it so that they should not escape to land. As the boats came up to them, these hunters called out to the men, as unconcernedly as if they had known them all their lives, to stop, because one of the fishes had fastened upon a large turtle, and they must wait till they had got it into the canoe. These men, with four turtles, each of which was three cubits broad, they took on board to the Admiral; and there they gave some account of these islands, and of their cacique, who was close at hand, and had sent them to hunt. They asked the Admiral to go on shore, and they would make for them a great feast, and would give them all four turtles apiece. He gave them many things that he had brought with him, with which they were much pleased; and he asked them if that country was very large, — to which they answered, that, towards the west, it had no end; and

* Grutas is caverns. Should we read "Grumas?" clusters of grapes.

they said that all the sea, to the south and west, was full of islands. As they were going, he asked them the name of their cacique, which they told him, and returned to their fishing.

CHAPTER 127.

Of the place where the men eat Dogs, and fatten them upon fish for that purpose: and of the delicious odor of the country.

From this place, the Admiral sailed among the islands, by the most navigable channels, steering towards the west, and keeping near the coast of the continent. After having proceeded several leagues, with favorable weather, he came to a large island, at the extremity of which was an extensive settlement; where, although the weather was fine, the caravels anchored, and the men went on shore, but found nobody, all the inhabitants having fled and left the place. They seemed to be a people who had dominion over the fishes, for upon the shore were immense numbers of turtle-shells. Here also they found forty dogs, not large, nor very ugly, and which did not bark; it appeared that they had been fed and fattened upon fish; and they learned that the Indians ate them, and that they were as savory as our kids in Castile,—for some of the Castilians tasted them. These Indians had many tame herons, and various other birds, but the Admiral commanded that nothing should be taken from them. He left this place, with his vessels, and very soon they discovered another island, larger than the last, for which, however, they did not stop, but directed their course towards some very lofty mountains upon the continent, at fourteen leagues' distance. There they found a large settlement, the cacique and other inhabitants of which were very courteous and friendly, and gave the Admiral and his men excellent refreshment of bread, and fruits, and water. The Admiral asked whether the country extended far to the west; and the cacique answered that he was an old man, and had known other old men in his time, who understood such matters, and he had never heard it said that it had any end; but that he might learn how it was, from the people of Magon, farther on, a province adjoining theirs.

The next day, they sailed towards the west, always following the coast of the continent, and for several leagues constantly under a very large and lofty range of mountains, which extended far into the interior, so that the end could not be seen. On the side towards the sea were a great many settlements, from which multitudes of people came to the vessels, with fruit, bread, water, spun cotton, rabbits, pigeons, and a thousand other wonderful birds, of various kinds, unknown among us. They came singing, as if for a festival; believing that these people, with their ships, had come from heaven; and although the Indian interpreter told them that they were men of Castile, they still believed that Castile was heaven, and that the King and Queen, who were lords of the vessels and of the men, were in heaven. The name of this province, where they arrived one evening, was Ornojai. They had been sailing in shallow water, but here they could not find bottom: and the wind from the land drove them out to sea, where they lay to during the night, and the time scarcely seemed to them an hour, by reason of the delightful odor which came from the land, and the singing of the little birds and of the Indians, which was wondrously delectable. Here the Admiral was told that farther on was Magon, where the people had tails, like beasts and animals, and that, for this reason, he would find them clothed. This is not true, though it appears that these simple people believed it; and it is probable that it was first said as a joke, and in mockery of those who wore clothes; as John de Mandeville says, in the 74th chapter of his book, that in the province of Lamore, in the Indies, the inhabitants all went naked as they were born, and that they mocked at those who wore clothing, saying that they were people that did not believe in God, who created Adam and Eve, our first parents, and created them naked, — and that no one should be ashamed of what is natural. So, the inhabitants of this province of Ornojai all went naked, men and women, and scoffed at those of whom they heard it said that they wore clothes; and the Admiral understood the jest, as if they had simply said that they were clothed, and that they no more had tails than themselves. They told the Admiral that farther on there were innumerable islands, and shallow water; and that the end of this country was very distant, so

that in forty moons they could not reach it; but they spoke with reference to the speed of their canoes, which is very small, for a caravel will go farther in one day, than a canoe in seven.

CHAPTER 128.

Of the White Sea.

The Admiral left Ornojai, with his caravels, the next day, with a favorable wind, and made great progress, until, having previously passed some shallows, he all at once entered into a sea, which was as white as milk, and thick, like the water in which tanners prepare their skins; and immediately they found themselves in only two fathoms of water, which was much agitated by the wind. They were in a channel by which it would be very dangerous to return, and they could not anchor their vessels, because they could not turn about, nor bring them round, upon their anchors, with their heads to windward; nor was there sufficient depth of water, for they were continually dragging their anchors. So they went on, through the channels between the islands, ten leagues, when they came to an island, where they found two fathoms and a cubit of water, and room for the caravels to remain; and there they anchored. They were in great trouble, thinking of abandoning the enterprise, and that it would be no small achievement, if they could make their way back to the place whence they started; but our Lord, who always succors those who are humble and of good will, gave them courage, and put into the Admiral's heart to go on. The next day, a small caravel, which had gone to the shore of this sea, to see whether they could find upon the continent any fresh water, of which all the vessels were in great need, returned, and reported that along the sea-shore the mud was very deep, and the trees grew down into the very water, so thick that a cat could not go on shore at that place. The islands here were as numerous and as near to each other, and more so, than in the "Garden" before spoken of; and the trees stood so close along the shore, that they looked like walls; and beyond these trees were high-

lands, and very green mountains, on which appeared many smokes and large fires. The Admiral resolved to go on, and made his way through the channels among the islands, which were as close together as in the Garden of Arms, and more so, till they came to a very low point of land, to which he gave the name of point Serafin. Here they met with great difficulties, the vessels being often aground. Within the point, the land was low, towards the east, but at a great distance to the north they discovered mountains, and without the point the intermediate space was clear of islands, which all lay at the south and west. They had a good wind, and three fathoms of water, and the Admiral determined to steer for the mountains, where he arrived the next day, and anchored by a large and very beautiful palm-grove, and where they found fountains of very sweet and good water, and indications that men had been there.

While the vessels were at this place, laying in wood and water, it chanced that a cross-bow-man, belonging to one of the caravels, went on shore with his cross-bow, to hunt; and having gone a little way, he fell in with some thirty Indians, one of whom was dressed in a white tunic, that reached to his feet; and he came upon them so suddenly, that he supposed the one who wore this garment to be a friar of the order of the Trinity, who was going in company with the others. Afterwards, there came two others in white tunics, reaching below their knees; and these men were as white as the Castilians. The cross-bow-man was frightened, and cried out, and ran fleeing to the shore: he saw that the others remained quiet, and one of those in the white tunics came towards him, and called him, but he never ventured to stop till he had reached the ships. The Admiral, when he had heard his story, sent on shore to learn who these people were; but when the messengers arrived, they found nobody: and the opinion was, that the one in the long tunic must be the cacique. On the day following, the Admiral sent twenty-five men, well armed, to go eight or ten leagues into the country, till they should find people. Having gone a quarter of a league, they came to a plain, which extended towards the west and along the coast; and not knowing their way, they undertook to cross the plain, but could not get on, and returned much fatigued; for the

grass was very thick, very high, and much tangled together, so that they could make no progress. They came back as weary as if they had gone twenty leagues; and said that in that direction it was impossible to cross the country, — that there was no road, or path of any kind. The next day, as some others were going along the shore, they found the tracks of some very large beasts, with five claws, (a terrible sight!) which they judged to be lions, griffins, or some other wild beasts, — most probably lions: — and they too came back. Here they found many vines, very large, and loaded with unripe grapes, which covered all the trees, so that it was wonderful to see them. The Admiral took a basket of these grapes, and some cuttings of the vines, and some of the white soil of the sea, to exhibit, and to send to the King and Queen. There were also many aromatic fruits as in the other places above described; and likewise *grutas* twice as large as any in Castile.

The Admiral, having thus crossed over from point Serafin, where the land declined towards the east, to the mountains at the north, followed the coast back, towards the east, till he saw that it joined the other, and was continuous with it, and then turned again to the west: and although both the vessels and the men were much worn by the voyage, he purposed to sail for some mountains, which he had seen in the west, at the distance of thirty-five leagues from the place where they had taken in their supply of water. After they had gone nine leagues, they came to a beach, where they captured the cacique of the region, who, being an ignorant person, that had never been away from these mountains, told them that towards the north the sea was very deep for a very great distance. They weighed anchor, and proceeded on their voyage very joyful, thinking to find it as he had said. But, after sailing several leagues, they found themselves entangled among a number of islands, with very little depth of water; so that they could not find a convenient channel by which to go on. After making their way, for a day and a half, through a very narrow and shallow channel, they were obliged to drag the vessels, by means of their anchors and capstans, over the bottom, nearly a fathom out of water, for two full leagues, after which they found two fathoms and a half of water, in which they sailed for two

days, and farther on, three fathoms. At this place there came to the vessels many canoes, the people in which said that the inhabitants of those mountains had a king of great authority; and they seemed to be wonderfully impressed with the extent of his dominion and the greatness of his power, saying that he had infinite provinces, that he was called "Holy," and that he wore a white tunic, which trailed upon the ground.

They pursued their course along the coast, in three fathoms of water, for four days, in which they passed the mountains, leaving them far to the east, and always found the shore low, and the trees growing close to the water's edge, as has been described, so that it was impossible to effect a landing. At the end of this time, the vessels being in a bay, where the coast turned again to the east, they saw upon a cape, at twenty leagues' distance, some very high mountains, which the Admiral determined to visit, since the sea was not open towards the north, and was of very great depth, as the cacique had said, who also told the Admiral that in the way in which he was going he would not come to the end of the land in fifty leagues; — so he had heard it said. They sailed within a great many islands, and after four days and nights, came to the mountains they had seen, and found a country as large as the island of Corsica. They went all around it, but found no spot where they could land, the shore being very muddy, and the trees very thick, as has been said of the other places: and the smokes from the dwellings of the inhabitants in the interior were large and numerous. They remained on this coast seven days, seeking for fresh water, of which they were in want, and which they found at a place towards the east, in some beautiful palm-groves, where they also found mother-of-pearl, and some very handsome pearls, and saw also that there were excellent fishing-grounds, if they were only used. After supplying themselves with wood and water, they sailed towards the south, for a considerable distance, following the coast, until it led them towards the south-west, and appeared to run in that direction for a great number of days' sail; and at the south, they saw the sea filled with islands. The vessels were in very bad condition, from thumping about in the shallows, their ropes and tackle worn out, and most of the

provisions much injured, especially the biscuit, in consequence of the leakiness of the vessels: and the men, too, were very much exhausted, afraid of their provisions failing, and likewise of the winds being, at this season, unfavorable for their return. From Cape Alfaeto to this place, they had gone twelve hundred and eighty miles, equal to three hundred and twenty-two leagues; and had discovered a great many islands, as has been related, besides their discoveries on the continent.

Then the Admiral concluded to return; and, taking a different route from that by which he had come, to go by way of Jamaica, (to which he had given the name of Santiago,) and finish the exploration of its southern coast, which he had abandoned in order to proceed on this voyage. They started on their return, expecting to pass within certain islands which were there; but they could find no channel, and were forced to turn back, by an arm of the sea, through which they had come to point Serafin, as far as the islands where they had first come into the White sea.

CHAPTER 129.

Of the Cormorants, which they saw; and the Butterflies; and the great Turtles.

To go back a little: — a day or two after the occurrence of what has been related concerning the cacique, they saw, before sunrise, more than a million of cormorants come flying over the sea, at a distance from the land, all in one body; so that they were astonished at the sight of so great a multitude of these birds. The next day, they saw from the ships so many butterflies, that they darkened the sky; and they remained till night, when a heavy rain which fell, accompanied with thunder, destroyed them. Ever since they had left the place where they were told that the "Holy" King resided, to go to Teroneso, (called by them St. John the Evangelist,) they had found, along their whole course many very large turtles; but they saw many more

in these twenty leagues, for the whole sea was solid with them, and all monstrously large, so that it seemed as if they would stop the vessels, — though they managed to get through them. The Indians value these turtles very highly, as a very good and savory article of food.

CHAPTER 130.

Of the province of Ornofai: and how the Admiral caused mass to be said there: and of the reception, which the cacique of that region gave him.

Leaving this place, they sailed through an arm of the sea, white, as it is everywhere hereabouts, and very deep; and having gone a few leagues, they came to the cluster of islands, where they had first anchored in the White sea. It was a miracle of our Lord, that brought them there, for it was not accomplished by man's wisdom or skill. Thence they proceeded to the province of Ornofai, with less peril than before, and there anchored in a river, and supplied their vessels with wood and water, in order to sail towards the south, not returning by the same route they had come, but leaving the Garden of Arms on their left. This course they pursued; but they could not omit visiting many of the islands, which hitherto, as has been said, they had not examined. The land is mountainous, and most fertile: the people are gentle, and have a great abundance of fruits and other kinds of food, of all which they gave their visiters a large share; and the fruits were very sweet and aromatic. They brought them great numbers of birds, parrots, and others, mostly pigeons, which were very large and as pleasant to the taste as our Castilian partridges: and their crops were filled with flowers, more fragrant than the orange-flower.

Here the Admiral caused mass to be said, and erected a cross, made from the trunk of a large tree, as he was accustomed to do at all the capes, where they landed. It was on Sunday, that the Admiral went on shore to hear mass; and the cacique of the region, who was a person of great distinction, and the lord of many subjects and numerous

retainers, when he saw the Admiral land from his boat, took him by the hand, and another Indian, more than eighty years old, who came with the cacique, took the other hand, with great ceremony. This old man wore on his neck a string of beads, made of marble, which these people prize very highly: and in his hand he carried a little basket of apples, which he presented to the Admiral, as soon as he landed from the boat. The cacique, and the old man, and the rest, were all naked as they were born, without showing any embarrassment; as was also the case in all the other parts of the country discovered by the Admiral Columbus.—They continued thus holding him by the hand, with all the other Indians behind them, till they came to the place where the Admiral was to pray and to hear mass, and where he had ordered preparations to be made for the purpose. After the Admiral had finished his prayer, the old Indian, in a pleasing and confident manner, began his discourse, and said: that he had known how the Admiral was going about exploring all the Islands in those parts, and the continent; and that his being upon the continent was known to them: he told the Admiral that he must not be vainglorious, because all the people were afraid of him, for that he was mortal, like men: and he began, by words and by signs, to explain how men were born naked, and how they had an immortal soul: that when any member was diseased, it was the soul that felt the pain: that at the time of death, and their separation from the body, these souls felt very great pain: and that they went to the King of the Heavens, or into the abyss of the earth, according to the good, or the evil, which they had done and wrought in the world: and as he perceived that the Admiral took pleasure in hearing him, he continued his discourse with greater animation, using such signs that the Admiral comprehended it all.

The Admiral replied to him through his Indian interpreter, who had been to Castile, and understood very well the Castilian language, as also that of these provinces, and who was a very good, well-disposed man; and the answer was: that he had done no harm to any good person, but only to the bad; and that, on the contrary, he had bestowed favors and rewards upon the good, and shown them great honor; and that this was what his sovereigns, King Ferdinand and

Queen Isabella, the mighty rulers of Spain, had commanded him. Here the old Indian turned in great astonishment to the interpreter, and asked if this Admiral was subject to any other lord: to which the interpreter replied, "To the King and Queen of Castile, who are the greatest sovereigns in the world." And then he related to the cacique, and the old man, and the other Indians, the things that he had seen in Castile, and the wonders of Spain; the great cities, fortresses, churches; the people, and the horses, and other animals; the splendor and riches of the sovereigns and the great nobles; the various kinds of food; the festivals and tournaments which he had seen, and the bull-fights; and the wars that he had heard about. All this he told very well, and in an orderly manner, and the old man and the rest delighted greatly to hear it, and communicated it to each other. The old man said that he wished to go with the Admiral, to see such things as these; and he resolved to do so, — but his wife and children wept, and so, out of his affection for them, with great reluctance he abandoned his design. The Admiral, however, took from this place a young Indian, whom he brought away quietly, and sent, with the cacique whom he had previously taken, to the King and Queen, after his arrival in Hispaniola from this voyage.

The people of all these islands, and of the continent, although they appeared brutish, and went about naked, yet seemed to the Admiral and those who were with him in this voyage, to be very sensible and sharp-witted: they all took great pleasure in learning new things, as men do among us, who are eager for knowledge; and this must be owing to the activity and acuteness of their minds. They are very obedient and loyal to their caciques, who are their kings and lords, and whom they hold in great respect and honor. Whenever the caravels stopped at any place, they immediately gave the Indians to understand that they had come there in the name of their cacique; and they would inquire what was the name of the cacique of the caravels, that they might repeat it among themselves; and they repeated it to each other, so as not to forget it. Afterwards, they asked what the ships were called; and if they came from heaven; or whence they came; and whether Castile was heaven; for they had no letters, and knew nothing

about laws, or history, or what was meant by reading and writing; and of course, were very ignorant. They said that the people of Magon wore clothing, because they had tails, and in order to conceal that deformity; and among them it was considered disgraceful to be clothed, as has been before said. The land, in all the islands and countries of these seas, so far as they are known, is so fertile, that although the population should be increased a hundred fold, it would still be more than sufficient to sustain them. It may well be, that in the interior there are differences in government, and customs, and in the people themselves, and many strange things; — indeed, it cannot be otherwise; — but in this voyage, there was no opportunity to see or know of them. The Admiral took his leave of this cacique of Ornofay, and of the honored old man, his kinsman and favorite, with many professions of friendship and of obligation.

CHAPTER 131.

How the Admiral departed from this place: of the progress which he made; and the number of miles that a caravel can sail in a day: how they came to a thickly settled island: of the cacique, who came on board one of the caravels, with his wife and family, to return with the Admiral: how they returned to Spain: the conclusion of this narrative: and the death of the Admiral.

The Admiral took his departure from the province of Ornofay, from the river, to which he had given the name of the River of the Mass, and sailed towards the south, intending to leave the Garden of Arms, which was a numerous cluster of green and beautiful islands, on the left, in consequence of the perilous navigation, which he had experienced there in his outward voyage. The winds being against them, they stopped in a large gulf, to which the Admiral gave the name of Buen Tiempo, in the province of Macaca, throughout the whole of which province, they were well received. From this place they sailed towards the west, as far as the extremity of the island, and thence south, till they

came to the province of Bojia at the east, and after some days they came to the Crystalline Mountain, and thence to point Farol, and to the shallows at the extremity of the island, eleven leagues farther to the east, where, for several days, the winds were adverse. Sailors estimate the ordinary sailing of a caravel in a day to be two hundred miles, of four to the league, or fifty leagues. This the Admiral and his men frequently accomplished, according to their reckoning, as recorded by him in the book, in which he kept an account of these things. And let it not be thought wonderful that a vessel in sailing can keep within its uncertain path, but rather let it be considered as well established; for a vessel will return many times to an island from which it has sailed, even in adverse wind and weather. Herein consists the skill of the master, and his resource in the event of a storm; and he would not be considered a good master or pilot, who, having to go from one country to another at a great distance, without sight of land between, should make an error of ten leagues, though the length of the passage should be a thousand; unless by stress of weather he should be deprived of the use of his skill.

Sailing on towards the south, they anchored, one evening, in a bay, in the neighborhood of which were many settlements, from one of which, situated in a lofty spot, a cacique came to the vessels, bringing them excellent refreshment: and the Admiral, in return, gave him and his attendants some of the things that he had with him, with which they were pleased. The cacique asked whence he had come, and what was his name; to which the Admiral answered, that he was a subject of the mighty and illustrious King and Queen of Castile, his sovereigns, who had sent him to these parts to discover and explore the country, and to show much honor to the good, and to destroy the wicked. This was communicated through the Indian interpreter; and the cacique was much pleased, and inquired of the Indian minutely about the things of this country, of which he gave an account, much in detail, to the astonishment and delight of the cacique and the other Indians. They remained till night, and then took their leave of the Admiral. The next day the Admiral left this place; and after he had already got under sail, with a light wind, the cacique, with three

canoes, came towards the ships, in such state, that I must not omit to describe his equipage. One of the canoes was very large, like a large *fusta*, and much painted: in this came the cacique himself, with his wife, and two daughters, one of whom was about eighteen years old, very beautiful, entirely naked, according to the custom of the country, and very modest; the other was younger; likewise two boys, his sons, and five of his brothers and other kinsmen: indeed all the others must have been his kinsmen and subjects. He also brought with him, in his canoe, a man who acted as standard-bearer: this man alone stood, in the bow of the canoe, wearing a loose coat of red feathers, resembling in shape those of our kings-at-arms, and on his head a large plume, which looked very well; and in his hand he bore a white banner, without any device. Two or three men came with their faces painted, all in the same way, and each of these wore on his head a large plume, in shape like a helmet, and over the face a round tablet, as large as a plate, painted likewise, and all of them in the same style, for neither in these tablets nor in the plumes was there any difference: these carried in their hands a kind of musical instrument, upon which they played. There were two others, who were also painted, but in a different fashion: these bore two wooden trumpets, highly wrought, with figures of birds and other devices, the wood being black, and very fine: each of them wore a very handsome hat of green feathers, very closely put together, and of very ingenious workmanship. Six others wore hats of white feathers, and came in a body, as the cacique's guard.

The cacique wore, suspended from his neck, a trinket made of copper, which is brought from a neighboring island, called Guani, and is very fine, resembling gold of eight carats: in shape it was like a fleur-de-lis, and as large as a plate. He wore also on his neck a string of large marble beads, which these people value very highly; and on his head a large open crown of very small green and red stones, disposed in order, and intermixed with some larger white ones, so as to look very well. He had suspended over his forehead a large jewel, and from his ears hung two large plates of gold, with rings of very small green beads: and, although naked, he wore a girdle, of the same workmanship

as the crown, all the rest of his body being uncovered. His wife was decked in a similar manner, and naked, except so much of her person as was covered by a bit of cotton, not larger than an orange-leaf. She wore upon her arms, just below the shoulder, a roll of cotton, like those on the sleeves of the ancient French doublets; and another similar roll, but larger, she wore on each leg, below the knee, — like the anklets of the Moorish women. The elder and more beautiful of the daughters was entirely naked, wearing only a girdle of stones of a single color, black, and very small, from which hung something in the shape of an ivy-leaf, of green and red stones, embroidered upon cotton cloth.

The large canoe came between the two others, and a little in advance of them: and as soon as it came up with the vessel, the cacique came on board, and began giving to the masters and each of the men something from his treasures. This was in the morning, and the Admiral was at his prayers, knowing nothing of this giving of presents, or of the purpose of the coming of this cacique, who had come at once on board the caravel, with his followers; and when the Admiral came on deck, he had sent back his attendants to the land, with the canoes, and they were already at a considerable distance. As soon as the Admiral made his appearance, the cacique came towards him, with a very joyful countenance, addressing him as follows: "My friend, I have resolved to leave my country, and go with thee, to see the King and Queen, and the Prince their son — the two greatest lords in the world, whose power is so great that they have subdued so many countries hereabouts, by means of thee, who art their subject, and goest on thy conquests by their command. This we have learned from those Indians whom thou carriest with thee, and also how everywhere the people are wondrously afraid of thee, — even the Caribs, an innumerable and very brave race, whose canoes and dwellings thou hast destroyed, and hast captured their wives and children, and slain those of them who did not escape by flight. I know that in all the islands of this region there is an infinite number of people, and a vast country; and they all stand in fear and great dread of thee, and thou canst do them much harm and injury, if they do not submit to the great King of Castile, thy lord; since thou knowest the people of these

islands, and their weakness, and art acquainted with the country. And before thou shalt take from me my lands and dominions, I wish to go with thee, in thy vessels, with my family, to see the mighty King and Queen, thy sovereigns, and the land in which they dwell, the richest and most abundant in the world, and the wonders of Castile, which are many, as thy Indian has told me." The Admiral, feeling compassion for him and for his children, and his wife, and not wishing to grieve him by a refusal, answered, that he received him as a subject of the King and Queen, and that for the present he should remain at home; that he had yet much to do to complete his discoveries, and that when he returned, there would be an opportunity to fulfil his desire; and he pledged to him his friendship: and so the cacique, with his family, was obliged to remain behind.

The Admiral sailed to the south and east, through these seas, among many other islands, peopled by this same naked race, as he has written; of which, that I may not make my work too long, I omit to give an account; suffice it to say that all the people are like those that have been described above. On his way to Hispaniola, the Admiral passed among the islands of the Caribs, where he had been in his second voyage. In Hispaniola they had already given him up, supposing that he and his vessels must be lost; and the same belief prevailed likewise in Castile, where letters had been received from Hispaniola, stating how long a time had passed, and they had not yet made their appearance. Those who wished well to the Admiral were rejoiced at his return; while others, who bore him no good will, were greatly vexed, because he would allow no one to appropriate anything to himself, or to make any profit by barter, but everything was for the King and Queen: which gave occasion to great murmurings against him. He found that while he had been absent on this voyage no gold had been collected, and no one had undertaken to procure it, nor did they know where to find it, or dare to search for it, for fear of the Indians. Immediately on his arrival, he set about obtaining as much of it as he could; and as to the disaffection among his men, he punished some of them, and sent others prisoners to the King, as has been before related.

The expenses of the enterprise, thus far, had been great,

and the returns small. The suspicion that there was no gold in the country, was very general, both there and in Castile. The colonists were in want of provisions, so as, indeed, to be reduced to great straits, though they were relieved by supplies sent from this country by Don Juan de Fonseca, Bishop of Badajoz, afterwards of Cordova, and afterwards of Palencia, who had the charge of these matters. Some one was found, who persuaded the King and Queen that the expense would always be greater than the profit: they recalled the Admiral, and he arrived in Castile in the month of June, 1496, wearing the dress of an Observantine friar of the order of St. Francis, and resembling one in his appearance, little less than in his dress; with the cord of the order, which he wore from devotion. He brought with him several Indians, whom he had taken before his departure, not in fight, but by enticing them within his power; and among these were the great cacique Caonoboa, and a brother of his, and a son, about ten years old. Telling them that he would take them to see the King and Queen, and that they should return in honor and state, he brought with him Caonoboa, and his brother, about thirty years old, to whom he gave the name of Don Diego, and his nephew, a little boy, the son of another brother: and Caonoboa died on the water, from grief and vexation. This Don Diego, Caonoboa's brother, wore a collar or chain of gold, which the Admiral made him put on when they passed through the cities and villages, weighing six hundred *castellanos;* which chain I saw and took in my hands, when I had the above-named Lord Bishop, and the Admiral, and Don Diego, as guests in my house. The Admiral brought also many things used by the Indians, crowns, masks, girdles, collars, and many other things interwoven with cotton, and all having a figure of the Devil, in his own shape, or in that of a cat, or an owl's head, or something worse, cut in wood, or made in the cotton, or whatever else might be the material of the ornament. He had some crowns, with wings at the sides, on which were eyes of gold; and in particular, one crown, which he said had belonged to the cacique Caonoboa, which was very large and high, and on being struck displayed wings, like shields, with eyes of gold as large around as a drinking-cup, set in their places in a very ingenious and singular way, resembling enamelling.

This crown likewise had a figure of the Devil upon it; and it may be believed that he appeared to them in these shapes, and that they were idolaters, and had the Devil for their Lord. The Admiral presented the Indians, together with the gold and other things which he had brought with him, to the King and Queen, who received him very graciously, and took great pleasure in seeing the strange things, and in learning about his discoveries; though he did not lack enemies, who could not endure him, in consequence of his being a foreigner, and many quarrels having arisen, in the execution of his authority, among such as were arrogant and disaffected towards him. The Admiral remained at the court, in Castile and in Aragon, more than a year, the preparations for his departure being delayed by the war with France; at the end of which time he was provided with a fleet, and made his arrangements, and took his leave of their Highnesses at court, with several other captains, who were to go with him on the voyage of discovery: — and they did discover various islands.

The Admiral set sail for the Indies at the end of the month of August, in the year 1497; and came to certain islands, which he had not before visited, lying at the south near the islands of the Caribs. He likewise discovered the Pearl Islands; and he would allow the men to keep nothing for themselves, except a trifle as a specimen: this produced great dissatisfaction among the sailors, because he had told them that whatever God should give them and throw in their way, he would share with them; whereas he now said that the King and Queen had sent them on this voyage to make discoveries, and not to enrich themselves. He pursued his voyage towards Hispaniola, and on his arrival there, made arrangements with regard to the gold mines, and the settlements, to which he devoted much labor: and he found very large mines, as he believed and declared, though many, as well noblemen, as mariners, gentlemen, and the common people, did not believe it, and made a jest of what he said. Having done this, and given very judicious directions as to the manner of searching for the gold, about a year passed without their finding it in any considerable quantities; this was the year 1499; and in 1500 it began to be found in abundance. It was all collected for the King

and Queen, and those who wrought in the mines were paid something for their labor, which was performed under the Admiral's direction: all which occasioned much complaint against him. Besides this he delayed sending the gold to the King somewhat longer than he should have done, and there were those who wrote, and who came home and told the King and Queen, that he was embezzling the gold, and that he wished to give it to the Genoese, and many other stories charging him with crimes, the least of which it ought not to have been believed that he would commit. The King sent out one Bobadilla to Hispaniola, as Governor, and recalled the Admiral, whom this same Governor sent home as a prisoner, with the gold which he had. He arrived at Cadiz in the spring of the year 1501, and presented himself before the King, with the gold which he brought, and was discharged from his confinement. The King commanded him, on the ground that the royal service required it, that he should never again visit the island of Hispaniola; and for the services which he had rendered, he confirmed him in the dignity of Admiral for ever, with its rights and profits, and ordered that he should be admitted at court, and that he might remain wherever he chose in Castile. He told him, moreover, that he must believe that, in all which he had done to him, he had shown him great honor and favor, and had removed him from the dangers which threatened him from the Castilians, who were much excited against him; and that if he should go back, it would be impossible to prevent disturbance and violence, which would be of evil example to the Indians.

The pleasure of the King and Queen being made known to the Admiral, he entreated their Highnesses to permit him to go on a voyage of discovery by the northern route, along the right coast of the continent, which they had given him to discover; representing to them that, although it had been his purpose to follow that course, when he was upon his expedition to the continent, he had been forced to take another route. The King gave him this permission, and he started on the voyage, with three vessels. After passing Hispaniola, he experienced many disasters, and mishaps, and storms, and found the sea very rough, so that he could not make so great progress as he desired; and although he

discovered several islands in the course of the voyage, as he has written, he was unable to accomplish the object, which he had in view. He was detained in some of the harbors, by storms, a long time, which hindered him in his discoveries, as did also the great difficulty and labor of the navigation, and the peculiar nature of the water of those seas, which acted upon the vessels in a surprising manner, as if they had been bored by worms. They made their escape in one of the vessels to a certain island near Hispaniola, where they were in a wretched condition, of which the Governor hearing, through some Indians, he sent for the vessel, and brought her, with the men on board to Hispaniola, and thence sent them to Castile, under the charge of Diego Rodriguez, a boatswain, and a citizen of Triana, in the year 1504. And this same Admiral Christopher Columbus, of marvellously honored memory, a native of the province of Milan, the discoverer of the Indies, being in Valladolid, in the year 1506, in the month of May, died, in a good old age, being seventy years old, or thereabouts. Our Lord pardon him! Amen.

DEO GRATIAS.

And now I do not choose to write more about the discovery of the Indies, since the story is familiar to every body, and there are many who were engaged in the discovery, that can write about it, and relate what they saw, throughout all Spain. The Admiral was succeeded by his eldest son in the title, and in the income, and the honors, which he had acquired by his labor, perseverance, and good fortune, in the fortunate and happy reign of the King and Queen, who fitted him out, and sent him on his enterprise.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD'S VOYAGE TO AMERICA, A. D. 1602.

[The first attempt of the English to make a settlement within the limits of New England, was under the command of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, near the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the 4th volume of Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 1646, to p. 1653 are three documents relating to this expedition. 1. A letter from Capt. Gosnold to his father. —2. Gabriel Archer's account of the voyage. — 3. A Chapter entitled, "Notes taken out of a tractate written by James Rosier to Sir Walter Raleigh."

This last is in fact the latter part of a letter written by John Brereton to Sir Walter Raleigh. The mistake of Purchas in ascribing it to Rosier is the more remarkable, as his own extract includes the formal signature "Your Lordship's, to command, John Brereton."

His next chapter but one, consists of extracts from the account of Weymouth's voyage, written by James Rosier, and he seems to have prefixed the same name to both chapters by mere inadvertence. This error has led Dr. Belknap, in the Life of Gosnold, contained in the second volume of the American Biography, to mention Rosier as one of his companions on that voyage, for which there is no authority.

Of Brereton, after the date of his letter, I know nothing. But we learn from Purchas, that Capt. Gosnold was the first mover of the permanent plantation of Virginia, in 1606, the previous attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh and others having failed. For many years, we are told, he solicited many of his friends, but found small assistance, till at last he prevailed with Capt. Wingfield, Capt. John Smith, Capt. Gabriel Archer and others, who finally sailed from London on the 19th of December, 1606. They were kept six weeks in sight of England by unprosperous gales; and after touching at Guadaloupe and other islands in the West Indies, did not reach Virginia till the 26th of April, 1607.

Capt. Wingfield was chosen President of the Council of six, by which the Plantation was to be governed, and of which Capt. Gosnold was a member. In the following August there was a great mortality among the planters, and on the 22d of that month, Capt. Gosnold died, and was honorably buried. After his death, it is stated, the Council could hardly agree.

Capt. Gabriel Archer was in the same expedition to Virginia; and not long after Gosnold's death he intended to abandon the Colony, but was prevented by Captain John Smith. Being found, however, very troublesome, and much opposed to Capt. Smith, he was, at a later period, sent back by him to England. In 1609 he returned to Virginia, and was still constantly hostile to Capt. Smith, and even accused of conspiring against

his life. His own letter touching his voyage to Virginia in 1609, and defending his conduct there, is in 4th Purchas, p. 1733.

In the summer of 1817, several members of the Historical Society visited the Elizabeth Islands, in Buzzard's Bay, and examined the precise spot of Gosnold's settlement. It is perfectly well defined, and is on a small islet in a pond on an Island, now known by its Indian name Cuttyhunk, the name of Elizabeth, given to it by Capt. Gosnold, having been since transferred to the whole group. A letter from the writer of this notice giving an account of that visit, and of the present condition of the place, may be found in the 5th volume of the North American Review, p. 313, &c.

As no copy of Brereton exists in any public Library in this vicinity, it is thought best to reprint it here, and with it the other contemporary documents relating to this first settlement in New England. Gosnold's letter to his father, and Gabriel Archer's account are from Purchas. Brereton's letter, and the short notice of Mace's voyage are reprinted from a transcript of the second edition in the Library of Thomas Aspinwall, Esqr., American Consul in London, presented to the Society by him. The documents following it, are from a transcript procured in London by Professor Sparks, and communicated by Mr. F. C. Gray.]

Master Bartholomew Gosnold's Letter to his Father, touching his first voyage to Virginia, 1602.

My duty remembered, &c. Sir, I was in good hope that my occasions would have allowed me so much liberty, as to have come unto you before this time; otherwise I would have written more at large concerning the country from whence we lately came, than I did: but not well remembering what I have already written (though I am assured that there is nothing set down disagreeing with the truth,) I thought it fittest not to go about to add anything in writing, but rather to leave the report of the rest till I come myself; which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soon as with conveniency I may. In the mean time, notwithstanding whereas you seem not to be satisfied by that which I have already written, concerning some especial matters; I have here briefly (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction: and first, as touching that place where we were most resident, it is the latitude of 41 degrees, and one third part; which albeit it be so much to the southward, yet is it more cold than those parts of Europe, which are situated under the same parallel: but one thing is worth

the noting, that notwithstanding the place is not so much subject to cold as England is, yet did we find the spring to be later there, than it is with us here, by almost a month: this whether it happened accidentally this last spring to be so, or whether it be so of course, I am not very certain; the latter seems most likely, whereof also there may be given some sufficient reason, which now I omit: as for the acorns we saw gathered on heaps, they were of the last year, but doubtless their summer continues longer than ours.

We cannot gather, by anything we could observe in the people, or by any trial we had thereof ourselves, but that it is as healthful a climate as any can be. The inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good years, and as it should seem very healthful, are sufficient proof of the healthfulness of the place. First, for ourselves (thanks be to God) we had not a man sick two days together in all our voyage; whereas others that went out with us, or about that time on other voyages (especially such as went upon reprisal,) were most of them infected with sickness, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sick, returning notwithstanding long before us. But Verazzano, and others (as I take it, you may read in the Book of Discoveries,) do more particularly entreat of the age of the people in that coast. The sassafras which we brought we had upon the islands; where though we had little disturbance, and reasonable plenty; yet for that the greatest part of our people were employed about the fitting of our house, and such like affairs, and a few (and those but easy laborers) undertook this work, the rather because we were informed before our going forth, that a ton was sufficient to cloy England, and further, for that we had resolved upon our return, and taken view of our victual, we judged it then needful to use expedition; which afterward we had more certain proof of; for when we came to an anchor before Portsmouth, which was some four days after we made the land, we had not one cake of bread, nor any drink, but a little vinegar left: for these and other reasons, we returned no otherwise laden than you have heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice till I can myself come to give you further notice, which though it be not so soon as I could have wished, yet I hope it shall be in convenient time.

In the mean time, craving your pardon, for which the urgent occasions of my stay will plead, I humbly take my leave.

7th September, 1602. Your dutiful son,
BARTH. GOSNOLD.

The Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage to the North part of Virginia, begun the six-and-twentieth of March, Anno 42 Elizabethæ Reginæ, 1602, and delivered by Gabriel Archer, a gentleman in the said voyage.

The said captain did set sail from Falmouth the day and year above written accompanied with thirty-two persons, whereof eight mariners and sailors, twelve purposing upon the discovery to return with the ship for England, the rest remain there for population. The fourteenth of April following, we had sight of Saint Mary's, an Island of the Azores.

The three-and-twentieth of the same, being two hundred leagues westward from the said island, in the latitude of 37 degrees, the water in the main ocean appeared yellow, the space of two leagues north and south, where sounding with thirty fathoms line, we found no ground, and taking up some of the said water in a bucket, it altered not either in color or taste from the sea azure.

The seventh of May following, we first saw many birds in bigness of cliff pigeons, and after divers others as petrels, coots, hagbuts, penguins, mews, gannets, cormorants, gulls, with many else in our English tongue of no name. The eighth of the same the water changed to a yellowish green, where at seventy fathoms we had ground. The ninth, we had two-and-twenty fathoms in fair sandy ground, having upon our lead many glittering stones, somewhat heavy, which might promise some mineral matter in the bottom, we held ourselves by computation, well near the latitude of 43 degrees.

The tenth we sounded in 27, 30, 37, 43 fathoms, and then came to 108. Some thought it to be the sounding of

the westernmost end of Saint John's Island; upon this bank we saw sculls of fish in great numbers. The twelfth, we hoisted out hawser of our shallop, and sounding had then eighty fathoms without any current perceived by William Strete the master, one hundred leagues westward from Saint Mary's, till we came to the aforesaid soundings, continually passed fleeting by us sea-oare, which seemed to have their movable course towards the north-east; a matter to set some subtle invention on work, for comprehending the true cause thereof. The thirteenth, we sounded in seventy fathoms, and observed great beds of weeds, much wood, and divers things else floating by us, when as we had smelling of the shore, such as from the southern Cape and Andalusia, in Spain. The fourteenth, about six in the morning, we descried land that lay north, &c., the northerly part we called the north land, which to another rock upon the same lying twelve leagues west, that we called Savage Rock, (because the savages first showed themselves there); five leagues towards the said rock is an out point of woody ground, the trees thereof very high and straight, from the rock east-north-east. From the said rock, came towards us a Biscay shallop with sail and oars, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to be Christians distressed. But approaching us nearer, we perceived them to be savages. These coming within call, hailed us, and we answered. Then after signs of peace, and a long speech by one of them made, they came boldly aboard us, being all naked, saving about their shoulders certain loose deer skins, and near their wastes seal skins tied fast like to Irish dimmie trowsers. One that seemed to be their commander wore a waistcoat of black work, a pair of breeches, cloth stockings, shoes, hat and band, one or two more had also a few things made by some Christians; these with a piece of chalk described the coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the Newfoundland; they spoke divers Christian words, and seemed to understand much more then we, for want of language could comprehend. These people are in color swart, their hair long, uptied with a knot in the part of behind the head. They paint their bodies, which are strong and well proportioned. These much desired our longer stay, but finding ourselves short of our purposed place, we

set sail westward, leaving them and their coast. About sixteen leagues south-west from thence we perceived in that course two small islands, the one lying eastward from Savage Rock, the other to the southward of it; the coast we left was full of goodly woods, fair plains, with little green round hills above the cliffs appearing unto us, which are indifferently raised, but all rocky, and of shining stones, which might have persuaded us a longer stay there.

The fifteenth day we had again sight of the land, which made ahead, being as we thought an island, by reason of a large sound that appeared westward between it and the main, for coming to the west end thereof, we did perceive a large opening, we called it Shoal Hope. Near this cape we came to anchor in fifteen fathoms, where we took great store of codfish, for which we altered the name, and called it Cape Cod. Here we saw sculls of herring, mackerel and other small fish, in great abundance. This is a low sandy shoal, but without danger, also we came to anchor again in sixteen fathoms, fair by the land in the latitude of 42 degrees. This cape is well near a mile broad, and lieth north-east by east. The captain went here ashore and found the ground to be full of pease, strawberries, whortleberries, &c., as then unripe, the sand also by the shore somewhat deep, the firewood there by us taken in was of cypress, birch, witch-hazel and beech. A young Indian came here to the captain, armed with his bow and arrows, and had certain plates of copper hanging at his ears; he showed a willingness to help us in our occasions.

The sixteenth, we trended the coast southerly, which was all champaign and full of grass, but the island somewhat woody. Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point with some breach, a good distance off, and keeping our luff to double it, we came on the sudden into shoal water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This breach we called Tucker's Terror, upon his expressed fear. The point we named Point Care; having passed it we bore up again with the land, and in the night came with it anchoring in eight fathoms, the ground good.

The seventeenth, appeared many breaches round about us, so as we continued that day without remove.

The eighteenth, being fair we sent forth the boat, to

sound over a breach, that in our course lay of another point, by us called Gilbert's Point, who returned us four, five, six and seven fathoms over. Also, a discovery of divers islands which after proved to be hills and hammocks, distinct within the land. This day there came unto the ship's side divers canoes, the Indians apparelled as aforesaid, with tobacco and pipes steeled with copper, skins, artificial strings and other trifles to barter; one had hanging about his neck a plate of rich copper, in length a foot, in breadth half a foot for a breast-plate, the ears of all the rest had pendants of copper. Also, one of them had his face painted over, and head stuck with feathers in manner of a turkey-cock's train. These are more timorous than those of the Savage Rock, yet very thievish.

The nineteenth, we passed over the breach of Gilbert's Point in four or five fathoms, and anchored a league or somewhat more beyond it; between the last two points are two leagues, the interim, along shoal water, the latitude here is 41 degrees two third parts.

The twentieth, by the ship's side, we there killed penguins, and saw many sculls of fish. The coast from Gilbert's Point to the supposed isles lieth east and by south. Here also we discovered two inlets which might promise fresh water, inwardly whereof we perceived much smoke, as though some population had there been. This coast is very full of people, for that as we trended the same savages still run along the shore, as men much admiring at us.

The one-and-twentieth, we went coasting from Gilbert's Point to the supposed isles, in ten, nine, eight, seven, and six fathoms, close aboard the shore, and that depth lieth a league off. A little from the supposed isles, appeared unto us an opening, with which we stood, judging it to be the end of that which Captain Gosnold descried from Cape Cod, and as he thought to extend some thirty or more miles in length, and finding there but three fathoms a league off, we omitted to make further discovery of the same, calling it Shoal-Hope.

From this opening the main lieth south-west, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited island, which so afterward appeared unto us: we bore with it, and named it Martha's Vineyard; from Shoal-Hope it is eight leagues in circuit, the

island is five miles, and hath 41 degrees and one quarter of latitude. The place most pleasant; for the two-and-twentieth, we went ashore, and found it full of wood, vines, gooseberry bushes, whortleberries, raspberries, eglantines, &c. Here we had cranes, stearnes, shoulers, geese, and divers other birds which there at that time upon the cliffs being sandy with some rocky stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw deer: here we rode in eight fathoms near the shore where we took great store of cod,—as before at Cape Cod, but much better.

The three-and-twentieth we weighed, and towards night came to anchor at the north-west part of this island, where the next morning offered unto us fast running thirteen savages apparelled as aforesaid, and armed with bows and arrows without any fear. They brought tobacco, deer-skins and some sodden fish. These offered themselves unto us in great familiarity, who seemed to be well-conditioned. They came more rich in copper than any before. This island is sound, and hath no danger about it.

The four-and-twentieth, we set sail and doubled the Cape of another island next unto it, which we called Dover Cliff, and then came into a fair sound, where we rode all night; the next morning we sent off one boat to discover another cape, that lay between us and the main, from which were a ledge of rocks a mile into the sea, but all above water, and without danger; we went about them, and came to anchor in eight fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in one of the stateliest sounds that ever I was in. This called we Gosnold's Hope; the north bank whereof is the main, which stretcheth east and west. This island Captain Gosnold called Elizabeth's isle, where we determined our abode: the distance between every of these islands is, viz. from Martha's Vineyard to Dover Cliff, half a league over the sound, thence to Elizabeth's isle one league distant. From Elizabeth's island unto the main is four leagues. On the north side, near adjoining unto the island Elizabeth, is an islet in compass half a mile, full of cedars, by me called Hill's Hap, to the northward of which, in the mouth of an opening on the main, appeareth another the like, that I called Hap's Hill, for that I hope much hap may be expected from it.

The five-and-twentieth, it was that we came from Gosnold's Hope. The six-and-twentieth, we trimmed and fitted up our shallop. The seven-and-twentieth, there came unto us an Indian and two women, the one we supposed to be his wife, the other his daughter, both clean and straight-bodied, with countenance sweet and pleasant. To these the Indian gave heedful attendance for that they shewed them in much familiarity with our men, although they would not admit of any immodest touch.

The eight-and-twentieth we entered counsel about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the west part of Elizabeth's island. The north-east thereof running from out our ken. The south and north standeth in an equal parallel. This island in the westernside admitteth some in creeks, or sandy coves, so girded, as the water in some places of each side meeteth, to which the Indians from the main do oftentimes resort for fishing of crabs. There is eight fathoms very near the shore, and the latitude here is 41 degrees 11 minutes, the breadth from sound to sound in the western part is not passing a mile at most, altogether unpeopled and disinhabited. It is overgrown with wood and rubbish, viz. oaks, ashes, beech, walnut, witch-hazle, sassafras, and cedars, with divers other of unknown names. The rubbish is wild pease, young sassafras, cherry-trees, vines, eglantines, gooseberry bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of like quality. The herbs and roots are strawberries, raspberries, ground-nuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, &c. without count. Touching the fertility of the soil by our own experience made, we found it to be excellent for sowing some English pulse ; it sprouted out in one fortnight almost half a foot. In this island is a stage or pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles, on the one side not distant from the sea thirty yards, in the centre whereof is a rocky islet, containing near an acre of ground full of wood, on which we began our fort and place of abode, disposing itself so fit for the same. These Indians call gold wassador, which argueth there is thereof in the country.

The nine-and-twentieth, we labored in getting of sassafras, rubbishing our little fort or islet, new keeling our shallop, and making a punt or flat-bottom boat to pass to and fro our fort over the fresh water, the powder of sassafras,

in twelve hours cured one of our company that had taken a great surfeit, by eating the bellies of dog fish, a very delicious meat.

The thirtieth, Captain Gosnold, with divers of his company, went upon pleasure in the shallop towards Hill's Hap to view it and the sandy cove, and returning brought with him a canoe that four Indians had there left, being fled away for fear of our English, which we brought into England.

The one-and-thirtieth, Captain Gosnold, desirous to see the main because of the distance, he set sail over; where coming to anchor, went ashore with certain of his company, and immediately there presented unto him men women and children, who, with all courteous kindness entertained him, giving him certain skins of wild beasts, which may be rich furs, tobacco, turtles, hemp, artificial strings colored, chains, and such like things as at the instant they had about them. These are a fair-conditioned people. On all the sea-coast along we found mussel shells that in color did represent mother-of-pearl, but not having means to dredge, could not apprehend further knowledge thereof. This main is the goodliest continent that ever we saw, promising more by far than we any way did expect: for it is replenished with fair fields, and in them fragrant flowers, also meadows, and hedged in with stately groves, being furnished also with pleasant brooks, and beautified with two main rivers that (as we judge) may haply become good harbors, and conduct us to the hopes men so greedily do thirst after. In the mouth of one of these inlets or rivers, lieth that little isle before mentioned, called Hap's Hill, from which unto the western-most end of the main, appearing where the other inlet is, I account some five leagues, and the coast between bendeth like a bow, and lieth east and by north. Beyond these two inlets we might perceive the main to bear up south-west, and more southerly. Thus with this taste of discovery, we now contented ourselves, and the same day made return unto our fort, time not permitting more sparing delay.

The first of June, we employed ourselves in getting sassafras, and the building of our fort. The second, third and fourth, we wrought hard to make ready our house for the provision to be had ashore to sustain us till our ship's return. This day from the main came to our ship's side a canoe,

with their lord or chief commander, for that they made little stay only pointing to the sun, as in sign that the next day he would come and visit us, which he did accordingly.

The fifth, we continued our labor, when there came unto us ashore from the main fifty savages, stout and lusty men with their bows and arrows, amongst them there seemed to be one of authority, because the rest made an inclining respect unto him. The ship was at their coming a league off, and Captain Gosnold aboard, and so likewise Captain Gilbert, who almost never went ashore, the company with me only eight persons. These Indians in hasty manner came towards us, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle between the sea and a fresh water; I moved myself towards him seven or eight steps, and clapped my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my musket with a threatening countenance, thereby to signify unto them, either a choice of peace or war, whereupon he using me with mine own signs of peace, I stepped forth and embraced him; his company then all sat down in manner like greyhounds upon their heels, with whom my company fell a bartering. By this time Captain Gosnold was come with twelve men more from aboard, and to show the savage seignior that he was our Captain, we received him in a guard, which he passing through, saluted the seignior with ceremonies of our salutations, whereat he nothing moved or altered himself. Our Captain gave him a straw hat and a pair of knives; the hat awhile he wore, but the knives he beheld with great marvelling, being very bright and sharp; this our courtesy made them all in love with us.

The sixth, being rainy, we spent idly aboard. The seventh, the seignior came again with all his troop as before, and continued with us the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noon, they sat with us and did eat of our bacaleure and mustard, drank of our beer, but the mustard nipping them in their noses they could not endure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith. In time of dinner the savages had stole a target, wherewith acquainting the seignior, with fear and great trembling they restored it again, thinking perhaps we would have been revenged for it, but seeing our familiarity to continue, they fell afresh to roasting of crabs, red herrings, which were

exceeding great, ground nuts, &c. as before. Our dinner ended, the seignior first took leave and departed, next all the rest saving four that stayed and went into the wood to help us dig sassafras, whom we desired to go aboard us, which they refused and so departed.

The eighth we divided the victuals, namely, the ship's store for England, and that of the planters, which by Captain Gilbert's allowance could be but six weeks for six months, whereby there fell out a controversy, the rather, for that some seemed secretly to understand of a purpose Captain Gilbert had not to return with supply of the issue, those goods should make by him to be carried home. Besides, there wanted not ambitious conceits in the minds of some wrangling and ill-disposed persons who overthrew the stay there at that time, which upon consultation thereof had, about five days after was fully resolved all for England again. There came in this interim aboard unto us, that stayed all night, an Indian, whom we used kindly, and the next day sent ashore; he showed himself the most sober of all the rest, we held him sent as a spy. In the morning, he filched away our pothooks, thinking he had not done any ill therein; being ashore we bid him strike fire, which with an emerald stone (such as the glaziers use to cut glass) he did. I take it to be the very same that in Latin is called *smiris*, for striking therewith upon touch-wood that of purpose he had, by means of a mineral stone used therein, sparkles proceeded and forthwith kindled with making of flame. The ninth, we continued working on our storehouse, for as yet remained in us a desired resolution of making stay. The tenth, Captain Gosnold fell down with the ship to the little islet of cedars, called Hill's Hap, to take in cedar wood, leaving me and nine more in the fort, only with three meals meat, upon promise to return the next day.

The eleventh, he came not, neither sent, whereupon I commanded four of my company to seek out for crabs, lobsters, turtles, &c. for sustaining us till the ships returned, which was gone clean out of sight, and had the wind chopped up at south-west, with much difficulty would she have been able in short time to have made return. These four purveyers, whom I counselled to keep together for their better safety, divided themselves, two going one way and two

another, in search as aforesaid. One of these petty companies was assaulted by four Indians, who with arrows did shoot and hurt one of the two in his side, the other, a lusty and nimble fellow, leaped in and cut their bow strings, whereupon they fled. Being late in the evening, they were driven to lie all night in the woods, not knowing the way home through the thick rubbish, as also the weather somewhat stormy. The want of these sorrowed us much, as not able to conjecture anything of them unless very evil.

The twelfth, those two came unto us again, whereat our joy was increased, yet the want of our Captain, that promised to return, as aforesaid, struck us in a dumpish terror, for that he performed not the same in the space of almost three days. In the mean we sustained ourselves with alexander and sorrel pottage, ground-nuts and tobacco, which gave nature a reasonable content. We heard at last, our Captain to 'lewre' unto us, which made such music as sweeter never came unto poor men.

The thirteenth, began some of our company that before vowed to stay, to make revolt: whereupon the planters diminishing, all was given over. The fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth, we spent in getting sassafras and fire-wood of cedar, leaving house and little fort, by ten men in nineteen days sufficient made to harbor twenty persons at least with their necessary provisions.

The seventeenth, we set sail, doubling the Rocks of Elizabeth's Island, and passing by Dover Cliff, came to anchor at Martha's Vineyard, being five leagues distant from our fort, where we went ashore, and had young cranes, herneshowes, and geese, which now were grown to pretty bigness.

The eighteenth, we set sail and bore for England, cutting off our shallop, that was well able to land five and twenty men or more, a boat very necessary for the like occasions. The winds do range most commonly upon this coast in the summer time, westerly. In our homeward course we observed the foresaid floating weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of Europe. The three-and-twentieth of July we came to anchor before Exmouth.

A

BRIEF AND TRUE RELATION

OF THE

DISCOVERY

OF THE

NORTH PART OF VIRGINIA;

BEING A MOST PLEASANT, FRUITFUL AND COMMODIOUS SOIL;

MADE THIS PRESENT YEAR 1602, BY CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT, AND DIVERS OTHER GENTLEMEN, THEIR ASSOCIATES, BY THE PERMISSION OF THE HONORALE KNIGHT, SIR WALTER RALEIGH, &C.

WRITTEN BY M. JOHN BRERETON,
ONE OF THE VOYAGE.

WHEREUNTO IS ANNEXED

A TREATISE, OF M. EDWARD HAYES,

CONTAINING IMPORTANT INDUCEMENTS FOR THE PLANTING IN THOSE PARTS, AND FINDING A PASSAGE THAT WAY TO THE SOUTH SEA, AND CHINA; WITH DIVERS INSTRUCTIONS OF SPECIAL MOMENT, NEWLY ADDED TO THIS SECOND IMPRESSION.

LONDINI:
IMPENSIS GEOR. BISHOP.
1602.

To the Honorable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Captain of her Majesty's Guards, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Lieutenant of Cornwall, and Governor of the Isle of Jersey.

Honorable Sir,—Being earnestly requested by a dear friend, to put down in writing, some true relation of our late performed voyage to the north parts of Virginia; at length I resolved to satisfy his request, who also emboldened me to direct the same to your honorable consideration; to whom indeed of duty it pertaineth.

May it please your Lordship therefore to understand, that upon the five-and-twentieth of March, 1602, being Friday, we went from Falmouth, being in all, two-and-thirty persons, in a small bark of Dartmouth, called The Concord, holding a course for the north part of Virginia: and although by chance the wind favored us not at first as we wished, but enforced us so far to the southward, as we fell in with Saint Mary, one of the islands of the Azores, (which was not much out of our way) but holding our course directly from thence, we made our journey shorter (than hitherto accustomed) by the better part of a thousand leagues, yet were we longer in our passage than we expected, which happened, for that our bark being weak, we were loth to press her with much sail; also, our sailors being few, and they none of the best, we bear (except in fair weather) but low sail; besides, our going upon an unknown coast, made us not over bold to stand in with the shore, but in open weather; which caused us to be certain days in sounding, before we discovered the coast, the weather being by chance, somewhat foggy. But on Friday, the fourteenth of May, early in the morning, we made the land, being full of fair trees, the land somewhat low, certain hammocks or hills lying into the land, the shore full of white sand, but very stony or rocky. And standing fair along by the shore, about twelve of the clock the same day, we came to an anchor, where eight Indians in a Basque-shallop with mast and sail, an iron grapple, and a kettle of copper, came boldly aboard us, one of them apparelled with a waistcoat and breeches of black serge, made after our sea-fashion, hose and shoes on his feet; all the rest (saving one that had

a pair of breeches of blue cloth) were naked. These people are of tall stature, broad and grim visage, of a black swart complexion, their eyebrows painted white; their weapons are bows and arrows. It seemed by some words and signs they made, that some Basques or of St. John de Luz, have fished or traded in this place, being in the latitude of 43 degrees.

But riding here, in no very good harbor, and withal, doubting the weather, about three of the clock the same day in the afternoon we weighed, and standing southerly off into sea the rest of that day and the night following, with a fresh gale of wind, in the morning we found ourselves embayed with a mighty headland; but coming to an anchor about nine of the clock the same day, within a league of the shore, we hoisted out the one half of our shallop, and Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, myself and three others, went ashore, being a white sandy and very bold shore; and marching all that afternoon with our muskets on our necks, on the highest hills which we saw (the weather very hot,) at length we perceived this headland to be parcel of the main, and sundry islands lying almost round about it: so returning towards evening) to our shallop (for by that time the other part was brought ashore and set together) we espied an Indian, a young man, of proper stature, and of a pleasing countenance, and after some familiarity with him, we left him at the sea side, and returned to our ship; where in five or six hours' absence, we had pestered our ship so with codfish, that we threw numbers of them overboard again: and surely, I am persuaded that in the months of March, April, and May, there is upon this coast better fishing, and in as great plenty, as in Newfoundland: for the sculls of mackerel, herrings, cod, and other fish, that we daily saw as we went and came from the shore, were wonderful; and besides, the places where we took these cods (and might in a few days have laden our ship) were but in seven fathoms water, and within less than a league of the shore: where, in Newfoundland they fish in forty or fifty fathoms water, and far off.

From this place we sailed round about this headland, almost all the points of the compass, the shore very bold: but as no coast is free from dangers, so I am persuaded, this is as free as any. The land somewhat low, full of goodly

woods, but in some places plain. At length we were come amongst many fair islands, which we had partly discerned at our first landing; all lying within a league or two one of another, and the outermost not above five or seven leagues from the main: but coming to an anchor under one of them,* which was about three or four leagues from the main, captain Gosnold, myself, and some others, went ashore, and going round about it, we found it to be four English miles in compass, without house or inhabitant, saving a little old house made of boughs, covered with bark, an old piece of a weare of the Indians to catch fish, and one or two places, where they had made fires. The chiefest trees of this island are beeches and cedars, the outward parts all overgrown with low bushy trees, three or four feet in height, which bear some kind of fruits, as appeared by their blossoms; strawberries, red and white, as sweet and much bigger than ours in England; raspberries, gooseberries, whortleberries, and such an incredible store of vines, as well in the woody part of the Island, where they run upon every tree, as on the outward parts, that we could not go for treading upon them; also, many springs of excellent sweet water, and a great standing lake of fresh water, near the sea-side, an English mile in compass, which is maintained with the springs running exceeding pleasantly through the woody grounds which are very rocky. Here are also in this island, great store of deer, which we saw, and other beasts, as appeared by their tracks; as also divers fowls, as cranes, hernshaws, bitterns, geese, mallards, teals, and other fowls, in great plenty; also, great store of pease, which grow in certain plots all the island over. On the north side of this island we found many huge bones and ribs of whales. This island, as also all the rest of these islands are full of all sorts of stones fit for building; the sea sides all covered with stones, many of them glistening and shining like mineral stones, and very rocky: also, the rest of these islands are replenished with these commodities, and upon some of them, inhabitants; as upon an island to the northward, and within two leagues of this; yet we found no towns, nor many of their houses, although we saw many Indians, which are tall

* The first Island called Martha's Vineyard. Note in original.

big-boned men, all naked, saving they cover their private parts with a black towed skin, much like a blacksmiths apron, tied about their middle and between their legs behind: they gave us of their fish ready boiled, (which they carried in a basket made of twigs, not unlike our osier,) whereof we did eat, and judged them to be fresh water fish: they gave us also of their tobacco, which they drink green, but dried into powder, very strong and pleasant, and much better than any I have tasted in England: the necks of their pipes are made of clay hard dried, (whereof in that island is great store both red and white,) the other part is a piece of hollow copper, very finely closed and cemented together. We gave unto them certain trifles, as knives, points, and such like, which they much esteemed.

From hence we went to another island, to the northwest of this, and within a league or two of the main, which we found to be greater than before we imagined, being sixteen English miles at the least in compass; for it containeth many pieces or necks of land, which differ nothing from several islands, saving that certain banks of small breadth do, like bridges, join them to this island. On the outsides of this island are many plain places of grass, abundance of strawberries and other berries before mentioned. In mid May we did sow in this island (for a trial) in sundry places, wheat, barley, oats, and pease, which in fourteen days were sprung up nine inches and more. The soil is fat and lusty, the upper crust of grey color; but a foot or less in depth, of the color of our hemplands in England; and being thus apt for these and the like grains; the sowing or setting (after the ground is closed) is no greater labor, than if you should set or sow in one of our best prepared gardens in England. *This island is full of high timbered oaks, their leaves thrice so broad as ours; cedars, straight and tall; beech, elm, holly, walnut trees in abundance, the fruit as big as ours, as appeared by those we found under the trees, which had lain all the year ungathered; hazle-nut trees, cherry trees, the leaf, bark and bigness not differing from ours in England, but the stalk beareth the blossoms or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of grapes, forty or fifty in a bunch; sassafras

* Here begins the extract in Purchas.

trees, great plenty all the island over, a tree of high price and profit; also, divers other fruit trees, some of them with strange barks of an orange color, in feeling soft and smooth like velvet: in the thickest parts of these woods, you may see a furlong or more round about. On the north-west side of this island, near to the sea-side, is a standing lake of fresh water, almost three English miles in compass, in the midst whereof stands a plot of woody ground, an acre in quantity or not above: this lake is full of small tortoises, and exceedingly frequented with all sorts of fowls before rehearsed, which breed, some low on the banks, and others on low trees about this lake in great abundance, whose young ones of all sorts we took and eat at our pleasure: but all these fowls are much bigger than ours in England. Also, in every island, and almost in every part of every island, are great store of ground-nuts, forty together on a string, some of them as big as hen's eggs; they grow not two inches under ground: the which nuts we found to be as good as potatoes. Also, divers sorts of shell-fish, as scollops, muscles, cockles, lobsters, crabs, oysters, and wilks, exceeding good and very great.

But not to cloy you with particular rehearsal of such things as God and nature hath bestowed on these places, in comparison whereof the most fertile part of England is (of itself) but barren: we went in our light-horseman from this island to the main, right against this island some two leagues off, where coming ashore, we stood awhile like men ravished at the beauty and delicacy of this sweet soil; for besides divers clear lakes of fresh water, (whereof we saw no end) meadows very large and full of green grass; even the most woody places (I speak only of such as I saw,) do grow so distinct and apart, one tree from another, upon green grassy ground, somewhat higher than the plains, as if nature would show herself above her power, artificial. Hard by we espied seven Indians, and coming up to them, at first they expressed some fear; but being emboldened by our courteous usage, and some trifles which we gave them, they followed us to a neck of land, which we imagined had been severed from the main; but finding it otherwise, we perceived a broad harbor or river's mouth, which ran up into the main; and because the day was far spent, we were forced to return to

the island from whence we came, leaving the discovery of this harbor, for a time of better leisure. Of the goodness of which harbor, as also of many others thereabouts, there is small doubt, considering that all the islands, as also the main (where we were) is all rocky grounds and broken lands. Now the next day, we determined to fortify ourselves in a little plot of ground in the midst of the lake abovementioned, where we built our house, and covered it with sedge, which grew about this lake in great abundance; in building whereof we spent three weeks and more: but the second day after our coming from the main, we espied eleven canoes or boats, with fifty Indians in them, coming toward us from this part of the main, where we, two days before landed; and being loath they should discover our fortification, we went out on the sea-side to meet them; and coming somewhat near them, they all sat down upon the stones, calling aloud to us (as we rightly guessed) to do the like, a little distance from them: having sat awhile in this order, Captain Gosnold willed me to go unto them, to see what countenance they would make; but as soon as I came up unto them, one of them, to whom I had given a knife two days before in the main, knew me, (whom I also very well remembered) and smiling upon me, spake somewhat unto their lord or captain, which sat in the midst of them, who presently rose up and took a large beaver skin from one that stood about him, and gave it unto me, which I requited for that time, the best I could; but I, pointing towards Captain Gosnold, made signs unto him, that he was our captain, and desirous to be his friend, and enter league with him, which (as I perceived) he understood, and made signs of joy: whereupon Captain Gosnold with the rest of his company, being twenty in all, came up unto them; and after many signs of gratulations (Captain Gosnold presenting their lord with certain trifles which they wondered at, and highly esteemed,) we became very great friends, and sent for meat aboard our shallop, and gave them such meats as we had then ready dressed, whereof they misliked nothing but our mustard, whereat they made many a sour face. While we were thus merry, one of them had conveyed a target of ours into one of their canoes, which we suffered, only to try whether they were in subjection to this lord to whom we made signs (by shewing

him another of the same likeness, and pointing to the canoe) what one of his company had done: who suddenly expressed some fear, and speaking angrily to one about him (as we perceived by his countenance,) caused it presently to be brought back again. So the rest of the day we spent in trading with them for furs, which are beavers, luzernes, martins, otters, wild-cat skins, very large and deep fur, black foxes, coney skins, of the color of our hares, but somewhat less; deer skins, very large, seal skins, and other beasts' skins, to us unknown. They have also great store of copper, some very red, and some of a paler color: none of them but have chains, ear-rings or collars of this metal: they head some of their arrows herewith much like our broad arrow heads, very workmanly made. Their chains are many hollow pieces cemented together, each piece of the bigness of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they wear about their necks: their collars they wear about their bodies like bandeliers a handful broad, all hollow pieces, like the other, but somewhat shorter, four hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these they have large drinking cups made like skulls, and other thin plates of copper, made much like our boar spear blades, all which they so little esteem, as they offered their fairest collars or chains for a knife or such like trifle, but we seemed little to regard it; yet I was desirous to understand where they had such store of this metal, and made signs to one of them (with whom I was very familiar) who taking a piece of copper in his hand, made a hole with his finger in the ground, and withal pointed to the main from whence they came. They strike fire in this manner; every one carrieth about him in a purse of tewed leather, a mineral stone (which I take to be their copper,) and with a flat emery stone (wherewith glaziers cut glass, and cutlers glaze blades,) tied fast to the end of a little stick, gently he striketh upon the mineral stone, and within a stroke or two, a spark falleth upon a piece of touchwood (much like our sponge in England,) and with the least spark he maketh a fire presently. We had also of their flax, wherewith they make many strings and cords, but it is not so bright of color as ours in England: I am persuaded they have great store growing upon the main, as also mines and many other rich

commodities, which we, wanting both time and means, could not possibly discover.

Thus they continued with us three days, every night retiring themselves to the furthermost part of our island two or three miles from our fort: but the fourth day they returned to the main, pointing five or six times to the sun, and once to the main, which we understood, that within five or six days they would come from the main to us again; but being in their canoes a little from the shore, they made huge cries and shouts of joy unto us; and we with our trumpet and cornet, and casting up our caps into the air, made them the best farewell we could: yet six or seven of them remained with us behind, bearing us company every day into the woods, and helped us to cut and carry our sassafras, and some of them lay aboard our ship.

These people, as they are exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all others that we have seen; so for shape of body and lovely favor, I think they excel all the people of America; of stature much higher than we; of complexion or color, much like a dark olive; their eyebrows and hair black, which they wear long, tied up behind in knots, whereon they prick feathers of fowls, in fashion of a coronet; some of them are black thin bearded; they make beards of the hair of beasts: and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our sailors, for his that grew on his face, which because it was of a red color, they judged to be none of his own. They are quick-eyed, and steadfast in their looks, fearless of others' harms, as intending none themselves; some of the meaner sort given to filching, which the very name of savages (not weighing their ignorance in good or evil,) may easily excuse: their garments are of deer skins, and some of them wear furs round and close about their necks. They pronounce our language with great facility; for one of them one day sitting by me, upon occasion I spake smiling to him these words: How now (sirrah) are you so saucy with my tobacco? which words (without any further repetition,) he suddenly spake so plain and distinctly, as if he had been a long scholar in the language. Many other such trials we had, which are here needless to repeat. Their women (such as we saw) which were but three in all, were but low of stature, their

eyebrows, hair, apparel, and manner of wearing, like to the men, fat, and very well favored, and much delighted in our company; the men are very dutiful towards them. And truly, the wholesomeness and temperature of this climate, doth not only argue this people to be answerable to this description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, active, strong, healthful, and very witty, as the sundry toys of theirs cunningly wrought, may easily witness. For the agreeing of this climate with us (I speak of myself, and so I may justly do for the rest of our company,) that we found our health and strength all the while we remained there, so to renew and increase, as notwithstanding our diet and lodging was none of the best, yet not one of our company (God be thanked,) felt the least grudging or inclination to any disease or sickness, but were much fatter and in better health than when we went out of England.

But after our bark had taken in so much sassafras, cedar, furs, skins, and other commodities, as were thought convenient, some of our company that had promised Captain Gosnold to stay, having nothing but a saving voyage in their minds, made our company of inhabitants (which was small enough before) much smaller; so as Captain Gosnold seeing his whole strength to consist but of twelve men, and they but meanly provided, determined to return for England, leaving this island (which he called Elizabeth's Island) with as many true sorrowful eyes, as were before desirous to see it. So the 18th of June being Friday, we weighed, and with indifferent fair wind and weather, came to anchor the 23d of July, being also Friday, (in all, bare five weeks) before Exmouth.

Your Lordship's to command,

JOHN BRERETON.

A brief Note of such commodities as we saw in the country, notwithstanding our small time of stay.

Trees. Sassafras trees, the roots whereof at 3*s.* the pound, are 336*l.* the ton; cedars, tall and straight, in great abundance; cypress trees; oaks; walnut trees, great store; elms; beech; holly; hazlenut trees; cherry trees; cotton trees; other fruit to us unknown. The finder of our sassafras in these parts was one Master Robert Meriton.

Fowls. Eagles; hernshaws; cranes; bitterns; mallards; teals; geese; penguins; ospreys and hawks; crows; ravens; mews; doves; sea-pies; blackbirds, with carnation wings.

Beasts. Deer, in great store, very great and large; bears; luzernes; black foxes; beavers; otters; wild-cats, very large and great; dogs like foxes, black and sharp-nosed; conies.

Fruits, Plants and Herbs. Tobacco, excellent sweet and strong; vines, in more plenty than in France; ground-nuts, good meat, and also medicinable; stawberries; raspberries; gooseberries; whortleberries; pease, growing naturally; flax; iris florentina, whereof apothecaries make sweet balls; sorrel, and many other herbs wherewith they make salads.

Fishes. Whales; tortoises, both on land and sea; seals; cods; mackerel; breames; herrings; thornbacks; hakes; rockfish; dogfish; lobsters; crabs; muscles; wilks; cockles; scollops; oysters; snakes, four feet in length, and six inches about, which the Indians eat for dainty meat, the skins whereof they use for girdles.

Colors to dye with, red, white, and black.

Metals and Stones. Copper, in great abundance; emery stones, for glaziers and cutlers; alabaster, very white; stones glistering and shining like mineral stones; stones of a blue metalline color, which we take to be steel ore; stones of all sorts for buildings; clay, red and white, which may prove good terra sigillata.

A brief Note of the sending another Bark this present year, 1602, by the Honorable Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, for the searching out of his Colony in Virginia.

Samuel Mace, of Weymouth, a very sufficient mariner, an honest sober man, who had been at Virginia twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to find those people which were left there in the year 1587. To whose succor he hath sent five several times at his own charges. The parties by him set forth, performed nothing; some of them following their own profits elsewhere; others returning with frivolous allegations. At this last time, to avoid all excuse, he bought a bark, and hired all the company for wages

by the month; who departing from Weymouth in March last, 1602, fell forty leagues to the south-westward of Hatteras, in thirty-four degrees or thereabout; and having there spent a month; when they came along the coast to seek the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremity of weather and loss of some principal ground-tackle, forced and feared them from searching the port of Hatteras, to which they were sent. From that place where they abode, they brought sassafras, radix chinæ, or the china root, Benjamin, cassia, lignea, and a rind of a tree more strong than any spice as yet known, with divers other commodities, which hereafter in a larger discourse may come to light.

A Treatise, containing important Inducements for the planting in these Parts, and finding a Passage that way to the South Sea and China.

The voyage which we intend is to plant Christian people and religion upon the North-west countries of America, in places temperate and well agreeing with our constitution, which though the same do lie between 40 and 44 degrees of latitude, under the parallels of Italy and France, yet are not they so hot; by reason that the sun's heat is qualified in his course over the ocean, before he arriveth upon the coasts of America, attracting much vapor from the sea, which mitigation of his heat, we take for a benefit to us that intend to inhabit there; because under the climate of 40 degrees, the same would be too vehement else for our bodies to endure.

These lands were never yet actually possessed by any Christian prince or people, yet often intended to be by the French nation, which long since had inhabited there, if domestic wars had not withheld them: notwithstanding the same are the rightful inheritance of her Majesty, being first discovered by our nation in the time of King Henry the seventh, under the conduct of John Cabot and his sons: by which title of first discovery, the kings of Portugal and Spain do hold and enjoy their ample and rich kingdoms in their Indies East and West; and also lately planted in part by the colonies sent thither by the honorable knight Sir Walter Raleigh.

The course unto these countries, is through the ocean, altogether free from all restraint by foreign princes to be made; whereunto other our accustomed trades are subject; apt for most winds that can blow, to be performed commonly in thirty or thirty-five days. The coast fair, with safe roads and harbors for ships: many rivers.

These lands be fair and pleasant, resembling France, intermeddled with mountains, valleys, meadows, woodlands, and champaigns. The soil is exceeding strong, by reason it was never manured: and will be therefore most fit to bear at first, rape seeds, hemp, flax, and whatsoever else requireth such strong soil. Rape oils, and all sorts of oils, will be very commodious for England, which spendeth oils abundantly about clothing and leather-dressing. In like sort, hemp and flax are profitable, whether the same be sent into England, or wrought there by our people. Oad also will grow there as well or better than in Terçera.

The savages wear fair colors in some of their attire, whereby we hope to find rich dies and colors for painting.

The trees are for the most part cedars, pines, spruce, fir, and oaks to the northward. Of these trees will be drawn tar and pitch, rosin, turpentine, and soap ashes. They will make masts for the greatest ships of the world: excellent timbers of cedar, and boards for curious building.

The cliffs upon the coasts and mountains everywhere show great likelihood of minerals. A very rich mine of copper is found, whereof I have seen proof; and the place described, not far from which there is great hope also of a silver mine. There be fair quarries of stone, of beautiful colors, for buildings.

The ground bringeth forth, without industry, pease, roses, grapes, hemp, besides other plants, fruits, herbs, and flowers, whose pleasant view and delectable smells, do demonstrate sufficiently the fertility and sweetness of that soil and air.

Beasts of many kinds; some of the bigness of an ox, whose hides make good buff; deer, both red and of other sorts in abundance; luzerns, martens, sables, beavers, bears, otters, wolves, foxes, and squirrels, which to the northward are black, and accounted very rich furs.

Fowls both of the water and land, infinite store and variety; hawks both short and long winged. Partridges in

abundance, which are very great, and easily taken. Birds great and small, some like unto our black birds, others like canary birds; and many (as well birds as other creatures) strange and differing from ours of Europe.

Fish, namely, cods, which as we incline more unto the south, are more large and vendible for England and France, than the Newland fish. Whales and seals in great abundances. Oils of them are rich commodities for England, whereof we now make soap, besides many other uses. *Item.* Tunneys, anchoves, bonits, salmons, lobsters, oysters having pearl, and infinite other sorts of fish, which are more plentiful upon those north-west coasts of America, than in any parts of the known world. Salt is reported to be found there, which else may be made there, to serve sufficiently for all fishing.

So as the commodities there to be raised both of the sea and land (after that we have planted our people skilful and industrious) will be fish, whale and seal oils, soap ashes and soap, tar and pitch, rosin and turpentine, masts, timber and boards of cedars, firs and pines, hemp, flax, cables and ropes, sail cloths, grapes, and raisins, and wines, corn, rape-seeds and oils, hides, skins, furs, dyes, and colors for painting. Pearls, metals, and other minerals.

These commodities before rehearsed, albeit for the most part they be gross, yet are the same profitable for the state of England, especially, as well in regard of the use of such commodities, as for the employment also of our people and ships; the want whereof, doth decay our towns and ports of England, and causeth the realm to swarm full with poor and idle people.

These commodities in like sort are of great use and estimation in all the south and western countries of Europe, namely, Italy, France, and Spain; for the which all nations that have been accustomed to repair unto the Newfoundland for the commodity of fish and oils alone, will henceforward forsake the Newfoundland, and trade with us, when once we have planted people in those parts; by whose industry shall be provided for all commerce, both fish and oils, and many commodities besides, of good importance and value. Then will the Spaniards and Portugals bring unto us in exchange of such commodities before mentioned, wines, sweet oils, fruits, spices, sugars, silks, gold and silver, or

whatsoever that Europe yieldeth, to supply our necessities and to increase our delights.

For which Spanish commodities and other sorts likewise, our merchants of England will bring unto us again, cloth, cattle, for our store and breed, and everything else that we shall need, or that England shall haply exchange for such commodities.

By this intercourse, our habitations will be made a staple of all vendible commodities of the world, and a means to vent a very great quantity of our English cloth into all the cold regions of America extending very far.

This intercourse also will be soon drawn together by this reason: that near adjoining upon the same coasts of Newfoundland, is the greatest fishing of the world; whither do yearly repair about four hundred sails of ships, for no other commodity than fish and whale oils. Then forasmuch as merchants are diligent inquisitors after gains, they will soon remove their trade from Newfoundland unto us near at hand, for so great increase of gain as they shall make by trading with us. For whereas the voyage into the Newfoundland is into a more cold and intemperate place, not to be traded nor frequented at all times, nor fortified for security of the ships and goods: oft spoiled by pirates or men-of-war: the charges great for salt, double manning and double victualling their ships, in regard that the labor is great and the time long, before their lading can be ready; they carry outwards no commodities for freight; and after six months' voyage, their return is made but of fish and oils, contrariwise, by trading with us at our intended place, the course shall be in a manner as short; into a more temperate and healthful climate; at all times of the year to be traded; harbors fortified to secure ships and goods: charges abridged of salt, victualling and manning ships double; because lading shall be provided unto their hands at a more easy rate than themselves could make it. They shall carry freight also outward, to make exchange with us; and so get profit both ways; and then every four months they may make a voyage and return, of both fish and oils, and many other commodities of good worth.

These reasons advisedly weighed shall make our enterprise appear easy, and the most profitable of the world, for

our nation to undertake. The reasons we chiefly rely upon are these, namely:

1. Those lands which we intend to inhabit, shall minister unto our people, the subject and matter of many notable commodities.

2. England shall afford us people, both men, women and children, above ten thousand, which may very happily be spared from hence to work those commodities there.

3. Newfoundland shall minister shipping to carry away all our commodities, and to bring others unto us again for our supply.

Now two of these reasons are already effected unto our hands; that is to say: the place where we shall find rich commodities, and ships to vent them. It remaineth only for our parts to carry and transport people with their provisions from England, where the misery and necessity of many cry out for such help and relief.

This considered, no nation of christendom is so fit for this action as England, by reason of our superfluous people (as I may term them) and of our long domestical peace, and after that we be once two hundred men strong, victualled and fortified, we cannot be removed by as many thousands.

For besides, that we have seen both in France and the low countries, where two hundred men well fortified and victualled, have kept out the forces both of the French and Spanish kings, even within their own kingdoms: it shall be also a matter of great difficulty, to transport an army over the ocean with victuals and munition, and afterwards to abide long siege abroad, against us fortified within, where the very elements and famine shall fight for us, though we should lie still and defend only.

The savages neither in this attempt shall hurt us, they being simple, naked and unarmed, destitute of edge tools or weapons; whereby they are unable either to defend themselves or to offend us: neither is it our intent to provoke, but to cherish and win them into Christianity by fair means; yet not to hurt them too far, but to provide against all accidents.

Then to conclude, as we of all other nations are most fit for a discovery and planting in remote places: even so, under the heavens there is no place to be found so conven-

ient for such a purpose; by reason of the temperature, commodities apt fit for trade, and repair thither already of so many ships, which in any other frequented country cannot be procured in a man's age, nor with expense of half a million. So as the only difficulty now, is in our first preparation to transport some few people at the beginning; the charges whereof shall be defrayed by our first return of fish and some commodities of sassafras, hides, skins and furs — which we shall also have by trading with the savages. The proof of which commodities shall encourage our merchants to venture largely in the next. The supply shall easily and continually be sent by ships, which yearly go from hence unto the Newfoundland and us; and the intercourse and exchange we shall have with all nations repairing thither, shall store us with abundance of all things for our necessities and delights. Which reasons, if they had been foreseen of them that planted in the south part of Virginia, (which is a place destitute of good harbors, and far from all trade,) no doubt but if they had settled nearer unto this frequented trade in the Newfoundland they had by this time been a flourishing state, and plentiful in all things; who also might then have made way into the bowels of that large continent, where assuredly we shall discover very goodly and rich kingdoms and cities.

It may also seem a matter of great consequence for the good and security of England, that out of these northerly regions we shall be able to furnish this realm of all manner of provisions for our navies: namely, pitch, rosin, cables, ropes, masts, and such like; which shall be made within those her Majesty's own dominions, by her own subjects, and brought hither through the ocean, free from the restraint of any other prince: whereby the customs and charges bestowed by our merchants (to the enriching of foreign estates) shall be lessened, and turned to the benefit of her Highness and her deputies in those parts; which also shall deliver our merchants from many troubles and molestations which they now unwillingly endure in our East trades; and shall make us the less to doubt the malice of those States whom now we may not offend, lest we should be intercepted of the same provisions, to the weakening of our navy, the most royal defence of this noble realm.

Of a convenient Passage and Trade into the South Sea, under Temperate Regions, part by Rivers, and some part over Land in the Continent of America.

I will add hereunto an assured hope (grounded upon infallible reasons) of a way to be made part overland, and part by rivers or lakes, into the South Seas unto Cathay, China, and those passing rich countries, lying in the East parts of the world: which way or passage (supposed to be beyond the uttermost bounds of America, under the frozen zone) is nevertheless, held by the opinion of many learned writers and men of judgment now living, to be in these more temperate regions; and that the same shall never be made known, unless we plant first; whereby we shall learn as much by inquisition of the natural inhabitants, as by our own navigations. I will not herein rely upon reports made in the Frenchmen's discoveries; that the sea which giveth passage into Cathay, extendeth from the North, near unto the river of Canada, into 44 degrees, where the same of the savages is called Tadonac.

Neither upon the discoveries of Jaques Noel, who having passed beyond the three Saults, where Jaques Cartier left to discover, finding the river of St. Lawrence passable on the other side or branch; and afterwards, understood of the inhabitants; that the same river did lead into a mighty lake which at the entrance was fresh, but beyond, was bitter or salt, the end whereof was unknown.

Omitting therefore these hopes, I will ground my opinion upon reason and nature, which will not fail.

For this we know already, that great rivers have been discovered a thousand English miles into that continent of America; namely, that of St. Lawrence or Canada. But not regarding miles more or less, most assuredly, that and other known rivers there do descend from the highest parts or mountains, or middle of that continent, into our North sea. And like as those mountains do cast from them streams into our North seas; even so the like they do into the South sea, which is on the back of that continent.

For all mountains have their descents toward the seas

about them, which are the lowest places and proper mansions of water: and waters (which are contained in the mountains, as it were in cisterns,) descending naturally, do always resort unto the seas environing those lands; for example: from the Alps confining Germany, France, and Italy, the mighty river Danube doth take his course east, and dischargeth into the Pontique sea: the Rhine north, and falleth into the German sea; the Rhone, west, and goeth into the Mediterranean sea: the Po, south, is emptied into the Adriatic, or Gulf of Venice: other instances may be produced to like effect in Africa; yea, at home amongst the mountains in England.

Seeing then in nature this cannot be denied, and by experience elsewhere is found to be so, I will show how a trade may be disposed more commodiously into the South sea through these temperate and habitable regions, than by the frozen zones in the supposed passages of north-west or north-east: where if the very moment be omitted of the time to pass, then are we like to be frozen in the seas or forced to winter in extreme cold and darkness like unto hell: or in the midst of summer, we shall be in peril to have our ships overwhelmed or crushed in pieces by hideous and fearful mountains of ice floating upon those seas.

Therefore four staple-places must be erected, when the most short and passable way is found: that is to say, two upon the north side, at the head and fall of the river; and two others on the south side, at the head and fall also of that other river.

Provided, that ships may pass up those rivers unto the staples, so far as the same be navigable into the land: and afterwards, that boats with flat bottoms may also pass so high and near the heads of the rivers unto the staples, as possibly they can, even with less than two foot water, which cannot then be far from the heads; as in the river of Chagre. That neck or space of land between the two heads of the said rivers, if it be one hundred leagues (which is not like) the commodities from the North and from the South Sea brought thither, may well be carried over the same upon horses, mules, or beasts of that country apt to labor (as the elk or buffel) or by the aid of many savages accustomed to burdens: who shall stead us greatly in these affairs.

It is moreover to be considered, that all these countries do yield (so far as is known) cedars, pines, fir trees and oaks, to build, mast, and yard ships; wherefore we may not doubt, but that ships may be builded on the South Sea.

Then as ships on the south side may go and return to and from Cathay, China, and other most rich regions of the east world in five months or thereabouts; even so the goods being carried over unto the north side, ships may come thither from England to fetch the same goods, and return by a voyage of four or five months usually.

So as in every four months may be returned into England the greatest riches of Cathay, China, Japan, and the rest which will be spices, drugs, musk, pearl, stones, gold, silver, silks, cloths of gold, and all manner of precious things, which shall recompense the time and labor of their transportation and carriage, if it were as far and dangerous as the Moors trade is from Fez and Morocco (over the burning and movable sands, in which they perish many times, and suffer commonly great distresses) unto the river called Niger in Africa, and from thence, up the said river many hundred miles; afterwards over land again, unto the river Nilus; and so unto Cairo in Egypt, from whence they return the way they came.

Or if it were a voyage so far as our merchants have made into Persia even to Ormus, by the way of the North, through Russia into the Caspian sea and so forth, with payment of many tolls. But this passage over and through the continent of America, as the same shall be always under temperate and habitable climates, and a pleasant passage after it hath been a little frequented: even so it must fall out much shorter than it seemeth, by false description of that continent, which doth not extend so far into the west as by later navigations is found and described in more exquisite charts. Besides that, the sea extends itself into the land very far in many places on the south side: whereby access into the South ocean, shall be by so much the shorter.

Inducements to the liking of the Voyage intended towards Virginia in 40 *and* 42 *degrees of latitude, written* 1585, *by M. Richard Hahluyt the elder some time Student of the Middle Temple.*

The glory of God by planting of religion among those infidels.

2. The increase of the force of the Christians.

3. The possibility of the enlarging of the dominions of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and consequently of her honor, revenues, and of her power by this enterprise.

4. An ample vent in time to come of the woollen cloths of England, especially those of the coarsest sorts, to the maintenance of our poor, that else starve or become burdensome to the realm; and vent also of sundry other commodities upon the tract of that firm land, and possibly in other regions from the northern side of that main.

5. A great possibility of further discoveries of other regions from the north part of the same land by sea, and of unspeakable honor and benefit that may rise upon the same, by the trades to ensue in Japan, China, and Cathay, &c.

6. By return thence, this realm shall receive (by reason of the situation of the climate, and by reason of the excellent soil) oade, oil, wines, hops, salt, and most or all the commodities that we receive from the best parts of Europe, and we shall receive the same better cheap, than now we receive them, as we may use the matter.

7. Receiving the same thence, the navy, the human strength of this realm, our merchants and their goods shall not be subject to arrest of ancient enemies and doubtful friends, as of late years they have been.

8. If our nation do not make any conquest there, but only use traffic and change of commodities, yet by mean the country is not very mighty, but divided into petty kingdoms, they shall not dare to offer us any great annoy, but such as we may easily revenge with sufficient chastisement to the unarmed people there.

9. Whatsoever commodities we receive by the Steeleyard merchants, or by our own merchants from Eastland, be it

flax, hemp, pitch, tar, masts, clap-boards, wainscot, or such like; the like good may we receive from the north and north-east part of that country near unto Cape Briton in return for our coarse woollen cloths, flannels and rugs, fit for those colder regions.

10. The passage to and fro is through the main ocean sea, so as we are not in danger of any enemy's coast.

11. In the voyage, we are not to cross the burnt zone, nor to pass through frozen seas encumbered with ice and fogs, but in temperate climate at all times of the year, and it requireth not as the East India voyage doth, the taking in of water in divers places by reason that it is to be sailed in five or six weeks: and by the shortness, the merchant may yearly make two returns (a factory being once erected there) a matter in trade of great moment.

12. In this trade by the way in our pass to and fro, we have in tempests and other haps, all the ports of Ireland to our aid, and no near coast of any enemy.

13. By this ordinary trade we may annoy the enemies to Ireland, and succor the Queen's Majesty's friends there and in time we may from Virginia yield them whatsoever commodity they now receive from the Spaniard: and so the Spaniards shall want the ordinary victual that heretofore they received yearly from thence, and so they shall not continue trade, nor fall so aptly in practice against this government as now by their trade thither they may.

14. We shall, as it is thought, enjoy in this voyage, either some small islands to settle on, or some one place or other on the firm land to fortify for the safety of our ships, our men and our goods, the like whereof we have not in any former place of our traffic, in which respect we may be in degree of more safety and more quiet.

15. The great plenty of buff hides, and of many other sundry kinds of hides there now presently to be had, the trade of whale and seal fishing, and of divers other fishings in the great rivers, great bays, and seas there, shall presently defray the charge in good part or in all of the first enterprise and so we shall be in better case than our men were in Russia where many years were spent, and great sums of money consumed, before gain was found.

16. The great broad rivers of that main that we are to

enter into so many leagues navigable or portable into the main land, lying so long a tract with so excellent and so fertile a soil on both sides, do seem to promise all things that the life of man doth require, and whatsoever men may wish, that are to plant upon the same or to traffic in the same.

17. And whatsoever notable commodities the soil within or without doth yield in so long a tract that is to be carried out from thence to England, the same rivers so great and deep, do yield no small benefit for the sure, safe, easy and cheap carriage of the same to shipboard, be it of a great bulk or of great weight.

18. And in like sort whatsoever commodity of England the inland people there shall need, the same rivers do work the like effect in benefit for the incarriage of the same, aptly, easily and cheaply.

19. If we find the country populous, and desirous to expel us, and infuriously to offend us, that seek but just and lawful traffic, then by reason that we are lords of navigation, and they not so, we are the better able to defend ourselves by reason of those great rivers, and to annoy them in many places.

20. Where there be many petty kings or lords planted on the river's sides, and by all likelihood maintain the frontiers of their several territories by wars, we may by the aid of this river join with this king here, or with that king there, at our pleasure, and may so with a few men be revenged of any wrong offered by any of them; or may if we will proceed with extremity, conquer, fortify, and plant in soils most sweet, most pleasant, most strong, and most fertile, and in the end bring them all in subjection and to civility.

21. The known abundance of fresh fish in the rivers, and the known plenty of fish on the sea coast there may assure us of sufficient victual in spite of the people, if we will use salt and industry.

22. The known plenty and variety of flesh, of divers kinds of beasts at land there, may seem to say to us that we may cheaply victual our navies to England for our returns, which benefit everywhere is not found of merchants.

23. The practice of the people of the East Indies, when the Portugals came thither first, was to cut from the Portu-

gals their lading of spice and hereby they thought to overthrow their purposed trade. If these people shall practise the like, by not suffering us to have any commodity of theirs without conquest, (which requireth some time,) yet may we maintain our first voyage thither, till our purpose come to effect, by the sea fishing on the coasts there, and by dragging for pearls, which are said to be in those parts; and by return of those commodities, the charges in part shall be defrayed; which is a matter of consideration in enterprises of charge.

24. If this realm shall abound too much with youth, in the mines there of gold, (as that of Chisca and Saguenay) of silver, copper, iron, &c. may be an employment to the benefit of this realm; in tilling of the rich soil there for grain, and in planting of vines there for wine; or dressing of those vines which grow there naturally in great abundance. Olives for oil; orange trees, lemons, figs, and almonds for fruit; oad, saffron, and madder for dyers; hops for brewers; hemp, flax; and in many such other things by employment of the soil, our people void of sufficient trades may be honestly employed, that else may become hurtful at home.

25. The navigating of the seas in the voyage, and of the great rivers there, will breed many mariners for service and maintain much navigation.

26. The number of raw hides there of divers kinds of beasts, if we shall possess some island there, or settle on the firm, may presently employ many of our idle people in divers several dressings of the same, and so we may return them to the people that cannot dress them so well; or into this realm where the same are good merchandise; or to Flanders, &c. which present game at the first, raiseth great encouragement presently to the enterprise.

27. Since great waste woods be there, of oak, cedar, pine, walnuts and sundry other sorts, many of our waste people may be employed in making of ships, hoies, busses, and boats; and in making of rosin, pitch and tar, the trees natural for the same, being certainly known to be near Cape Briton and the Bay of Menan, and in many other places thereabout.

28. If mines of white or gray marble, jet or other rich stone be found there, our idle people may be employed in

the mines of the same, and in preparing the same to shape and so shaped, they may be carried into this realm as good ballast for our ships, and after serve for noble buildings.

29. Sugar-canes may be planted as well as they are now in the south of Spain, and besides the employment of our idle people, we may receive the commodity cheaper, and not enrich infidels or our doubtful friends, of whom now we receive that commodity.

30. The daily great increase of wools in Spain and the like in the West Indies, and the great employment of the same into cloth in both places, may move us to endeavor, for vent of our cloth, new discoveries of peopled regions, where hope of sale may arise; otherwise in short time many inconveniences may possibly ensue.

31. This land that we propose to direct our course to, lying in part in the 40 degree of latitude, being in like heat as Lisbon in Portugal doth, and in the more southerly part as the most southerly coast of Spain doth, may by our diligence yield unto us besides wines and oils and sugars, oranges, lemons, figs, raisins, almonds, pomegranates, rice, raw silks such as come from Grenada, and divers commodities for dyers, as anile and cochenillio, and sundry other colors and materials. Moreover we shall not only receive many precious commodities besides from thence, but also shall in time find ample vent of the labor of our poor people at home, by sale of hats, bonnets, knives, fish hooks, copper kettles, beads, looking glasses, bugles and a thousand kinds of other wrought wares, that in short time may be brought in use among the people of that country, to the great relief of the multitude of our poor people, and to the wonderful enriching of this realm. And in time, such league and intercourse may arise between our stapling seats there, and other ports of our Northern America, and of the islands of the same, that incredible things, and by few as yet dreamed of may speedily follow, tending to the impeachment of our mighty enemies and to the common good of this noble government.

The ends of this voyage are these: 1. To plant christian religion. 2. To traffic. 3. To conquer. Or to do all three.

To plant Christian religion without conquest, will be

hard: traffic easily followeth conquest: conquest is not easy: traffic without conquest seemeth possible, and not uneasy. What is to be done is the question.

If the people be content to live naked and to content themselves with few things of mere necessity, then traffic is not. So then in vain seemeth our voyage, unless this nature may be altered, as by conquest and other good means it may be, but not on a sudden. The like whereof appeared in the East Indies, upon the Portugals seating there.

If the people in the inland be clothed, and desire to live in the abundance of all such things as Europe doth, and have at home all the same in plenty, yet we cannot have traffic with them, by mean they want not anything that we can yield them.

Admit that they have desire to your commodities, and as yet have neither gold, silver, copper, iron, nor sufficient quantity of other present commodity to maintain the yearly trade: what is then to be done?

The soil and climate first is to be considered, and you are with argus eyes to see what commodity by industry of man you are able to make it to yield, that England doth want or doth desire: as for the purpose, if you can make it to yield good wine and good oil, as it is like you may by the climate (where wild vines of sundry sorts do naturally grow already in great abundance,) then your trade may be maintained. But admit the soil were in our disposition (as yet it is not,) in what time may this be brought about?

For wine this is to be affirmed, that first the soil lying in 36 or 37 degrees in the temperature of south Spain, in setting your vine plants this year, you may have wine within three years, and it may be that the wild vines growing there already, by orderly pruning and dressing at your first arrival, may come to profit in shorter time.

And planting your olive trees this year, you may have oil within three years.

And if the sea-shores be flat, and fit for receipt of salt water and for salt making, without any annoy of near freshes, then the trade of salt only may maintain a yearly navigation, (as our men now trade to the isle of Maio, and the

Hollanders to Terra Firma, near by the west end of the isle of Marguerita.)

But how the natural people of the country may be made skilful to plant vines, and to know the use, or to set olive trees, and to know the making of oil, and withal to use both the trades, that is a matter of small consideration; but to conquer a country or province in climate and soil of Italy, Spain, or the islands from whence we receive our wines and oils, and to man it, to plant it, and to keep it, and to continue the making of wines and oils able to serve England, were a matter of great importance both in respect of the saving at home of our great treasure now yearly going away, and in respect of the annoyance thereby growing to our enemies.

The like consideration would be had touching a place for the making of salt, of temperature like those of France, not too cold as the salts of the northern regions be: nor too fiery as those be that be made more southerly than France. In regard whereof, many circumstances are to be considered: and principally, by what means the people of those parties may be drawn by all courtesy into love with our nation: that we become not hateful unto them, as the Spaniard is in Italy, and in the West Indies and elsewhere, by the manner of usage: for a gentle course without cruelty and tyranny best answereth the profession of a christian, best planteth christian religion; maketh our seating most void of blood, most profitable in trade of merchandise, most firm and stable, and least subject to remove by practice of enemies. But that we may in seating there, not to be subject wholly to the malice of enemies, and may be more able to preserve our bodies, ships and goods in more safety, and to be known to be more able to scourge the people there, civil or savage, than willing to offer any violence. And for the more quiet exercise of our manurance of the soils where we shall seat, and of our manual occupations, it is to be wished that some ancient captains of mild disposition and great judgment be sent thither, with men most skilful in the art of fortification; and that direction be taken that the mouths of great rivers, and the islands in the same (as things of great moment) be taken, manned and fortified; and that havens be cut out for safety of the navy, that we may be lords of the gates and

entries, to go out and come in at pleasure, and to lie in safety, and be able to command and to control all within, and to force all foreign navigation to lie out in open road subject to all weathers, to be dispersed by tempests and flawes, if the force within be not able to give them the encounter abroad.

The red Muscatel grape, that Bishop Grindal procured out of Germany; the great white Muscatel, the yellow grape; the cuts of these were wont yearly to be set at Fulham; and after one year's rooting to be given by the bishop and to be sold by his gardener. These presently provided and placed in earth, and many of these so rooted, with store of cuts unrooted besides, placed in tubs of earth shipped at the next voyage, to be planted in Virginia, may begin vineyards, and bring wines out of hand.

2. Provision great of wild olive trees may be made out of this city so then to be carried, to increase great store of stocks to graft the best olive on: and Virginia standing in the same degree that the Shroffe, the olive place doth in Spain, we may win that merchandise, grafting the wild.

3. Sugar canes, if you cannot procure them from the Spanish islands, yet may you by your Barbary merchants procure them.

4. There is an herb in Persia whereof anil is made, and it is also in Barbary: to procure that by seed or root were of importance for a trade of merchandise for our clothing country.

5. Woad by the seeds you may have; for you may have hundreds of bushels in England, as it is multiplied: and having soil and labor in Virginia cheap, and the woad in great value, lying in small room, it will be a trade of great gain to this clothing realm: and the thing cannot be destroyed by savages. The roots of this you may have in plenty and number coming in the trade: so this may grow in trade within a year ready for the merchant.

6. Fig trees of many good kinds may be had hence in barrel, if now presently they be provided: and they in that climate will yield noble fruit and feed your people presently, and will be brought in frails home as merchandise, or in barrels as raisins also may be.

7. Sawed boards of sassafras and cedar, to be turned into

small boxes for ladies and gentlemen, would become as present trade.

8. To the infinite natural increase of hogs, to add a device how the same may be fed by roots, acorns, &c. without spoiling your corn, would be of great effect to feed the multitude continually employed in labor: and the same cheaply bred and salted, and barrelled there and brought home, will be well sold for a good merchandise; and the barrels after, will serve for our home herring fishing, and so you sell your woods and the labor of your cooper.

9. Receiving the savage women and their children of both sexes by courtesy into your protection, and employing the English women and the others in making of linen, you shall raise a wonderful trade of benefit, both to carry into England and also into the islands, and into the main of the West Indies, victual and labor being so cheap there.

10. The trade of making cables and cordage there will be of great importance, in respect of a cheap maintenance of the navy that shall pass to and fro; and in respect of such navy as may in those parties be used for the venting of the commodities of England to be brought thither, and Powldanies, &c. made for sails of the poor savages, yield to the navy a great help, and a great gain in the traffic.

But if seeking revenge on every injury of the savages we seek blood and raise war, our vines, our olives, our fig trees, our sugar canes, our oranges and lemons, corn, cattle, &c., will be destroyed, and trade of merchandise in all things overthrown; and so the English nation there planted and to be planted, shall be rooted out with sword and hunger.

Sorts of men which are to be passed in this Voyage.

1. Men skilful in all mineral causes.
2. Men skilful in all kind of drugs.
3. Fishermen, to consider of the sea fishings there on the coasts, to be reduced to trade hereafter: and others for the fresh water fishings.
4. Salt makers, to view the coast, and to make trial how rich the sea-water there is to advise for the trade.
5. Husbandmen, to view the soil, to resolve for tillage in all sorts.

6. Vineyard-men bred, to see how the soil may serve for the planting of vines.

7. Men bred in the Shroffe in South Spain, for discerning how olive trees may be planted there.

8. Others for planting of orange trees, fig trees, lemon trees and almond trees; for judging how the soil may serve for the same.

9. Gardeners, to prove the several soils of the islands, and of our settling places, to see how the same may serve for all herbs and roots for our victualling; since by rough seas sometimes we may want fish, and since we may want flesh to victual us, by the malice of the natural people there; and gardeners for planting of our common trees of fruit, as pears, apples, plums, peaches, medlers, apricots, quinces, for conserves, &c.

10. Lime makers to make lime for buildings.

11. Masons, carpenters, &c. for buildings there.

12. Brick-makers and tile-makers.

13. Men cunning in the art of fortification, that may choose out places strong by nature to be fortified, and that can plot out and direct workmen.

14. Choice spade men, to trench cunningly, and to raise bulwarks and rampiers of earth for defence and offence.

15. Spade-makers, that may out of the woods there make spades like those of Devonshire, and of other sorts, and shovels from time to time of common use.

16. Smiths, to forge the grooves of the shovels and spades and to make black bills and other weapons, and to mend many things.

17. Men that use to break ash trees for pike staves, to be employed in the woods there.

18. Others, that finish up the same so rough hewed, such as in London are to be had.

19. Coopers, to make casks of all sorts.

20. Forgers of pikes heads and of arrow heads with forgers with Spanish groove, and with all manner of tools to be carried with them.

21. Fletchers, to renew arrows, since archery prevaileth much against unarmed people; and gunpowder may soon perish, by setting on fire.

22. Bowyers also, to make bows there for need.

23. Makers of oars since for service upon those rivers it

is to great purpose, for the boats and barges they are to pass and enter with.

24. Shipwrights to make barges and boats and bigger vessels, if need be, to run along the coast, and to pierce the great bays and inlets.

25. Turners to turn targets of elm and tough wood, for use against the darts and arrows of savages.

26. Such also as have knowledge to make targets of horn.

27. Such also as can make armor of hides upon moulds, such as were wont to be made in this realm about an hundred years since, and were called Scottish jacks: such armor is light and defensive enough against the force of savages.

28. Tanners, to tan hides of buffs, oxen, &c. in the isles where you shall plant.

29. White tanners of all other skins there.

30. Men skilful in burning of soap ashes, and in making of pitch and tar, and rosin, to be fetched out of Prussia and Poland, which are thence to be had for small wages being there in manner of slaves.

The several sorts of trees, as pines, firs, spruces, birch and others, are to be bored with great augers a foot or half a yard above the ground, as they use in Vesely towards Languedock and near Bayona in Gascoigne; and so you shall easily and quickly see what gums, rosin, turpentine tar or liquor is in them, which will quickly distil out clearly without any filthy mixture, and will shew what commodity may be made of them; their goodness and greatness for masts is also to be considered.

31. A skilful painter is also to be carried with you, which the Spaniards used commonly in all their discoveries to bring the descriptions of all beasts, birds, fishes, trees, towns, &c.

A brief Note of the Corn, Fowls, Fruits and Beasts of the Inland of Florida on the backside of Virginia, taken out of the forty-fourth Chapter of the Discovery of the said Country, begun by Fernando De Soto, Governor of Cuba, in the year of Lord, 1539.

The bread which they eat in all the land of Florida is of

maize, which is like to coarse millet. And in all the Islands and West Indies from the Antiles forward there is this maize.

Likewise in Florida there be many walnuts, plums, mulberries, and grapes. They sow their maize, and gather it, every man his own crop. The fruits are common to all men, because they grow abundantly in the fields without planting or dressing. In the mountains there grow chestnuts: they are somewhat smaller than the chestnuts of Spain, which are called collarinnas. From Rio Grande toward the west, the walnuts are differing from the other, for they are softer and round like bullets, and from Rio Grande toward Puerto del Spirito Santo eastward, for the most part they are harder, and the trees and nuts are like in fashion unto those of Spain. There is in all the country a fruit which groweth upon an herb or plant like to the herb called dogstongue, which the Indians do sow. The fruit is like unto the Peres rial; it is of a very good relish, and of a pleasant taste. Another herb groweth in the fields, which beareth a fruit near the ground like a strawberry, very pleasant in taste. The plums are of two sorts, red and gray, in fashion and bigness of walnuts, and have three or four stones in them. These are better than any in Spain, and they make better prunes of them. The want of dressing is perceived only in the grapes: which although they be great yet they have a great kernel. All the rest of the fruits are very perfect, and less hurtful than those of Spain. There are in Florida many bears, lions, stags, roebucks, wild cats, and conies.

There be many wild hens as big as peacocks, small partridges like those of Africa, cranes, ducks, rolas, black birds, and sparrows. There be certain black birds bigger than sparrows and lesser than stares.

There be low hawks, falcons, goshawks, and all fowls of prey that are in Spain.

The Indians are well proportioned. Those of the plain countries are taller of stature and better proportioned than those of the mountains. Those of the inland are better furnished with corn and wealth of the country, than those of the sea coast. The country on the sea coast toward the Gulf of Mexico is barren and poor, and the people more

warlike. The coast beareth from Puerto del Spirit Santo unto Apalache, and from Apalache to Rio de Palmas almost from east to west; from Rio de Palmas unto Nova Hispaniola it runneth from north to south. It is a gentle coast, but it hath many shoals and banks or shelves of sand.

A Note of such Commodities as are found in Florida next adjoining unto the South Part of Virginia, taken out of the Description of the said Country written by Monsieur Rene Laudonniere, who inhabited there two Summers and one Winter.

The country of Florida is flat, and divided with divers rivers, and therefore moist, and is sandy towards the sea shore.

There groweth in those parts great quantity of pine trees, which have no kernels in the apples that they bear.

Their woods are full of oaks, walnut trees, black cherry trees, mulberry trees, lentiskes which yield mastich, and chestnut trees, which are more wild than those of France.

There is great store of cedars, cypresses, bays, palm trees, grapes: There is there a kind of medlars, the fruit whereof is better than that of France and bigger. There are also plum trees, which bear very fair fruit, but such as is not very good.

There are raspberries, and a little berry which we call among us blues, which are very good to eat.

There grow in that country a kind of roots, which they call in their language hazes whereof in necessity they make bread.

There is also the tree called esquine (which I take to be the sassafras) which is very good against the pocks and other contagious diseases.

The beasts best known in this country are stags, roes, deer, goats, leopards, ounces, lucerns, divers sorts of wolves, wild dogs, hares, conies, and a certain kind of beast that differeth little from the lion of Africa.

The fowls are turkey-cocks, partridges, parrots, pigeons, ring-doves, turtles, blackbirds, crows, tercels, falcons, leonards, herons, cranes, storks, wild geese, mallards, cormorants,

herneshaws, white, red, black, and gray, and an infinite sort of all wild fowl. There is such abundance of crocodiles that oftentimes in swimming, men are assailed by them; of serpents there are many sorts.

There is found among the savages good quantity of gold and silver, which is gotten out of the ships that are lost upon the coast: Nevertheless they say, that in the mountains of Apalatcy, there are mines of copper, which I think to be gold.

There is also in this country, great store of grains and herbs, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colors.

They sow their maize or corn twice a year, to wit, in March and in June: and all in one and the same soil. The said maize from the time that it is sowed, unto the time that it is gathered, is but three months in the ground. They have also fair pumpkins and very good beans. They have certain kinds of oil, wherewith they use to anoint themselves.

A brief Extract of the merchantable Commodities found in the South part of Virginia, Anno 1585 *and* 1586, *gathered out of the learned Work of Master Thomas Herriot, which was there remaining the space of eleven months.*

Silk of grass, or grass silk, the like whereof groweth in Persia, whereof I have seen good grograine made.

Worm silk.

Flax and hemp.

Alum.

Wapeih, a kind of earth so called by the natural inhabitants, very like to terra sigillata, and by some of our physicians found more effectual.

Pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine; there are those kinds of trees that yield them abundantly and in great store.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants wynauk: of whose sovereign and manifold virtues, read Monardes, the physician of Sicily, in his books entitled in English, *The joyful news from the West Indies.*

Cedar.

Wines of two sorts.

Oil: there are two sorts of walnuts, both holding oil. Furthermore, there are three several kinds of berries, in the form of oak acorns, which also by the experience and use of the inhabitants, we find to yield very good and sweet oil. There are also bears, which are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many, their fatness, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oil, and hath many special uses.

Furs.

Otters, martins, and lucerns.

Deer skins.

Civet cats.

Iron.

Copper. The aforesaid copper, we also found by trial to hold silver.

Pearl. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from the savages, above five thousand.

Sweet gums, of divers kinds, and many other apothecary drugs.

Dyes, of divers kinds.

There is sumach, well known and used in England for black: the seed of an herb called wasebur, little small roots called chappacor, and the bark of a tree called by the inhabitants, tangomockonomindge, which dyes are for divers sorts of red.

Commodities in Virginia known to yield victuals.

Pagatour, or mays, which is their principal corn.

Okindgier, called by us beans.

Wickonzour, called by us pease.

Macocquer, called by us pumpkins, melons and gourds.

An herb which in Dutch is called melden, being a kind of orage, &c.

An herb in form of a marigold, six feet in height, taken to be planta solis.

Oppowoc, or tobacco, of great estimation among the savages.

Roots.

Openauck, a kind of roots of round form, as big as wal-

nuts, some far greater. Monardes calleth them beads, or pater nostri of Sancta Helena, and Master Brereton ground-nuts.

Okeepenauk, are roots of round shape found in dry grounds, the inhabitants use to boil and eat many of them.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like unto that which in England is called the China root, brought from the East Indies.

Coscushaw, a root taken to be that which the Spaniards in the West Indies do call cassavy.

Habascon, a root of hot taste, almost of the form and bigness of a parsnip.

Leekes, differing little from ours in England.

Fruits.

Chestnuts there are in divers places great store, used divers ways for food.

Walnuts, there are two kinds, and of them infinite store in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together; the third part of the trees are walnut trees; they use them for meat, and make a milk of them of very pleasant taste and wholesome.

Medlers, a kind of very good fruit; they are as red as cherries, and very luscious sweet.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kind of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bigness of English pears, but they are of a perfect red color, as well within as without; they grow on a plant whose leaves are very thick and full of prickles, as sharp as needles: some which have been in Nova Hispania, where they have seen that kind of red dye of exceeding great price, which is called cochineal, to grow, do describe this plant right like unto this of mutaquesunnauk, howbeit the cochineal is not the fruit, but a grain found on the leaves of the plant, and stricken off upon sheets, and dried in the sun.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberries there are, as good and as great as in any English garden.

Mulberries, apple-crabs, hurts or whortleberries, such as we have in England.

Sacquenummener, a kind of berries almost like unto capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters upon a plant or herb that is found in shallow waters, being boiled eight or nine hours according to their kind, are very good meat and wholesome, otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantic, or extremely sick.

A reed which beareth a seed almost like unto our rye or wheat, and being boiled is good meat.

In our travels in some places, we found wild pease like unto ours in England, but that they were less, which are also good meat.

A kind of berry like unto an acorn, of five sorts, growing on several kinds of trees: the one sort is called sagatamener, the second, osamener, the third, pummuckoner; the inhabitants use to dry them upon hurdles like malt in England; when they use them, they first water them till they be soft, and then being sod they make loaves of bread of them; of these three kinds also the inhabitants do use to make sweet oil.

The fourth sort is called sopummener, which being boiled or parched be like unto roasted chestnuts; of this sort they make bread also.

The fifth sort is called mangummenauk, the very acorn of their kind of oak, being dried as the rest, and after watered, they boil them, and their servants and sometimes the chiefs themselves eat them with their fish and flesh.

Beasts.

Deer, up into the country very great, and in some places, great store.

Conies, of a grey color, like unto hares; they make mantles of the fur or flue of their skins.

Saquennekot and maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater than conies, which are very good meat.

Squirrels, which are of a grey color, we have taken and eaten.

Bears, which are of black color. They are good meat, and being hunted they climb up into trees, and are killed by the savages with their arrows, and sometimes by us with our carbines.

The lion is sometimes killed by the savages and eaten.

Wolves, or wolfish dogs.

I have the names of eight-and-twenty sorts of beasts dispersed in the main, of which there are only twelve kinds by us as yet discovered.

Fowls.

Turkey cocks and turkey hens, stock doves and partridges, cranes, herns, and in winter great store of swans and geese.

There are also parrots, falcons and marlin hawks.

Of all sorts of fowls, I have the names in the country language of fourscore and six.

Fish.

Sturgeons, herrings, porpoises, trouts, rayes, alewives, mullets, plaice, and very many other sorts of very excellent fish.

Sea crabs, oysters, great, small, round, long muscles, scollops, periwincles, and crevises.

Seekanauk, a kind of crusty shell-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in breadth, having a crusty tail, many legs like a crab, and her eyes in her back. They are found in shallows of water, and sometimes on the shore.

Tortoises, both of land and sea kind; they are very good meat, and their eggs also.

Certain brief Testimonies touching sundry rich Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, in part found, and in part constantly heard of in North Florida and the inland of the main of Virginia, and other countries thereunto on the North part near adjoining, gathered out of the Works, all (one excepted) extant in print, of such as were personal travellers in those countries.

1. In the second relation of Jaques Cartier, the twelfth chapter, he reporteth that he understood by Donnacona, the king of the country, and others, that to the south-west of Canada there are people clad with cloth, as the French were,

very honest, and many inhabited towns, and that they have great store of gold and red copper, &c.

2. In the discovery of the island of Florida, far to the north, begun by Fernando de Soto, governor of Cuba, in the year 1539, (and to be seen in print in the hands of Master Richard Hackluyt.) The Indians in many places far distant the one from the other, gave them often and certain advertisement, that beyond the mountains northward there were mines of gold at a place called by them Chisca, and some shewed the manner which the Indians used in refining the same. This place in mine opinion cannot be far from the great river that falleth into the south-west part of the bay of Chesapeake.

3. The Indians informed Monsieur Rene Laudonniere in Florida, that there were mines of red metal, which they call in their language sieroa pira, in the mountains of Apalache, which upon trial made thereof by the French, was found perfect gold, as appeareth pagina 352. In the third volume of the English voyages, and in the same relation there is very often mention of silver, and excellent perfect and fair pearls found by the French in those parts.

4. In the late discovery of New Mexico made by Antonio de Espeio, on the back side of Virginia, extant in Spanish and English in the third volume of the English voyages, paginas 303, &c., there is mention of rich silver mines (and sometimes of gold in abundance) eleven or twelve times found as they travelled northward, by men very skilful in mineral matters, which went in the voyage for that purpose. The large description and chart of which voyage containing great numbers of towns, and divers great rivers discovered in that action made in Mexico by Francisco Xamuscado, 1585, being intercepted afterward by the English at sea, we have in London to be shewed to such as shall have occasion to make use of the same.

5. The constant report of many of the savages to the worshipful Master Ralph Lane, then governor of the English colony in Virginia, of the rich mine of wassador or gold at a place by them named Chaunis Temoatam, twenty days' journey overland from the Mangoaks, set down by himself at large in the first part of his relation of the said country of Virginia, extant in the third volume of the English voyages,

pagina 258, is much to be regarded and considered by those that intend to prosecute this new enterprise of planting near unto those parts.

6. I could give large information of the large copper mine in the east side of the Bay of Menan, within thirty or forty leagues to the southwest of Cape Breton, whereof I myself have seen above an hundred pieces of the copper, and have shewed some part thereof to divers knights of quality, as also of salt as good as that of Burnage in France, found near that Bay, and could make proof of the testimony of the savages touching a silver mine in another Bay, within two or three leagues to the west of the aforesaid Bay of Menan. But I reserve a further relation hereof to a more convenient time and place.

7. If it please any man to read the summary of Gonsalvo de Oniedo, extant in part of the English decades of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot, along this coast of Virginia and Norumbega; and the short relation of John de Verarsana, which ranged the said coast long after him in the year 1524, which is also to be seen in the third volume of the English voyages, pagina 298, he shall find often mention of rich mineral and store of excellent copper, which so long ago they saw among the savages, they being the first known Christians that ever saw those coasts, so that it were more than wilful madness to doubt of rich mines to be in the aforesaid countries.

THE END.

A

TRUE RELATION

OF THE

MOST PROSPEROUS VOYAGE MADE THIS PRESENT YEAR, 1605,

BY CAPTAIN GEORGE WAYMOUTH,

IN THE DISCOVRRY OF

THE LAND OF VIRGINIA,

WHERE HE DISCOVERED, SIXTY MILES UP, A MOST EXCELLENT RIVER;

TOGETHER WITH A MOST FERTILE LAND.

WRITTEN BY JAMES ROSIER,

A GENTLEMAN EMPLOYED IN THE VOYAGE.

LONDONI:
IMPENSIS GEOR. BISHOP.
1605.

[In the fourth volume of Purchas's Pilgrims is a Chapter containing extracts from this work. The whole is here reprinted from a transcript procured in England by Professor Sparks, and communicated by F. C. Gray.]

TO THE READER.

Being employed in this voyage by the right honorable Thomas Arundell, Baron of Warder, to take due notice, and make true report of the discovery therein performed: I became very diligent to observe (as much as I could) whatsoever was material or of consequence in the business, which I collected into this brief summary, intending upon our return to publish the same. But he soon changed the course of his intendments; and long before our arrival in England had so far engaged himself with the Archduke, that he was constrained to relinquish this action. But the commodities and profits of the country, together with the fitness of plantation, being by some honorable gentlemen of good worth and quality, and merchants of good sufficiency and judgment duly considered, have at their own charge, (intending both their private and the common benefit of their country) undertaken the transporting of a Colony for the plantation thereof; being much encouraged thereunto by the gracious favor of the King's Majesty himself, and divers Lords of his Highness' most Honorable Privy Council. After these purposed designs were concluded, I was animated to publish this brief relation, and not before; because some foreign nation (being fully assured of the fruitfulness of the country) have hoped hereby to gain some knowledge of the place, seeing they could not allure our Captain or any special man of our company, to combine with them for their direction, nor obtain their purpose, in conveying away our savages, which was busily in practice. And this is the cause that I have neither written of the latitude or variation most exactly observed by our Captain with sundry instruments, which together with his perfect geographical map of the country, he intendeth hereafter to set forth. I have likewise purposedly

omitted here to add a collection of many words in their language, to the number of four or five hundred, as also the names of divers of their Governors, as well their friends as their enemies; being reserved to be made known for the benefit of those that shall go in the next voyage. But our particular proceedings in the whole discovery, the commodious situation of the river, the fertility of the land, with the profits there to be had, and here reported, I refer to be verified by the whole company, as being eye-witnesses of my words, and most of them near inhabitants upon the Thames. So with my prayers to God for the conversion of so ingenious and well-disposed people, and for the prosperous successive events of the noble intenders the prosecution thereof, I rest

Your friend, J. R.

A TRUE RELATION OF CAPTAIN GEORGE WAYMOUTH, HIS VOYAGE MADE THIS PRESENT YEAR 1605, IN THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH PART OF VIRGINIA.

Upon Tuesday, the 5th day of March, about ten o'clock before noon, we set sail from Ratcliffe, and came to an anchor that tide about two o'clock before Gravesend.

From thence the 10th of March, being Sunday, at night, we anchored in the Downs, and there rode till the next day about three o'clock afternoon, when with a scant wind we set sail; and by reason the wind continued southwardly, we were beaten up and down: but on Saturday, the sixteenth day, about four o'clock afternoon, we put into Dartmouth Haven, where the continuance of the wind at south and south-west, constrained us to ride till the last of this month. There we shipped some of our men, and supplied necessaries for our ship and voyage.

Upon Easter day, being the last of March, the wind coming at north-north-east, about five o'clock afternoon we weighed anchor, and put to sea. In the name of God, being well victualled and furnished with munition and all necessaries: our whole company being but twenty-nine persons; of whom I may boldly say, few voyages have been manned forth with better seamen generally in respect of our small number.

Monday, the next day, being the first of April, by six o'clock in the morning, we were six leagues south-south-east from the Lizard.

At two in the afternoon this day, the weather being very fair, our captain for his own experience and others with him sounded, and had six-and-fifty fathoms and a half. The sounding was some small black perrie sand, some reddish sand, a match or two, with small shells called Saint James's shells.

The fourteenth of April, being Sunday, between nine and ten of the clock in the morning, our captain descried the island Cuerno: which bare south-west-and-by-west, about

seven leagues from us: by eleven of the clock we descried Flores to the southward of Cuerno, as it lieth: by four o'clock in the afternoon, we brought Cuerno due south from us within two leagues of the shore, but we touched not because the wind was fair, and we thought ourselves sufficiently watered and wooded.

Here our captain observed the sun, and found himself in the latitude forty degrees and seven minutes: so he judged the north part of Cuerno to be in forty degrees.

After we had kept our course about a hundred leagues from the islands, by continual southerly winds we were forced and driven from the southward, whither we first intended. And when our captain by long beating saw it was but in vain to strive with winds, not knowing God's purposes herein to our further blessing, (which after by his especial direction we found,) he thought best to stand as nigh as he could by the wind, to recover what land we might first discover.

Monday, the 6th of May, being in the latitude of thirty-nine and a half, about ten o'clock afore noon, we came to a rippling, which we discerned ahead our ship, which is a breach of water caused either by a fall, or by some meeting of currents, which we judged this to be; for the weather being very fair, and a small gale of wind, we sounded and found no ground in a hundred fathoms.

Monday, the 13th of May, about eleven o'clock afore noon, our captain, judging we were not far from land, sounded, and had a soft oaze in a hundred and sixty fathoms. At four o'clock afternoon, we sounded again, and had the same oaze in a hundred fathoms.

From ten o'clock that night till three o'clock in the morning, our captain took in all sails and lay at hull, being desirous to fall with the land in the day time, because it was an unknown coast, which it pleased God in his mercy to grant us, otherwise we had run our ship upon the hidden rocks and perished all. For when we set sail we sounded in one hundred fathoms: and by eight o'clock, having not made above five or six leagues, our captain, upon a sudden change of water, (supposing verily he saw the sand) presently sounded, and had but five fathoms. Much marvelling because we saw no land, he sent one to the top, who thence

descried a whitish sandy cliff, which bare west-north-west, about six leagues off from us: but coming nearer within three or four leagues, we saw many breaches still nearer the land; at last we espied a great breach ahead us all along the shore, into which, before we should enter, our captain thought best to hoist out his ship's boat and sound it, which if he had not done, we had been in great danger; for he bare up the ship, as near as he durst after the boat: until Thomas Cam, his mate, being in the boat, called to him to tack about and stand off, for in this breach he had very shoal water, two fathoms and less upon rocks, and sometime they supposed they saw the rock within three or four feet, whereon the sea made a very strong breach: which we might discern (from the top) to run along as we sailed by it six or seven leagues to the southward. This was in the latitude of forty-one degrees twenty minutes: wherefore we were constrained to put back again from the land: and sounding, (the weather being very fair and a small wind) we found ourselves embayed with continual shoals and rocks in a most uncertain ground, from five or six fathoms, at the next cast of the lead we should have fifteen and eighteen fathoms; over many which we passed, and God so blessed us, that we had wind and weather as fair as poor men in this distress could wish: whereby we both perfectly discerned every breach, and with the wind were able to turn, where we saw most hope of safest passage. Thus we parted from the land, which we had not so much before desired, and at the first sight rejoiced, as now we all joyfully praised God, that it had pleased Him to deliver us from so imminent danger.

Here we found great store of excellent codfish, and saw many whales, as we had done two or three days before.

We stood off all that night, and the next day being Wednesday, but the wind still continuing between the points of south-south-west and west-south-west: so as we could not make any way to the southward, in regard of our great want of water and wood (which was now spent,) we much desired land, and therefore sought for it, where the wind would best suffer us to refresh ourselves.

Thursday, the 16th of May, we stood in directly with the land, and much marvelled we descried it not, wherein we found our sea charts very false, putting land where none is.

Friday, the 17th of May, about six o'clock at night, we descried the land, which bare from us north-north-east: but because it blew a great gale of wind, the sea very high, and near night, not fit to come upon an unknown coast, we stood off till two o'clock in the morning, being Saturday: then standing in with it again, we descried it by eight o'clock in the morning, bearing north-east from us. It appeared a mean high land, as we after found it, being an island of some six miles in compass, but I hope the most fortunate ever yet discovered. About twelve o'clock that day, we came to an anchor on the north side of this island, about a league from the shore. About two o'clock our captain with twelve men rowed in his ship boat to the shore, where we made no long stay, but laded our boat with dry wood of old trees upon the shore side, and returned to our ship where we rode that night.

This island is woody grown with fir, birch, oak and beech, as far as we saw along the shore; and so likely to be within. On the verge grow gooseberries, strawberries, wild pease, and wild rose bushes. The water issued forth down the rocky cliffs in many places: and much fowl of divers kinds breed upon the shore and rocks.

While we were at shore, our men aboard, with a few hooks got above thirty great cods and haddocks, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish, which we found afterward wheresoever we went upon the coast. From hence we might discern the main land from the west-south-west to the east-north-east, and a great way (as it then seemed, and we after found it,) up into the main we might discern very high mountains, though the main seemed but low land; which gave us a hope it would please God to direct us to the discovery of some good; although we were driven by winds far from that place, whither (both by our direction and desire) we ever intended to shape the course of our voyage.

The next day, being Whitsunday; because we rode too much open to the sea and winds, we weighed anchor about twelve o'clock, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the road directly with the mountains, about three leagues from the first island where we had anchored.

When we came near unto them (sounding all along in a good depth) our captain manned his ship boat, and sent her before with Thomas Cam, one of his mates, whom he knew to be of good experience, to sound and search between the islands for a place safe for our ship to ride in; in the meanwhile we kept aloof at sea, having given them in the boat a token to weffe in the ship, if he found a convenient harbor; which it pleased God to send us, far beyond our expectation, in a most safe berth defended from all winds, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen, in six, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathoms, upon a clay ooze, very tough.

We all with great joy praised God for his unspeakable goodness, who had from so apparent danger delivered us, and directed us upon this day into so secure an harbor; in remembrance whereof we named it Pentecost Harbor; we arrived there that day out of our last harbor in England, from whence we set sail upon Easter day.

About four o'clock, after we were anchored and well moored, our captain with half a dozen of our company went on shore to seek fresh watering, and a convenient place to set together a pinnace, which we brought in pieces, out of England: both which we found very fitting.

Upon this island, as also upon the former, we found (at our first coming to shore,) where fire had been made: and about the place were very great egg shells bigger than goose eggs, fish bones, and as we judged, the bones of some beast.

Here we espied cranes stalking on the shore of a little island adjoining, where we after saw they used to breed.

Whitsunmonday, the 20th day of May, very early in the morning, our captain caused the pieces of the pinnace to be carried ashore, where while some were busied about her, others digged wells to receive the fresh water, which we found issuing down out of the land in many places. Here I cannot omit (for foolish fear of imputation of flattery,) the painful industry of our captain, who as at sea he is always most careful and vigilant, so at land he refuseth no pains; but his labor was ever as much or rather more than any man's: which not only encourageth others with better content, but also effecteth much with great expedition.

In digging we found excellent clay for brick or tile. The next day we finished a well of good and wholesome clear water in a great empty cask, which we left there. We cut yards, waste trees, and many necessaries for our ship, while our carpenter and cooper labored to fit and furnish forth the shallop.

This day our boat went out about a mile from our ship, and in small time with two or three hooks was fished sufficiently for our whole company three days, with great cod, haddock, and thornback.

And towards night we drew with a small net of twenty fathoms very nigh the shore: we got about thirty very good and great lobsters, many rockfish, some plaice and other small fishes, and fishes called lumps, very pleasant to the taste; and we generally observed, that all the fish, of what kind soever we took, were well fed, fat, and sweet in taste.

Wednesday, the 22d of May, we felled and cut wood for our ship's use, cleansed and scoured our wells and digged a plot of ground, wherein, amongst some garden seeds, we sowed pease and barley, which in sixteen days grew eight inches above ground; and so continued growing every day half an inch, although this was but the crust of the ground, and much inferior to the mould we after found in the main.

Friday, the 24th of May, after we had made an end of cutting wood, and carrying water aboard our ship, with fourteen shot and pikes we marched about and through part of two islands; the bigger of which we judged to be four or five miles in compass, and a mile broad.

The profits and fruits which are naturally on these islands are these:

All along the shore, and some space within, where the wood hindereth not, grow plentifully, raspberries, gooseberries, strawberries, roses, currants, wild vines, angelica.

Within the islands grow wood of sundry sorts, some very great, and all tall, as birch, beech, ash, maple, spruce, cherry tree, yew, oak, very great and good, fir tree, out of which issueth turpentine in so marvellous plenty, and so sweet, as our chirurgeon and others affirmed they never saw so good in England. We pulled off much gum, congealed on the outside of the bark, which smelled like frankincense. This would be a great benefit for making tar and pitch.

We staid the longer in this place, not only because of our good harbor (which is an excellent comfort,) but because every day we did more and more discover the pleasant fruitfulness; insomuch as many of our company wished themselves settled here, not expecting any further hopes, or better discovery to be made.

Here our men found abundance of great muscles among the rocks; and in some of them many small pearls: and in one muscle (which we drew up in our net) was found fourteen pearls, whereof one of pretty bigness and orient; in another above fifty small pearls: and if we had had a drag, no doubt we had found some of great value, seeing these did certainly shew, that here they were bred; the shells all glittering with mother of pearl.

Wednesday, the 29th day, our shallop being now finished, and our captain and men furnished to depart with her from the ship, we set up a cross on the shore-side upon the rocks.

Thursday, the 30th of May, about ten o'clock before noon, our captain with thirteen men more in the name of God, and with all our prayers for their prosperous discovery, and safe return, departed in the shallop: leaving the ship in a good harbor; which before I mentioned, well moored, and manned with fourteen men.

This day, about five o'clock in the afternoon, we in the ship espied three canoes coming towards us, which went to the island adjoining, where they went ashore, and very quickly had made a fire, about which they stood beholding our ship: to whom we made signs with our hands and hats, weffing unto them to come unto us, because we had not seen any of the people yet. They sent one canoe with three men, one of which, when they came near unto us, spake in his language very loud and very boldly: seeming as though he would know why we were there, and by pointing with his oar towards the sea, we conjectured he meant we should be gone. But when we shewed them knives and their use, by cutting of sticks; and other trifles, as combs and glasses, they came close aboard our ship, as desirous to entertain our friendship. To these we gave such things as we perceived they liked, when we shewed them the use: bracelets, rings, peacock-feathers, which they stuck

in their hair, and tobacco pipes. After their departure to their company on the shore, presently came four others in another canoe: to whom we gave as to the former, using them with as much kindness as we could.

The shape of their body is very proportionable, they are well countenanced, not very tall nor big, but in stature like to us: they paint their bodies with black, their faces, some with red, some with black, and some with blue.

Their clothing is beaver skins, or deer skins, cast over them like a mantle, and hanging down to their knees, made fast together upon the shoulder with leather: some of them had sleeves, most had none: some had buskins of such leather sewed: they have besides a piece of beaver skin between their legs, made fast about their waist, to cover their privities.

They suffer no hair to grow on their faces, but on their head very long and very black, which those that have wives, bind up behind with a leather string, in a long round knot.

They seemed all very civil and merry: shewing tokens of much thankfulness, for those things we gave them. We found them then (as after) a people of exceeding good invention, quick understanding and ready capacity.

Their canoes are made without any iron, of the bark of a birch tree, strengthened within with ribs and hoops of wood, in so good fashion, with such excellent ingenious art, as they are able to bear seven or eight persons, far exceeding any in the Indies.

One of their canoes came not to us, wherein we imagined their women were: of whom they are (as all savages) very jealous.

When I signed unto them they should go sleep, because it was night, they understood presently, and pointed that at the shore, right against our ship, they would stay all night: as they did.

The next morning very early, came one canoe aboard us again with three savages, whom we easily then enticed into our ship, and under the deck; where we gave them pork, fish, bread and pease, all which they did eat: and this I noted, they would eat nothing raw, either fish or flesh. They marvelled much and much looked upon the making of

our can and kettle, so they did at a head-piece and at our guns, of which they are most fearful, and would fall flat down at the report of them. At their departure, I signed unto them, that if they would bring me such skins as they wear, I would give them knives, and such things as I saw they most liked, which the chief of them promised to do, by that time the sun should be beyond the midst of the firmament; this I did to bring them to an understanding of exchange, and that they might conceive the intent of our coming to them to be for no other end.

About ten o'clock this day we descried our shallop returning toward us, which, so soon as we espied, we certainly conjectured our captain had found some unexpected harbor, further up towards the main to bring the ship into, or some river; knowing his determination and resolution, not so suddenly else to make return: which when they came nearer they expressed by shooting volleys of shot; and when they were come within musket shot, they gave us a volley and hailed us, then we in the ship gave them a great piece and hailed them.

Thus we welcomed them, who gladded us exceedingly with their joyful relation of their happy discovery, which shall appear in the sequel. And we likewise gave them cause of mutual joy with us, in discoursing of the kind civility we found in a people, where we little expected any spark of humanity.

Our captain had in this small time discovered up a great river, trending alongst into the main about forty miles. The pleasantness whereof, with the safety of harbor for shipping, together with the fertility of ground and other fruits, which were generally by his whole company related, I omit till I report of the whole discovery thereinafter performed. For by the breadth, depth, and strong flood, imagining it to run far up into the land, he with speed returned, intending to flank his light-horsemen for arrows, least it might happen that the further part of the river should be narrow, and by that means subject to the volley of savages on either side out of the woods.

Until his return, our captain left on shore where he landed in a path (which seemed to be frequented) a pipe, a brooch and a knife, thereby to know if the savages had recourse

that way, because they could at that time see none of them, but they were taken away before our return thither.

I return now to our savages, who according to their appointment about one o'clock, came with four canoes to the shore of the island right over against us, where they had lodged the last night, and sent one canoe to us with two of those savages, who had been aboard, and another who then seemed to have command of them; for though we perceived their willingness, yet he would not permit them to come aboard: but he having viewed us and our ship, signed that he would go to the rest of the company and return again. Presently after their departure it began to rain, and continued all that afternoon, so as they could not come to us with their skins and furs, nor we go to them. But after an hour or thereabout, the three which had been with us before came again, whom we had to our fire and covered them with our gowns. Our captain bestowed a shirt upon him, whom we thought to be their chief, who seemed never to have seen any before; we gave him a brooch to hang about his neck, a great knife, and lesser knives to the two other, and to every one of them a comb and glass, the use whereof we shewed them: whereat they laughed and took gladly; we victualled them, and gave them aqua vitæ, which they tasted but would by no means drink; our beverage they liked well, we gave them sugar candy, which after they had tasted they liked and desired more, and raisins which were given them; and some of everything they would reserve to carry to their company. Wherefore we pitying their being in the rain, and therefore not able to get themselves victual (as we thought) we gave them bread and fish.

Thus because we found the land a place answerable to the intent of our discovery, namely, fit for any nation to inhabit, we used the people with as great kindness as we could devise, or found them capable of.

The next day being Saturday and the first of June, I traded with the savages all the forenoon upon the shore, where were eight-and-twenty of them; and because our ship rode nigh, we were but five or six; where for knives, glasses, combs, and other trifles to the value of four or five shillings, we had forty good beavers' skins, otters' skins, sables, and other small skins, which we knew not how to

call. Our trade being ended, many of them came aboard us, and did eat by our fire, and would be very merry and bold, in regard of our kind usage of them. Towards night our captain went on shore, to have a draught with the seine or net. And we carried two of them with us, who marvelled to see us catch fish with a net. Most of that we caught we gave them and their company. Then on the shore I learned the names of divers things of them; and when they perceived me to note them down, they would of themselves fetch fishes, and fruit bushes, and stand by me to see me write their names.

Our captain shewed them a strange thing, which they wondered at. His sword and mine having been touched with the loadstone, took up a knife, and held it fast, when they plucked it away, made the knife turn, being laid on a block, and touching it with his sword, made that take up a needle, whereat they much marvelled. This we did to cause them to imagine some great power in us; and for that to love and fear us.

When we went on shore to trade with them, in one of their canoes I saw their bows and arrows, which I took up and drew an arrow in one of them, which I found to be of strength able to carry an arrow five or six score strongly; and one of them took it and drew as we draw our bows, not like the Indians. Their bow is made of witch-hazle, and some of beach in fashion much like our bows, but they want nocks, only a string of leather put through a hole at one end, and made fast with wood, some of ash, big and long, with three feathers tied on, and nocked very artificially; headed with the long shank bone of a deer, made very sharp with two fangs in the manner of a harping iron. They had likewise darts headed with like bone, one of which I darted among the rocks, and it brake not. These they use very cunningly, to kill fish, fowl and beasts.

Our captain had two of them at supper with us in his cabin to see their demeanor, and had them in presence at service: who behaved themselves very civilly, neither laughing nor talking all the time, and at supper fed not like men of rude education, neither would they eat or drink more than seemed to content nature; they desired pease to carry ashore to their women, which we gave them, with fish and bread, and lent them pewter dishes, which they carefully brought again.

In the evening another boat came to them on the shore, and because they had some tobacco, which they brought for their own use, the other came for us, making sign what they had, and offered to carry some of us in their boat, but four or five of us went with them in our own boat; when we came on shore they gave us the best welcome they could, spreading fallow deer's skins for us to sit on the ground by their fire, and gave us of their tobacco in our pipes, which was excellent, and so generally commended of us all, to be as good as any we ever took, being the simple leaf without any composition, strong and of sweet taste; they gave us some to carry to our captain whom they called our bashabes: neither did they require anything for it, but we would not receive any thing from them without remuneration.

Here we saw four of their women, who stood behind them as desirous to see us, but not willing to be seen; for before whensoever we came on shore, they retired into the woods, whether it were in regard of their own natural modesty, being covered only as the men with the foresaid beaver's skins, or by the commanding jealousy of their husbands, which we rather suspected, because it is an inclination much noted to be in savages; wherefore we would by no means seem to take any special notice of them. They were very well favored in proportion of countenance, though colored black, low of stature, and fat, bare-headed as the men, wearing their hair long; they had two little male children of a year and a half old as we judged, very fat and of good countenances, which they love tenderly, all naked except their legs, which were covered with their leather buskins tewed, fastened with strops to a girdle about their waist, which they gird very straight, and is decked round about with little round pieces of red copper: to these I gave chains and bracelets, glasses, and other trifles, which the savages, seemed to accept in great kindness.

At our coming away, we would have had those two that supped with us, to go aboard and sleep, as they had promised: but it appeared their company would not suffer them. Whereat we might easily perceive they were much grieved; but not long after our departure, they came with three more to our ship, signing to us, that if one of our company would go lie on shore with them, they would stay with us. Then

Owen Griffin (one of the two we were to leave in the country, if we had thought it needful or convenient) went with them in their canoe, and three of them stayed aboard us, whom our whole company very kindly used. Our captain saw their lodging provided, and them lodged in an old sail upon the orlop; and because they much feared our dogs, they were tied up whensoever any of them came aboard us.

Owen Griffin, which lay on the shore, reported unto me their manner, and as I may term them the ceremonies of their idolatry, which they perform thus. One among them (the eldest of the company as he judged) riseth right up, the other sitting still, and looking about suddenly cried with a loud voice, baugh, waugh: then the women fall down, and lie upon the ground; and the men altogether answering the same, fall a stamping round about the fire with both feet, as hard as they can, making the ground shake, with sundry outcries, and change of voice and sound. Many take the fire sticks and thrust them into the earth, and then rest awhile; of a sudden beginning as before, they continue so stamping, till the younger sort fetched from the shore many stones of which every man took one, and first beat upon them with their fire sticks, then with the stones beat the earth with all their strength, and in this manner (as he reported) they continued above two hours.

After this ended, they which have wives take them apart and withdraw themselves severally into the wood all night.

The next morning as soon as they saw the sun rise, they pointed to him to come with them to our ship: and having received their men from us, they came with five or six of their canoes and company hovering about our ship: to whom (because it was the Sabbath day) I signed they should depart, and at the next sun-rising we would go along with them to their houses: which they understood (as we thought) and departed, some of their canoes coursing about the island, and the other directly towards the main.

This day about five o'clock after noon, came three other canoes from the main, of which some had been with us before: and they came aboard us, and brought us tobacco, which we took with them in their pipes, which were made of earth, very strong, black, and short, containing a great quantity; some tobacco they gave unto our captain, and

some to me, in very civil kind manner; we requited them with bread and pease, which they carried to their company on shore, seeming very thankful; after supper they returned with their canoe to fetch us ashore to take tobacco with them there, with whom six or seven of us went, and carried some trifles, if peradventure they had any truck, among which I carried some few biscuits, to try if they would exchange for them, seeing they so well liked to eat them. When we came at shore they most kindly entertained us, taking us by the hands, as they had observed we did to them aboard in token of welcome, and brought us to sit down by their fire, where sat together thirteen of them. They filled their tobacco pipe, which was then the short claw of a lobster, which will hold ten of our pipes full, and we drank of their excellent tobacco as much as we would with them; but we saw not any great quantity to truck for; and it seemed they had not much left of old, for they spend a great quantity yearly by their continual drinking: and they would sign unto us, that it was grown yet but a foot above ground, and would be above a yard high, with a leaf as broad as both their hands. They often would (by pointing to one part of the main eastward) sign unto us, that their Bashabes (that is their king) had great plenty of furs, and much tobacco. When we had sufficiently taken tobacco with them, I shewed some of our trifles to trade, but they made sign that they had there nothing to exchange; for (as I after conceived) they had been fishing and fowling, and so came thither to lodge that night by us; for when we were ready to come away, they shewed us great cups made very wittily of bark, in form almost square, full of a red berry about the bigness of a bullis, which they did eat, and gave us by handfulls; of which (though I liked not the taste) yet I kept some, because I would by no means but accept their kindness. They shewed me likewise a great piece of fish, whereof I tasted, and it was fat like porpoise: and another kind of great scaly fish, broiled on the coals, much like white salmon, which the Frenchmen call aloza,* for these they would have had bread; which I refused, because in manner of exchange, I would always make the greatest

* [L'Alose is the shad.]

esteem I could of our commodities whatsoever; although they saw aboard our captain was liberal to give them, to the end we might allure them still to frequent us. Then they shewed me four young goslings, for which they required four biscuits, but I offered them two; which they took and were well content.

At our departure they made sign, that if any of us would stay there on shore some of them would go lie aboard us; at which motion two of our company stayed with them, and three of the savages lodged with us in manner as the night before.

Early the next morning, being Monday, the third of June, when they had brought our men aboard, they came about our ship, earnestly by signs desiring that we would go with them along to the main, for that there they had furs and tobacco to traffick with us. Wherefore our captain manned the light-horseman with as many men as he could well, which were about fifteen with rowers and all: and we went along with them. Two of their canoes they sent away before, and they which lay aboard us all night, kept company with us to direct us.

This we noted as we went along, they in their canoe with three oars, would at their will go ahead of us and about us, when we rowed with eight oars strong; such was their swiftness, by reason of the lightness and artificial composition of their canoe and oars.

When we came near the point where we saw their fires, where they intended to land, and where they imagined some few of us would come on shore with our merchandise, as we had accustomed before, when they had often numbered our men very diligently, they scoured away to their company, not doubting we would have followed them. But when we perceived this, and knew not either their intents or number of savages on the shore, our captain, after consultation, stood off, and wafted them to us, determining that I should go on shore first to take a view of them, and what they had to traffic; if he, whom at our first sight of them seemed to be of most respect among them, and being then in the canoe, would stay as a pawn for me. When they came to us (notwithstanding all our former courtesies) he utterly refused, but would leave a young savage, and for him our captain

sent Griffen in their canoe, while we lay hulling a little off. Griffen, at his return, reported that they had there assembled together, as he numbered them, two hundred eighty-three savages, every one his bow and arrows, with their dogs and wolves, which they keep tame, at command, and not anything to exchange at all; but would have drawn us further up into a little narrow nook of a river, for their furs, as they pretended.

These things considered, we began to join them in the rank of other savages, who have been by travellers in most discoveries found very treacherous, never attempting mischief until, by some remissness, fit opportunity afforded them certain ability to execute the same. Wherefore, after good advice taken, we determined, so soon as we could, to take some of them, least (being suspicious we had discovered their plots) they should absent themselves from us.

Tuesday, the fourth of June, our men took cod and haddock with hooks by our ship side, and lobsters very great, which before we had not tried.

About eight o'clock, this day, we went on shore with our boats, to fetch aboard water and wood, our captain leaving word with the gunner in the ship, by discharging a musket, to give notice if they espied any canoe coming, which they did about ten o'clock. He therefore, being careful they should be kindly treated, requested me to go aboard, intending with dispatch to make what haste after he possibly could. When I came to the ship there were two canoes, and in either of them three savages, of whom two were below at the fire; the others staid in their canoes about the ship, and because we could not entice them aboard we gave them a can of pease and bread, which they carried to the shore to eat; but one of them brought back our can presently, and staid aboard with the other two; for he being young, of a ready capacity, and one we most desired to bring with us into England, had received exceeding kind usage at our hands, and was therefore much delighted in our company. When our captain was come, we consulted how to catch the other three at shore, which we performed thus.

We manned the light horseman with seven or eight men, one standing before carried our box of merchandise, as we

were wont when I went to traffic with them, and a platter of pease, which meat they loved; but before we were landed, one of them (being so suspiciously fearful of his own good) withdrew himself into the wood. The other two met us on the shore side, to receive the pease, with whom we went up the cliff to their fire and sat down with them, and while we were discussing how to catch the third man who was gone, I opened the box, and shewed them trifles to exchange, thinking thereby to have banished fear from the other, and drawn him to return: but when we could not, we used little delay, but suddenly laid hands upon them, and it was as much as five or six of us could do to get them into the light horseman, for they were strong and so naked as our best hold was by their long hair on their heads;) and we would have been very loath to have done them any hurt, which of necessity we had been constrained to have done if we had attempted them in a multitude, which we must and would, rather than have wanted them, being a matter of great importance for the full accomplishment of our voyage.

Thus we shipped five savages, two canoes, with all their bows and arrows.

The next day we made an end of getting our wood aboard, and filled our empty cask with water.

Thursday the sixth of June, we spent in bestowing the canoes upon the orlop safe from hurt, because they were subject to breaking, which our captain was careful to prevent.

Saturday the eighth of June, our captain (being desirous to finish all business about this harbor) very early in the morning, with the light horseman, coasted five or six leagues about the islands adjoining, and sounded all along wheresoever we went, he likewise diligently searched the mouth of the harbor, and about the rocks which shew themselves at all times, and are an excellent breach of the water, so as no sea can come in to offend the harbor. This he did to instruct himself and thereby able to direct others that shall happen to come to this place. For everywhere both near the rocks, and in all soundings about the islands we never found less water than four or five fathoms which was seldom, but seven, eight, nine, and ten fathoms is the continual sounding by the shore. In some places much deeper upon clay ooze

or soft sand: so that if any bound for this place should be either driven or scanted with winds, he shall be able (with his directions) to recover safely his harbor most securely in water enough by four several passages, more than which I think no man of judgment will desire as necessary.

Upon one of the islands (because it had a pleasant sandy cove for small barks to ride in) we landed and found hard by the shore a pond of fresh water, which flowed over the banks, somewhat overgrown with little shrub trees, and searching up in the island, we saw it fed with a strong run, which with small labor, and little time, might be made to drive a mill. In this island, as in the other, were spruce trees of excellent timber and height, able to mast ships of great burthen.

While we thus sounded from one place to another in so good depths, our captain, to make some trial of the fishing himself, caused a hook or two to be cast out at the mouth of the harbor, not above half a league from our ship, where in small time only, with the baits which they cut from the fish and three hooks, we got fish enough for our whole company (though now augmented) for three days which I omit not to report, because it sheweth how great a profit the fishing would be, they being so plentiful, so great, and so good, with such convenient drying as can be wished, near at hand upon the rocks.

This day, about one o'clock afternoon, came from the eastward two canoes aboard us, wherein was he that refused to stay with us for a pawn, and with him six other savages which we had not seen before, who had beautified themselves after their manner very gallantly though their clothing was not differing from the former, yet they had newly painted their faces very deep, some all black, some red, with stripes of excellent blue over their upper lips, nose and chin. One of them wore a kind of coronet about his head, made very cunningly, of a substance like stiff hair colored red, broad, and more than a handful in depth, which we imagined to be some insigne of his superiority: for he so much esteemed it as he would not for anything exchange the same. Others wore the white feathered skins of some fowl, round about their head, jewels in their ears, and bracelets of little white round bone, fastened together upon a

leather string. These made not any show that they had notice of the other before taken, but we understood them by their speech and signs, that they came sent from the bashabes and that his desire was that we would bring up our ship (which they call as their own boats, a quiden) to his house being as they pointed, upon the main towards the east, from whence they came, and that he would exchange with us for furs and tobacco. But because our company was but small, and now our desire was with speed to discover up the river, we let them understand, that if their bashabes would come to us he should be welcome, but we would not remove to him. Which when they understood (received of us bread and fish and every of them a knife) they departed for we had then no will to stay them long aboard, least they should discover the other savages which we had stowed below.

Tuesday, the eleventh of June, we passed up into the river with our ship, about six and twenty miles, of which I had rather not write, than by my relation to detract from the worthiness thereof. For the river, besides that it is subject by shipping to bring in all traffics of merchandise, a benefit always accounted the richest treasury to any land; for which cause our Thames hath that due denomination, and France by her navigable rivers receiveth her greatest wealth; yet this place of itself from God and nature affordeth as much diversity of good commodities, as any reasonable man can wish for present habitation and planting.

The first and chiefest thing required, is a bold coast and fair land to fall with; the next, a safe harbor for ships to ride in.

The first is a special attribute to this shore, being most free from sands or dangerous rocks in a continual good depth, with a most excellent land fall, which is the first land we fell with, named by us, Saint George's Island.

For the second, by judgment of our captain, who knoweth most of the coast of England, and most of other countries, (having been experienced by employments in discoveries and travels from his childhood) and by opinion of others of good judgment in our ship, here are more good harbors for ships of all burthens, than England can afford, and far more secure from all winds and weathers, than any

in England, Scotland, France or Spain. For (besides without the river in the channel, and sounds about the islands adjoining to the mouth thereof, no better riding can be desired for an infinite number of ships) the river itself as it runneth up into the main very nigh forty miles toward the great mountains, beareth in breadth a mile, sometime three quarters, and half a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have under four and five fathoms water, hard by the shore, but six, seven, eight, nine and ten fathoms all along, and on both sides every half mile very gallant coves, some able to contain almost a hundred sail, where the ground is excellent soft ooze with a tough clay under for anchor hold, and where ships may lie without either cable or anchor, only moored to the shore with a hauser.

It floweth by their judgment eighteen or twenty feet at high water.

Here are made by nature most excellent places, as docks to grave or careen ships of all burthens; secured from all winds, which is such a necessary incomparable benefit, that in few places in England or in any parts of Christendom, art, with great charges, can make the like.

Besides the bordering land is a most rich neighbor trending all along on both sides, in an equal plain neither mountainous nor rocky but verged with a green border of grass, doth make tender unto the beholder of her pleasant fertility, if by cleansing away the woods she were converted into meadow.

The wood she beareth, is not shrubbish, fit only for fuel, but goodly tall fir, spruce, birch, beech, oak, which in many places is not so thick, but may with small labor be made feeding ground, being plentiful like the outward islands with fresh water, which streameth down in many places.

As we passed with a gentle wind up with our ship in this river, any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented in joy. Many of our company who had been travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous rivers yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Guiana, in the discovery of the river Orenoque, which echoed fame to the world's ears, gave reasons why it was not to be compared with this, which wanteth the

dangers of many shoals, and broken ground, wherewith that was incumbered. Others before that notable river in the West Indies called Rio Grande; some before the river of Loire, the river Seine, and of Bourdeaux in France; which although they be great and goodly rivers, yet it is no detraction from them to be accounted inferior to this, which not only yieldeth all the foresaid pleasant profits, but also appeared infallibly to us free from all inconveniences.

I will not prefer it before our river of Thames, because it is England's richest treasure: but we all did wish those excellent harbors, good deeps in a continual convenient breadth, and small tide gates, to be as well therein for our country's good, as we found them here (beyond our hopes) in certain, for those to whom it shall please God to grant this land for habitation: which if it had, with the other inseparable adherent commodities here to be found; then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large and secure harboring river that the world affordeth.

Wednesday the twelfth of June, our captain manned his light horseman with seventeen men, and ran up from the ship riding in the river up to the codde thereof, where we landed, leaving six to keep the light horseman till our return. Ten of us with our shot, and some armed, with a boy to carry powder and match, marched up into the country towards the mountains, which we descried at our first falling with the land. Unto some of them the river brought us so near, as we judged ourselves when we landed to have been within a league of them; but we marched up about four miles in the main and passed over three hills: and because the weather was parching hot, and our men in their armour not able to travel far and return that night to our ship, we resolved not to pass any further, being all very weary of so tedious and laborsome a travel.

In this march we passed over very good ground, pleasant and fertile, fit for pasture, for the space of some three miles, having but little wood, and that oak, like stands left in our pastures in England, good and great, fit timber for any use, some small birch, hazle and brake, which might in small time with few men be cleansed and made good arable land: but as it now is will feed cattle of all kinds with fodder enough for summer and winter. The soil is black, bearing

sundry herbs, grass, and strawberries bigger than ours in England. In many places are low thicks like our copses of small young wood. And surely it did all resemble a stately park, wherein appear some old trees with high withered tops and other flourishing with living green boughs. Upon the hills grow notable high timber trees, masts for ships of four hundred ton; and at the bottom of every hill, a little run of fresh water: but the farthest and last we passed ran with a great stream able to drive a mill.

We might see in some places where fallow deer and hares had been, and by the rooting of ground we supposed wild hogs had ranged there, but we could descry no beast, because our noise still chased them from us.

We were no sooner come aboard our light horseman, returning towards our ship, but we espied a canoe coming from the further part of the cod of the river eastward, which hasted to us wherein with two others, was he who refused to stay for a pawn; and his coming was very earnestly importing to have one of our men to go lie on shore with their bashabes (who was there on shore as they signed) and then the next morning he would come to our ship with many firs and tobacco. This we perceived to be only a mere device to get possession of any of our men, to ransom all those which we had taken, which our natural policy could not so shadow, but we did easily discover and prevent. These means were by this savage practised, because we had one of his kinsmen prisoner, as we judged by his most kind usage of him being aboard us together.

Thursday the thirteenth of June, by two o'clock in the morning (because our captain would take the help and advantage of the tide) in the light horseman with our company well provided and furnished with armor and shot both to defend and offend; we went from our ship up to that part of the river which trended westward into the main, to search that: and we carried with us a cross, to erect at that point, which (because it was not daylight) we left on the shore until our return back when we set it up in manner as the former. For this (by the way) we diligently observed, that in no place, either about the islands, or up in the main, or alongst the river, we could discern any token or sign, that ever any christian had been before: of which either by

cutting wood, digging for water, or setting up crosses (a thing never omitted by any christian travellers) we should have perceived some mention left.

But to return to our river further up into which we then rowed by estimation twenty miles, the beauty and goodness whereof I cannot by relation sufficiently demonstrate. That which I can say in general is this: what profit or pleasure soever is described and truly verified in the former part of the river, is wholly doubled in this; for the breadth and depth is such, that any ship drawing seventeen or eighteen feet water, might have passed as far as we went with our light horseman and by all our men's judgment much further, because we left it in so good depth and breadth; which is so much the more to be esteemed of greater worth, by how much it trendeth further up into the main; for from the place of our ships riding in the harbor at the entrance into the sound, to the furthest part we were in this river, by our estimation was not much less than threescore miles.

From each bank of this river are divers branching streams into the main, whereby is afforded an unspeakable profit by the conveniency of transportation from place to place which in some countries is both chargeable, and not to be fit, by carriages or wain, or horseback.

Here we saw great store of fish, some great leaping above water, which we judged to be salmons. All along is an excellent mould of ground. The wood in most places, especially on the east side very thin, chiefly oak and some small young birch, bordering low upon the river; all fit for meadow and pasture ground; and in that space we went, we had on both sides the river many plain plots of meadow, some of three or four acres, some of eight or nine: so as we judged in the whole to be between thirty and forty acres of good grass, and where the arms run out into the main, there likewise went a space on both sides of clear grass, how far we know not; in many places we might see paths made to come down to the watering.

The excellency of this part of the river, for his good breadth, depth, and fertile bordering ground, did so ravish us all with variety of pleasantness, as we could not tell what to commend, but only admired; some compared it to the

river Severn, (but in a higher degree) and we all concluded as I verily think we might right) that we should never see the like river in every degree equal, until it pleased God we beheld the same again. For the farther we went, the more pleasing it was to every man, alluring us still with expectation of better, so as our men, although they had with great labor rowed long and eat nothing (for we carried with us no victual, but a little cheese and bread) yet they were so refreshed with the pleasant beholding thereof, and so loath to forsake it, as some of them affirmed, they would have continued willingly with that only fare and labor two days; but the tide not suffering us to make any longer stay (because we were to come back with the tide) and our captain better knowing what was fit than we, and better what they in labor were able to endure, being very loath to make any desperate hazard, where so little necessity required, thought it best to make return, because whither we had discovered was sufficient to conceive that the river ran very far into the land, for we passed six or seven miles, altogether fresh water (whereof we all drank) forced up by the flowing of the salt: which after a great while ebb where we left it, by breadth of channel and depth of water was likely to run by estimation of our whole company an unknown way farther: the search whereof our captain hath left till his return, if it shall so please God to dispose of him and us.

For we having now by the direction of the Omnipotent Disposer of all good intents (far beyond the period of our hopes) fallen with so bold a coast, found so excellent and secure harbor, for as many ships as any nation professing Christ is able to set forth to sea, discovered a river, which the all-creating God, with his most liberal hand, hath made above report notable with his foresaid blessings, bordered with a land, whose pleasant fertility bewrayeth itself to be the garden of nature, wherein she only intended to delight herself, having hitherto obscured it to any, except to a purblind generation, whose understanding it hath pleased God to darken, as they can neither discern, use, or rightly esteem the unvaluable riches in midst whereof they live sensually content with the bark and outward rinds, as neither knowing the sweetness of the inward marrow, nor acknowledging the

Deity of the Almighty giver: having I say thus far proceeded, and having some of the inhabitant nation (of best understanding we saw among them) who (learning our language) may be able to give us further instruction, concerning all the premised particulars, as also of their governors, and government, situation of towns, and what else shall be convenient, which by no means otherwise we could by any observation of ourselves learn in a long time; our captain now wholly intended his provision for speedy return. For although the time of year and our victual were not so spent, but we could have made a longer voyage, in searching farther and trading for very good commodities, yet as they might have been much profitable so (our company being small) much more prejudicial to the whole state of our voyage, which we were most regardful now not to hazard. For we supposing not a little present private profit, but a public good and true zeal of promulgating God's holy church, by planting Christianity, to be the sole intent of the honorable setters forth of this discovery; thought it generally most expedient, by our speedy return, to give the longer space of time to make provision for so weighty an enterprise.

Friday, the 14th day of June, early by four o'clock in the morning, with the tide, our two boats, and a little help of the wind, we rowed down to the river's mouth, and there came to an anchor about eleven o'clock. Afterward our captain in the light horseman searched the sounding all about the mouth and coming to the river, for his certain instruction of a perfect description.

The next day being Saturday, we weighed anchor, and with a breeze from the land, we sailed up to our watering place and there stopped, went on shore and filled all our empty casks with fresh water.

Our captain upon the rock in the midst of the harbor observed the height, latitude, and variation exactly upon his instruments.

1. Astrolabe. 2. Semisphere. 3. Ring instrument. 4. Cross staff. 5. And an excellent compass made for the variation.

The certainty whereof, together with the particularities of every depth and sounding, as well at our falling with the land, as in the discovery, and at our departure from the

coast; I refer to his own relation in the map of his geographical description, which for the benefit of others he intendeth most exactly to publish.*

The temperature of the climate (albeit a very important matter) I had almost passed without mentioning, because it afforded to us no great alteration from our disposition in England: somewhat hotter up into the main, because it lieth open to the south; the air so wholesome, as I suppose not any of us found ourselves at any time more healthful, more able to labor, nor with better stomachs to such good fare, as we partly brought, and partly found.

Sunday, the 16th of June, the wind being fair, and because we had set out of England upon a Sunday, made the islands upon a Sunday, and as we doubt not (by God's appointment) happily fell into our harbor upon a Sunday: so now (beseeching him still with like prosperity to bless our return into England our country, and from thence with his good will and pleasure to hasten our next arrival there) we weighed anchor and quit the land upon a Sunday.

Tuesday, the 18th day, being not run above thirty leagues from land, and our captain for his certain knowledge how to fall with the coast, having sounded every watch, and from forty fathoms had come into good deeping, to seventy, and so to an hundred: this day the weather being fair, after the four o'clock watch, when we supposed not to have found ground so far from land, and before sounded in above one hundred fathoms, we had ground in twenty-four fathoms. Wherefore our sails being down, Thomas King boatswain, presently cast out a hook, and before he judged it at ground, was fished and hauled up an exceeding great and well fed cod, then there were cast out three or four more, and the fish was so plentiful and so great, as when our captain would have set sail, we all desired him to suffer them to take fish awhile, because we were so delighted to see them catch so great fish, so fast as the hook came down: some with playing with the hook they took by the back, and one of the mates with two hooks at a lead, at five draughts to-

* The latitude he found to be forty-three degrees twenty minutes north. The variation eleven degrees fifteen minutes; viz.: one point of the compass westward. And it is so much in England, by Limehouse near London, eastward. 4th *Purchas*, 1666. [Yet the river he ascended was undoubtedly the Penobscot.]

gether hauled up ten fishes: all were generally very great, some they measured to be five feet long, and three feet about.

This caused our captain not to marvel at the shoulding, for he perceived it was a fish bank; which (for our farewell from the land) it pleased God in continuance of his blessings, to give us knowledge of: the abundant profit whereof should be alone sufficient cause to draw men again, if there were no other good both in present certain, and in hope probable to be discovered. To amplify this with words, were to add light to the sun: for every one in the ship could easily account this present commodity; much more those of judgment which knew what belonged to fishing, would warrant (by the help of God) in a short voyage with few good fishers to make a more profitable return from hence than from Newfoundland: the fish being so much greater, better fed, and abundant with train, of which some they desired, and did bring into England to bestow among their friends, and to testify the true report.

After we kept our course directly for England, and with ordinary winds, and sometimes calms, upon Sunday, the 14th of July, about six o'clock at night, we were come into sounding in our channel, but with dark weather and contrary winds, we were constrained to beat up and down till Tuesday, the 16th of July, when by five o'clock in the morning we made Scylly; from whence, hindered with calms and small winds, upon Thursday, the 18th of July, about four o'clock afternoon, we came into Dartmouth: which haven happily (with God's gracious assistance) we made our last and first harbor in England.

Further I have thought fit to add some things worthy to be regarded, which we have observed from the savages since we took them.

First although at the time when we surprised them, they made their best resistance, not knowing our purpose, nor what we were, nor how we meant to use them; yet after perceiving by their kind usage we intended them no harm, they have never since seemed discontented with us, but very tractable, loving and willing by their best means to satisfy us in anything we demand of them, by words or signs for their understanding: neither have they at any time been

at the least discord among themselves: insomuch as we have not seen them angry, but merry; and so kind, as if you give anything to one of them, he will distribute part to every one of the rest.

We have brought them to understand some English, and we understand much of their language: so as we are able to ask them many things. And this we have observed, that if we shew them anything, and ask them if they have it in their country, they will tell you if they have it, and the use of it, the difference from ours in bigness, color, or form: but if they have it not be it a thing never so precious, they will deny the knowledge of it.

They have names for many stars, which they will shew in the firmament.

They shew great reverence to their king, and are in great subjection to their governors: and they will shew a great respect to any we tell them are our commanders.

They shew the manner how they make bread of their Indian wheat, and how they make butter and cheese of the milk they have of the reindeer and fallow deer, which they have tame as we have cows.

They have excellent colors. And having seen our indigo, they make shew of it, or of some other like thing which maketh as good a blue.

One especial thing is their manner of killing the whale, which they call powdawe; and will describe his form; how he bloweth up the water; and that he is twelve fathoms long; and that they go in company of their king with a multitude of their boats, and strike him with a bone made in fashion of a harping iron fastened to a rope, which they make great and strong of the bark of trees, which they veer out after him: then all their boats come about him, and as he riseth above water, with their arrows they shoot him to death: when they have killed him and dragged him to shore, they call all their chief lords together, and sing a song of joy: and those chief lords, whom they call sagamores, divide the spoil, and give to every man a share, which pieces so distributed, they hang up about their houses for provision: and when they boil them, they blow off the fat, and put to their pease, maize, and other pulse which they eat.

A Brief Note of what Profits we saw the Country yield in the small time of our stay there.

Trees. Oak of an excellent grain, strait and great timber; elm, beech; birch, very tall and great; of whose bark they make their canoes. Witch-hazel, hazel, alder, cherry-tree, ash, maple, yew, spruce, aspen, fir. Many fruit trees which we knew not.

Fowls. Eagles, hernshaws, cranes, ducks great, geese, swans, penguins, crows, shrikes, ravens, mews, turtle-doves. Many birds of sundry colors; many other fowls in flocks, unknown.

Beasts. Reindeer, stags, fallow-deer, bears, wolves, beaver, otter, hare, cony, hedge-hogs, polecats, wild great-cats. Dogs; some like wolves, some like spaniels.

Fishes. Whales, seals, cod very great, haddock great, herring great, plaise, thornback, rockfish, lobster great, crabs, muscles great, with pearls in them, cockles, wilks, cunner-fish, lumps, tortoises, oysters, whiting, soals.

Fruits, plants and *herbs.* Tobacco excellent, sweet and strong; abundance of wild vines, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, whurtleberries, currant trees, rose-bushes; pease, ground-nuts; angelica, a most sovereign herb; an herb that spreadeth the ground, and smelleth like sweet marjoram, great plenty; very good dyes, which appear by their paintings, which they carry with them in bladders.

The names of the five savages which we brought home into England, which are all yet alive, are these.

1. Tahánedo, a sagamore or commander.
2. Amóret; } Gentlemen.
3. Skicowáros; } Gentlemen.
4. Maneddo. } Gentlemen.
5. Saffacomoit, a servant.

A

VOYAGE

INTO

NEW ENGLAND,

BEGUN IN 1623, AND ENDED IN 1624.

PERFORMED BY

CHRISTOPHER LEVETT,

HIS MAJESTY'S WOODWARD OF SOMERSETSHIRE, AND ONE OF THE COUNCIL OF NEW ENGLAND.

PRINTED AT LONDON, BY WILLIAM JONES,

And are to be sold by Edward Brewster, at the sign of the Bible, in Paul's Churchyard.

1628.

[No copy of this work being known to exist in this vicinity, it is here reprinted from a transcript procured by Professor Sparks in England, and communicated by F. C. Gray.]

To the Right Honorable, George Duke of Buckingham his Grace, Thomas Earl of Arundell and Surrey, Robert Earl of Warwick, John Earl of Holderness, and the rest of the Council for New England.

May it please your Lordships, that whereas you granted your commission unto Captain Robert Gorges, Governor of New England, Captain Francis West, myself, and the Governor of New Plymouth, as counsellors with him, for the ordering and governing of all the said territories, wherein we have been diligent to the uttermost of our powers, as we shall be ready to render an account unto your honors, when you shall be pleased to require us thereunto. In the meantime, I thought it my duty to present unto your views, such observation as I have taken, both for the country and people, commodities and discommodities: as also, what places are fit to settle plantations in, which not; what courses are fit in my understanding to be taken, for bringing glory to God, honor to our king and nation, good unto the commonwealth, and profit to all adventurers and planters: which I humbly beseech your lordships to accept of, as the best fruits of a shallow capacity; so shall I think my time and charge well employed, which I have spent in these affairs.

I have omitted many things in this my discourse, which I conceived to be impertinent at this time for me to relate, as of the time of my being at sea, of the strange fish which we there saw, some with wings flying above the water, others with manes, ears, and heads, and chasing one another with open mouths like stone horses in a park, as also of the steering of our course, the observation of the sun and stars, by which the elevation of the pole is found, the degrees of latitude known, which shows how far a ship is out of his due course, either to the north or south: likewise of the making of the land at our arrival upon the coast of New England, how it did arise and appear unto us: how every

harbor bears one from another upon the point of the compass; and what rocks and dangers are in the way; how many fathoms water is found by sounding at the entrance of any harbor; and from how many of the several winds all the harbors are land-locked. But by this means I thought I should not only be tedious, but also in danger of losing myself, for want of fit phrases and sound judgment, in the arts of the mathematics and navigation, (being but a young scholar, though an ancient traveller by sea,) and therefore thought better to omit those, than anything I have to relate.

Thus beseeching God to bless your honors, I rest at your Lordship's service. CHRISTOPHER LEVETT.

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A VOYAGE INTO NEW ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Contains my Discovery of divers Rivers and Harbors; with their names, and which are fit for plantation and which not.

The first place I set my foot upon in New England, was the Isle of Shoals, being islands in the sea, about two leagues from the main.

Upon these islands, I neither could see one good timber tree, nor so much good ground as to make a garden.

The place is found to be a good fishing place for six ships, but more cannot well be there, for want of convenient stage room, as this year's experience hath proved.

The harbor is but indifferent good. Upon these islands are no savages at all.

The next place I came unto was Pannaway, where one M. Tomson hath made a plantation, there I stayed about one month, in which time I sent for my men from the east: who came over in divers ships.

At this place I met with the Governor, who came thither in a bark which we had from one M. Weston about twenty days before I arrived in the land.

The Governor then told me that I was joined with him in commission as a counsellor, which being read I found it was so. And he then, in the presence of three more of the counsel, administered unto me an oath.

After the meeting of my men, I went a coasting in two boats with all my company.

In the time I stayed with M. Tomson, I surveyed as much as possible I could, the weather being unseasonable and very much snow.

In those parts I saw much good timber, but the ground it seemed to me not to be good, being very rocky and full of trees and brushwood.

There is great store of fowl of divers sorts, whereof I fed very plentifully.

About two English miles further to the east, I found a great river and a good harbor called Piscataway. But for the ground I can say nothing, but by the relation of the sagamore or king of that place, who told me there was much good ground up in the river about seven or eight leagues.

About two leagues further to the east is another great river called Aquamenticus. There I think a good plantation may be settled, for there is a good harbor for ships, good ground, and much already cleared, fit for planting of corn and other fruits, having heretofore been planted by the savages who are all dead. There is good timber, and likely to be good fishing, but as yet there hath been no trial made that I can hear of.

About six leagues further to the east is a harbor called Cape Porpas, the which is indifferent good for six ships, and it is generally thought to be an excellent place for fish, but as yet there hath been no trial made, but there may be a good plantation seated, for there is good timber and good ground, but will require some labor and charge.

About four leagues further east, there is another harbor called Saco; (between this place and Cape Porpas I lost one of my men); before we could recover the harbor a great fog or mist took us that we could not see a hundred yards from us. I perceiving the fog to come upon the sea, called for a compass and set the capeland, by which we knew how to steer our course, which was no sooner done but we lost sight of land, and my other boat, and the wind blew fresh against us, so that we were enforced to strike sail, and betake us to our oars which we used with all the wit and strength we had, but by no means could we recover the shore that night, being imbayed and compassed round with breaches, which roared in a most fearful manner on every side of us: we took counsel in this extremity one of another what to do to save our lives; at length we resolved that to put to sea again in the night was no fit course, the storm being great, and the wind blowing right off the shore, and

to run our boat on the shore among the breaches, (which roared in a most fearful manner) and cast her away and endanger ourselves we were loath to do, seeing no land nor knowing where we were. At length I caused our killick (which was the anchor we had) to be cast forth, and one continually to hold his hand upon the rood or cable, by which we knew whether our anchor held or no: which being done we commended ourselves to God by prayer, and put on a resolution to be as comfortable as we could, and so fell to our victuals. Thus we spent that night, and the next morning; with much ado we got into Saco, where I found my other boat.

There I stayed five nights, the wind being contrary, and the weather very unseasonable, having much rain and snow, and continual fogs.

We built us our wigwam, or house, in one hour's space. It had no frame, but was without form or fashion, only a few poles set up together, and covered with our boat's sails, which kept forth but a little wind, and less rain and snow.

Our greatest comfort we had, next unto that which was spiritual, was this; we had fowl enough for killing, wood enough for felling, and good fresh water enough for drinking.

But our beds was the wet ground, and our bedding our wet clothes. We had plenty of crane, goose, ducks and mallard, with other fowl, both boiled and roasted, but our spits and racks were many times in danger of burning before the meat was ready (being but wooden ones.)

After I had stayed there three days, and no likelihood of a good wind to carry us further, I took with me six of my men, and our arms, and walked along the shore to discover as much by land as I could: after I had travelled about two English miles I met with a river which stayed me that I could go no further by land that day but returned to our place of habitation where we rested that night (having our lodging amended) for the day being dry I caused all my company to accompany me to a marsh ground, where we gathered every man his burthen of long dry grass, which being spread in our wigwam or house, I praise God I rested as contentedly as ever I did in all my life. And then came into my mind an old merry saying, which I have heard of a

beggar boy, who said if ever he should attain to be a king, he would have a breast of mutton with a pudding in it, and lodge every night up to the ears in dry straw, and thus I made myself and my company as merry as I could, with this and some other conceits, making this use of all, that it was much better than we deserved at God's hands, if he should deal with us according to our sins.

The next morning I caused four of my men to row my lesser boat to this river, who with much ado got in myself, and three more going by land; but by reason of the extremity of the weather we were enforced to stay there that night, and were constrained to sleep upon the river bank, being the best place we could find, the snow being very deep.

The next morning we were enforced to rise betime, for the tide came up so high that it washed away our fire, and would have served us so too if we had not kept watch. So we went over the river in our boat, where I caused some to stay with her, myself being desirous to discover further by land, I took with me four men and walked along the shore about six English miles further to the east where I found another river, which stayed me. So we returned back to Saco, where the rest of my company and my other boat lay. That night I was exceeding sick, by reason of the wet and cold and much toiling of my body: but thanks be to God I was indifferent well the next morning, and the wind being fair we put to sea, and that day came to Quack.

But before I speak of this place I must say something of Saco, and the two rivers which I discovered in that bay, which I think never Englishman saw before.

Saco is about one league to the north-east of a cape land. And about one English mile from the main lieth six islands, which make an indifferent good harbor. And in the main there is a cove or gut, which is about a cable's length in breadth, and two cables' length long, there two good ships may ride, being well moored ahead and stern, and within the cove there is a great marsh, where at a high water a hundred sail of ships may float, and be free from all winds, but at low water must lie aground, but being soft ooze they can take no hurt.

In this place there is a world of fowl, much good timber

and a great quantity of clear ground and good, if it be not a little too sandy. There hath been more fish taken within two leagues of this place this year than in any other in the land.

The river next to Saco eastwards, which I discovered by land, and after brought my boat into, is the strangest river that ever my eyes beheld. It flows at least ten foot water upright, and yet the ebb runs so strong that the tide doth not stem it. At three quarters flood my men were scarce able with four oars to row ahead. And more than that, at full sea I dipped my hand in the water, quite without the mouth of the river, in the very main ocean, and it was as fresh as though it had been taken from the head of a spring.

This river, as I am told by the savages, cometh from a great mountain called the Crystal hill, being as they say one hundred miles in the country, yet is it to be seen at the sea side, and there is no ship arrives in New England, either to the west so far as Cape Cod, or to the east so far as Monhiggen, but they see this mountain the first land, if the weather be clear.

The next river eastward which I discovered by land, is about six miles from the other. About these two rivers I saw much good timber and sandy ground, there is also much fowl, fish and other commodities: but these places are not fit for plantation for the present, because there is no good coming in, either for ship or boat, by reason of a sandy breach which lieth along the shore, and makes all one breach.

And now in its place I come to Quack, which I have named York. At this place there fished divers ships of Waymouth this year.

It lieth about two leagues to the east of Cape Elizabeth. It is a bay or sound betwixt the main and certain islands which lieth in the sea about one English mile and half.

There are four islands which makes one good harbor, there is very good fishing, much fowl and the main as good ground as any can desire. There I found one river wherein the savages say there is much salmon and other good fish. In this bay, there hath been taken this year four sturgeons, by fishermen who drive only for herrings, so that it is likely there may be good store taken if there were men fit for that

purpose. This river I made bold to call by my own name, Levett's river, being the first that discovered it. How far this river is navigable I cannot tell; I have been but six miles up it, but on both sides is goodly ground.

In the same bay I found another river, up which I went about three miles and found a great fall of water, much bigger than the fall at London bridge at low water, further a boat cannot go, but above the fall the river runs smooth again.

I note at this fall of water the sagamore or king of that place hath a house, where I was one day when there were two sagamores more, their wives and children, in all about fifty, and we were but seven. They bid me welcome and gave me such victuals as they had, and I gave them tobacco and aqua vitæ.

After I had spent a little time with them I departed and gave them a small shot, and they gave me another. And the great sagamore of the east country, whom the rest do acknowledge to be chief amongst them, he gave unto me a beaver's skin, which I thankfully received, and so in great love we parted. On both sides this river there is goodly ground.

From this harbor to Sagadahock, which is about eight or nine leagues, is all broken islands in the sea, which makes many excellent good harbors, where a thousand sail of ships may ride in safety; the sound going up within the islands to the cape of Sagadahock.

In the way betwixt York and Sagadahock lieth Cascoe, a good harbor, good fishing, good ground, and much fowl. And I am persuaded that from cape Elizabeth to Sagadahock, which is above thirty leagues to follow the main, is all exceeding commodious for plantations; and that there may be twenty good towns well seated, to take the benefit both of the sea, and fresh rivers.

For Sagadahock I need say nothing of it, there hath been heretofore enough said by others, and I fear me too much. But the place is good; there fished this year two ships.

The next place I came to was Capemanwagan, a place where nine ships fished this year. But I like it not for a plantation, for I could see little good timber and less good ground; there I staid four nights, in which time, there came

many savages with their wives and children, and some of good account amongst them, as Menawormet a sagamore, Cogawesco the sagamore of Casco, and Quack, now called York, Somerset, a sagamore, one that hath been found very faithful to the English, and hath saved the lives of many of our nation, some from starving, others from killing.

They intended to have been gone presently, but hearing of my being there, they desired to see me, which I understood by one of the masters of the ships, who likewise told me that they had some store of beaver coats and skins, and was going to Pemaquid to truck with one Mr. Witheridge, a master of a ship of Bartable, and desired me to use means that they should not carry them out of the harbor. I wished them to bring all their truck to one Mr. Coke's stage, and I would do the best I could to put it away: some of them did accordingly, and I then sent for the sagamores, who came, and after some compliments they told me I must be their cousin, and that Captain Gorges was so, (which you may imagine I was not a little proud of, to be adopted cousin to so many great kings at one instant, but did willingly accept of it) and so passing away a little time very pleasantly, they desired to be gone, whereupon I told them that I understood they had some coats and beaver skins which I desired to truck for: but they were unwilling, and I seemed careless of it (as men must do if they require anything of them.) But at last Somerset swore that there should be none carried out of the harbor, but his cousin Levett should have all, and then they began to offer me some by way of gift, but I would take none but one pair of sleeves from Cogawesco, but told them it was not the fashion of English captains always to be taking, but sometimes to take and give, and continually to truck was very good. But in fine, we had all except one coat and two skins, which they reserved to pay an old debt with; but they staying all that night, had them stole from them.

In the morning the sagamores came to me with a grievous complaint. I used the best language I could to give them content, and went with them to some stages which they most suspected, and searched both cabins and chests, but found none. They seeing my willingness to find the thief out, gave me thanks, and wished me to forbear, saying the

rogues had carried them into the woods where I could not find them.

When they were ready to depart they asked me where I meant to settle my plantation. I told them I had seen many places to the west, and intended to go further to the east before I could resolve; they said there was no good place, and I had heard that Pemoquid, and Capmanwagan, and Monhiggon were granted to others, and the best time for fishing was then at hand, which made me the more willing to retire, and the rather because Cogawesco the sagamore of Casco and Quack, told me if that I would sit down at either of those two places, I should be very welcome, and that he and his wife would go along with me in my boat to see them, which courtesy I had no reason to refuse, because I had set up my resolution before to settle my plantation at Quack, which I named York, and was glad of this opportunity, that I had obtained the consent of them, who as I conceive hath a natural right of inheritance, as they are the sons of Noah, and therefore do think it fit to carry things very fairly without compulsion, (if it be possible,) for avoiding of treachery.

The next day the wind came fair, and I sailed to Quack or York, with the king, queen, and prince, bow and arrows, dog and kettle in my boat, his noble attendance rowing by us in their canoes.

When we came to York the masters of the ships came to bid me welcome, and asked what savages those were. I told them, and I thanked them; they used them kindly, and gave them meat, drink, and tobacco. The woman or reputed queen, asked me if those men were my friends. I told her they were; then she drank to them, and told them they were welcome to her country, and so should all my friends be at any time; she drank also to her husband, and bid him welcome to her country too; for you must understand that her father was the sagamore of this place, and left it to her at his death, having no more children.

And thus after many dangers, much labor and great charge, I have obtained a place of habitation in New England, where I have built a house, and fortified it in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies as are those savage people.

CHAPTER II.

Sheweth how the Savages carried themselves unto me continually, and of my going to their King's houses: and their coming to mine.

Whilst I stayed in this place I had some little truck, but not much, by reason of an evil member in the harbor, who being covetous of truck used the matter so, that he got the savages away from me.

And it is no wonder that he should abuse me in this sort, for he hath not spared your lordships and all the counsel for New England.

He said unto the governor that the lords had sent men over into that country with commissions, to make a prey of others. And yet for my own part I never demanded or took from any man in that country, the value of a denier, neither had I so much help from any ship or ship's company as one man's labor the space of an hour, nor had I any provision or victual upon any terms whatsoever, save only one thousand of bread, and twenty-two bushels of peas, which was offered unto me, and not by me requested, for which I gave present satisfaction in beaver skins: and also one runlet of aqua vitæ, which was brought to me sixteen leagues unexpected, which good manners bid me buy. Much more provision was offered to me by many masters of ships, but I had no need thereof, so I gave them thanks for their kindness, and refused all.

Nay, it is well known, that I was so far from doing wrong to any, that I suffered the land which was granted to me by patent, and made choice of before any other man came there, to be used, and my timber to be cut down and spoiled, without taking or asking any satisfaction for the same. And I doubt not but all others to whom you gave authority, will sufficiently clear themselves of all such imputations.

He said also he cared not for any authority in that place, and though he was forbid to truck, yet would he have all he could get: in despite of who should say to the contrary,

having a great ship with seventeen pieces of ordnance and fifty men.

And indeed his practice was according to his words, for every Sunday, or once in the week, he went himself or sent a boat up the river and got all the truck before they could come down to the harbor. And so many savages as he could get to his stage, he would enforce them to leave their goods behind them. One instance amongst many I will give you.

On a certain day there came two savages to his place, who were under the command of Somerset or Conway, I know not whether, at which time they were both with me at my house, but the other two who went to him, knew not so much, but afterwards they understanding of it, came presently over, but left their coats and beaver skins behind them, whereat Somerset and Conway were exceeding angry; and were ready to beat the poor fellows, but I would not suffer them so to do. They presently went over the harbor themselves in their canoe to fetch their goods, but this man would let them have none, but wished them to truck with him; they told him they would not, but would carry them to Captain Levett; he said Levett was no captain, but a jacknape, a poor fellow, &c. They told him again that he was a rogue, with some other speeches, whereupon he and his company fell upon them and beat them both, in so much that they came to me in a great rage against him, and said they would be revenged on his fishermen at sea, and much ado I had to dissuade one of them from going into England to tell king James of it, as he said; when they came to me in this rage, there was two or three masters of ships by, and heard every word.

But all this did me no hurt, (save the loss of the truck, which by divers was thought to be worth above fifty pounds,) for the two sagamores whom he enticed from me and incensed against me, at length used means to be friends with me, sending one who asked me, if I were angry with them; I told them no, I was not angry with them for any such matter as lousy coats and skins, but if they were *matchet*, that is, naughty men, and rebellious, then I would be *mouchick hoggery*, that is very angry, and would *cram*, that is kill them all.

When they came themselves to me to seek peace, they

brought me in a beaver coat, and two otter skins which they would have let me had for nothing, but I would not take them so, but gave them more than usually I did by way of truck. I then told them likewise that if at any time they did truck with me, they should have many good things in lieu of their beaver; and if they did not truck it was no matter, I would be good friends with them, at which they smiled and talked one to the other, saying the other was a jacknape, and that I had the right fashion of the *aberieney* sagamores; then they began to applaud or rather flatter me, saying I was so big a sagamore, yea four fathom, which were the best words they could use to express their minds: I replied that I was a poor man as he had reported of me. They said again it was no matter what I said, or that jacknape (which is the most disgraceful word that may be in their conceit,) for all the sagamores in the country loved poor Levett and was *muchick* sorry that he would be gone, and indeed I cannot tell what I should think of them, for ever after they would bring me content, as eggs and the whole bodies of beaver, which in my conceit eat like lamb, and is not inferior to it: yea the very coats of beaver and otter skins, from off their backs, which though I many times refused, yet not always, but I never took any such courtesy from them, but I requited them answerably, choosing rather to neglect the present profit, than the hopes I have to bring them to better things, which I hope will be for a public good, and which I am persuaded were a grievous sin, to neglect for any sinister end.

And a little before my departure there came these sagamores to see me: Sadamoyt the great sagamore of the east country, Manawormet, Opparunwit, Shedraguscett, Cogawesco, Somerset, Conway and others.

They asked me why I would be gone out of their country? I was glad to tell them my wife would not come thither except I did fetch her; they bid a pox on her hounds (a phrase they have learned and do use when they do curse) and wished me to beat her. I told them no, for then our God would be angry. Then they run out upon her in evil terms, and wished me to let her alone and take another; I told them our God would be more angry for that. Again they bid me beat her, repeating it often, and very angerly,

but I answered no, that was not the English fashion, and besides she was a good wife and I had children by her, and I loved her well, so I satisfied them. Then they told me that I and my wife and children, with all my friends should be heartily welcome into that country at any time, yea a hundredth thousand times, *mouchicke, mouchicke*, which is a word of weight.

And Somersett told that his son (who was born whilst I was in the country, and whom he would needs have to name) and mine should be brothers and that there should be *mouchicke legamatch*, (that is friendship) betwixt them, until Tanto carried them to his wigwam, (that is until they died.)

Then they must know of me how long I would be wanting. I told them so many months, at which they seemed to be well pleased, but wished me to take heed I proved not *ohechaske* in that (that is liar.) They asked me what I would do with my house; I told them I would leave ten of my men there until I came again, and that they should kill all the Tarrentens they should see (being enemies to them) and with whom the English have no commerce. At which they rejoiced exceedingly, and then agreed amongst themselves, that when the time should be expired, which I spoke of for my return, every one at that place where he lived should look to the sea, and when they did see a ship they would send to all the sagamores in the country, and tell them that poor Levett was come again, and thus instead of doing me hurt, I think that either he or I have done good to all planters, by winning their affections, (which may be made use of without trusting of them.)

But if your Lordships should put up this wrong done unto you, and the authority which you gave them, never expect to be obeyed in those parts, either by planters or fishermen; for some have not stuck to say, that if such a man, contemning authority, and abusing one of the council, and drawing his knife upon him at his own house, which he did, should go unpunished, then would not they care what they did hereafter.

And truly let me tell your Lordships, that if ever you intend to punish any for disobedience, or contempt of authority, this man is a fit instrument to make a precedent of, for

he is rich, and this year will gain the best part of five hundred pounds by that country, and he hath neither wife nor child, for whose sakes he should be spared.

And if he go free, as he hath domineered over us, to whom your Lordships gave authority, but no power to put it in execution, so will he grow unmannerly too with your Lordships, as he hath already begun.

And it will discourage men hereafter to take any authority upon them, or to go about to reform any abuses in those parts, and also it will hinder planters from going over, if fishermen be suffered not only to take away their truck, but also to animate the savages against them, for this is the way to cause all planters to have their throats cut.

But I leave these things to your Lordships' consideration, who have so well power as authority to punish such rebellious persons.

Thus having acquainted you with what I have done, seen, and heard, now give me leave to tell you what I think of the savages, the inhabitants of that country: as also to justify the innocent, I mean the country of New England, against the slanderous reports of this man, and some others which I have heard, and likewise to deliver my opinion, what courses I conceive to be most convenient to be taken, for bringing most glory to God, comfort, honor and benefit to our king, and our own native nation.

CHAPTER III.

Sheweth the nature and disposition of the Savages, and of their several Gods, Squanto and Tanto.

I have had much conference with the savages, about our only true God, and have done my best to bring them to know and acknowledge him; but I fear me all the labor that way will be lost, and no good will be done, except it be among the younger sort.

I find they have two gods: one they love and the other they hate: the god they love, they call Squanto, and to him they ascribe all their good fortunes.

The god they hate they call Tanto, and to him they ascribe all their evil fortunes, as thus, when any is killed, hurt or sick, or when it is evil weather, then they say Tanto is *hoggry*, that is angry. When any dies, they say Tanto carries them to his *wigwam*, that is his house, and they never see them more.

I have asked them where Squanto dwells: they say they cannot tell; but up on high, and will point upwards. And for Tanto, they say far west, but they know not where.

I have asked them if at any time they have seen Squanto, or Tanto: they say no, there is none sees them but their pawwaws, nor they neither, but when they dream.

Their pawwaws are their physicians and surgeons, and as I verily believe they are all witches, for they foretell of ill weather, and many strange things; every sagamore hath one of them who belongs to his company, and they are altogether directed by them.

On a time I was at a sagamore's house, and saw a martin's skin, and asked if he would truck it; the sagamore told me no: the pawwaw used to lay that under his head when he dreamed, and if he wanted that, he could do nothing: thus we may perceive how the devil deludes those poor people, and keeps them in blindness.

I find them generally to be marvellous quick of apprehension, and full of subtlety; they will quickly find any man's disposition, and flatter and humor him strangely, if they hope to get anything of him; and yet they will count him a fool if he do not shew a dislike of it, and will say one to another, that such a man is *mechecome*.

They are slow of speech, and if they hear a man speak much they will laugh at him, and say he is *mechecum*, that is a fool.

If men of place be too familiar with them, they will not respect them; therefore it is to be wished that all such persons should be wise in their carriage.

The sagamores will scarce speak to an ordinary man, but will point to their men, and say sanops must speak to sanops, and sagamores to sagamores.

They are very bloody-minded and full of treachery amongst themselves; one will kill another for their wives, and he that hath the most wives is the bravest fellow; therefore I would

wish no man to trust them, whatever they say or do; but always to keep a strict hand over them, and yet to use them kindly, and deal uprightly with them; so shall they please God, keep their reputation amongst them, and be free from danger.

Their sagamores are no kings, as I verily believe, for I can see no government or law amongst them but club law; and they call all masters of ships sagamore, or any other man that they see have a command of men.

Their wives are their slaves, and do all the work; the men will do nothing but kill beasts, fish, &c.

On a time reasoning with one of their sagamores, about their having so many wives, I told him it was no good fashion; he then asked me how many wives king James had; I told him he never had but one, and she was dead, at which he wondered, and asked me who then did all the king's work. You may imagine he thought their fashion was universal, and that no king had any to work for them but their wives.

They have no apparel but skins, except they have it from the English or French; in winter they wear the hair side inwards, in summer outwards. They have a piece of a skin about their loins like a girdle, and between their legs goes another, made fast to the girdle before and behind, which serves to cover their nakedness; they are all thus apparelled, going bare-headed with long hair; sometimes you shall not know the men from the women but by their breasts; the men having no hair on their faces.

When their children are born they bind them on a piece of board, and set it upright, either against a tree or any other place. They keep them thus bound until they be three months old; and after, they are continually naked until they be about five or six years.

Ye shall have them many times take their children and bury them in the snow all but their faces for a time, to make them the better to endure cold; and when they are above two years old, they will take them and cast them into the sea, like a little dog or cat, to learn them to swim.

Their weapons are bows and arrows; I never saw more than two fowling pieces, one pistol, about four half-pikes, and three cutlasses amongst them, so that we need not to fear them much, if we avoid their treachery.

Their houses are built in half an hour's space, being only a few poles or boughs stuck in the ground and covered with the barks of trees.

Their language differs as English and Welsh. On a time the governor was at my house, and brought with him a savage, who lived not above seventy miles from the place which I have made choice of, who talking with another savage, they were glad to use broken English to express their mind each to the other, not being able to understand one another in their language.

And to say something of the country. I will not do therein as some have done to my knowledge, speak more than is true; I will not tell you that you may smell the corn fields before you see the land; neither must men think that corn doth grow naturally, (or on trees,) nor will the deer come when they are called, or stand still and look on a man until he shoot him, not knowing a man from a beast; nor the fish leap into the kettle, nor on the dry land, neither are they so plentiful, that you may dip them up in baskets, nor take cod in nets to make a voyage, which is no truer than that the fowls will present themselves to you with spits through them.

But certainly there is fowl, deer, and fish enough for the taking, if men be diligent; there be also vines, plum trees, strawberries, gooseberries, and rasps, walnuts, chestnut, and small nuts, of each great plenty; there is also great store of parsley, and divers other wholesome herbs, both for profit and pleasure, with great store of sassafras, sarsaparilla, and aniseeds.

And for the ground there is a large and goodly marsh to make meadow, higher land for pasture and corn.

There be these several sorts of earth, which I have seen, as clay, sand, gravel, yea, and as black fat earth, as ever I saw in England in all my life.

There are likewise these helps for ground, as seasand, oreworth or wrack, marl, blue and white, and some men say there is lime; but I must confess I never saw any limestone: but I have tried the shells of fish, and I find them to be good lime.

Now let any husbandman tell me, whether there be any fear of having any kind of corn, having these several kinds

of earth with these helps, the climate being full as good if not better than England.

I dare be bold to say also, there may be ships as conveniently there as in any place in the world, where I have been, and better cheap. As for plank, crooked timber, and all other sorts whatsoever can be desired for such purpose, the world cannot afford better.

Masts and yards of all sizes, there be also trees growing, whereof pitch and tar is made.

And for sails and all sorts of cordish you need not to want, if you but sow hemp and flaxseed, and after work it. Now there wants nothing but iron, and truly I think I have seen iron-stone there, but must acknowledge I have no great judgment in minerals, yet I have seen the iron-works in England, and this stone is like ours. But howsoever if the country will not afford iron, yet it may be easily brought, for it is good ballast for ships.

There is also much excellent timber for joiners and coopers; howsoever a worthy nobleman hath been abused, who sent over some to make pipe-staves; who either for want of skill or industry, did no good. Yet I dare say no place in England can afford better timber for pipe-staves, than four several places which I have seen in that country.

Thus have I related unto you what I have seen, and do know may be had in those parts of New England where I have been, yet was I never at the Mesachusett, which is counted the paradise of New England, nor at Cape Ann, but I fear there hath been too fair a gloss set on Cape Ann. I am told there is a good harbor which makes a fair invitation, but when they are in, their entertainment is not answerable, for there is little good ground, and the ships which fished there this year, their boats went twenty miles to take their fish, and yet they were in great fear of making their voyages, as one of the masters confessed unto me who was at my house.

Neither was I at New Plymouth, but I fear that place is not so good as many others, for if it were, in my conceit, they would content themselves with it and not seek for any other, having ten times so much ground as would serve ten times so many people as they have now amongst them. But it seems they have no fish to make benefit of, for this year

they had one ship fish at Pemoquid, and another at Cape Ann, where they have begun a new plantation, but how long it will continue I know not.

Neither was I ever farther to the west than the Isle of Shoals.

Thus have I done with my commendations of the country; I will now speak the worst I know by it.

About the middle of May you shall have little flies, called mosquitoes, which are like gnats; they continue, as I am told, until the last of July. These are very troublesome for the time, for they sting exceedingly both by night and day. But I found by experience that boots or thick stockings would save the legs, gloves the hands, and tiffany or some such things which will not much hinder the sight, will save the face, and at night any smoke will secure a man.

The reason of the abundance of these creatures, I take to be the woods which hinders the air, for I have observed always when the wind did blow but a little, we were not much troubled with them.

And I verily think that if there were a good number of people planted together, and that the woods were cut down, the earth were tilled, and the rubbish which lieth on the ground wherein they breed were burnt, and that there were many chimneys smoking, such small creatures would do but little hurt.

Another evil or inconvenience I see there, the snow in winter did lie very long upon the ground.

But I understand that all the parts of Christendom were troubled with a cold winter as well as we. Yet would I ask any man what hurt snow doeth? The husbandman will say that corn is the better for it. And I hope cattle may be as well fed in the house there as in England, Scotland, and other countries, and he is but an ill husband that cannot find employments for his servants within doors for that time. As for wives and children if they be wise they will keep themselves close by a good fire, and for men they will have no occasion to ride to fairs or markets, sizes or sessions, only hawks and hounds will not then be useful.

Yet let me tell you that it is still almost Christmas before there be any winter there, so that the cold time doth not continue long.

And by all reason that country should be hotter than England, being many degrees farther from the north pole.

And thus according to my poor understanding I have given you the best information I can of the people and country, commodities and discommodities. Now give me leave to oppose myself against the man beforementioned, and others, who speaks against the country, and plantations in those parts, and to set down such objections as I have heard them make, and my answers, and afterward let wisdom judge: for my desire is, that the saddle may be set on the right horse, and the ass may be rid, and the knave punished either for discouraging or encouraging too much, whosoever he be.

CHAPTER V.

Certain Objections and Answers, with sufficient Proofs how it may be exceeding profitable to the Commonwealth, and all Planters and Adventurers.

They say the country is good for nothing but to starve so many people as comes in it.

It is granted that some have been starved to death, and others have hardly escaped, but where was the fault, in the country or in themselves. That the country is as I have said, I can bring one hundred men to justify it; but if men be neither industrious nor provident, they may starve in the best place of the world.

About two years since one Mr. Weston sent over about fifty persons to plant, with little provision; when they came there, they neither applied themselves to planting of corn nor taking of fish, more than for their present use, but went about to build castles in the air, and making of forts, neglecting the plentiful time of fishing. When winter came their forts would not keep out hunger, and they having no provision beforehand, and wanting both powder and shot to kill deer and fowl, many were starved to death, and the rest hardly escaped. There are four of his men which escaped, now at my plantation, who have related unto me the whole business.

Again, this last year there went over divers at one time, and to one place, with too little provision ; some of them are dead, yet I cannot hear of any that were merely starved, except one whose name was Chapman, a Londoner, and whether he was starved or no is uncertain ; but if he were, God's just judgment did appear.

For this man (as I am told by an honest man who came from London with him) brought at the least eighty pounds' worth of provision, and no more but himself and two servants, which was sufficient for at the least eighteen months, if it had been well used. And yet in five months after his arrival in New England he died miserably.

Let me tell you a strange thing of this man ; (I have it but by relation from one of his companions) he payed for his passage, and his mens', and provision, so that he needed not to have spent any thing until his arrival in New England, yet would he at Plymouth, (where the ship stayed too long for him and others,) spent seven or eight pound a week in wine, tobacco, and whores, and for the maintaining of this expense he daily fetched his provision from aboard, and sold it at a low rate. And when they were at sea, his tobacco being spent, he gave usually sixpence for a pipe ; he gave also a suit of clothes, valued to be worth fifty shillings, for so much tobacco as was not worth half a crown. Nay, at last, as his comrade told me, he was glad to become servant to one of his servants. Then his master told him, that if he would work he would allow him one biscuit cake a day, if not he should have but half a cake. He made choice of half a cake, without work ; and so a base, lazy fellow, made a lamentable end. Where was the fault now, in the men or in the country ?

Another objection which I have met with, is this : That there is nothing got or saved by sending men over to plant ; neither is it beneficial either to private men, either adventurer or planter, or good for the commmonwealth.

In answer hereunto, first for matter of profit, it is well known to all the merchants of the west country, who have left almost all other trade but this, and yet is grown rich thereby.

Secondly, for the commonwealth consider these things : 1. The great complaint that hath for so long time been

made in England, that our land is overburthened with people, and that there is no employment for our men, so that it is likely they must either starve, steal, or prove mutinous, and whether plantations be a means to help this inconvenience or no, I desire to know?

It hath been likewise said unto me, that it benefits the commonwealth nothing at all to send men over with provision of clothes, victuals, and continual supplies.

To that I say, let such men, as you send thither to plant, have provision as Chapman had for eighteen months, and if after, they cannot live of themselves, and be beneficial either to the commonwealth or to themselves, let them die Chapman's death.

Again plantations may be beneficial to the commonwealth, by the enlargement of his majesty's dominions.

Again by the increase of shipping, (which is the strength of a nation,) and that without wasting of our timber, which is a commodity that I fear England will find the want of before many years pass over; for if timber go to decay as now it doth, we shall scarce have any to build, or repair ships or houses. Again, tell me whether it would be beneficial to the commonwealth to have all our idle persons kept to work, and our populous nation disburthened, and yet to have them ready to serve our king and country upon all occasions?

Lastly, tell me whether it would be beneficial to the commonwealth to have all poor people maintained out of those arts. And every parish freed from their weekly payments to the poor, which if I do not make to appear, then let me be accounted an unworthy fellow. But first let me set down another objection, which seems to be of great force, and yet in my conceit is like the rest, shallow, and that is this.

If, say they, there be so many plantations, there will be no room in the country for such ships as do come yearly to make voyages, and by this means ships shall lie still and decay, mariners and fishermen shall want employment, and so all will be out of frame if ever we shall have wars. And therefore, howsoever it may be beneficial to some few persons, yet it will be hurtful to the commonwealth.

I answer, that if these things were thoroughly examined

by his majesty, the parliament, or council-table, it would plainly appear, that the most of them which keep such ado against plantations, are the greatest enemies to the public good, and that their shew of care for the commonwealth is nothing but a color, for the more clearly concealing of their unknown profits. It will also appear, that plantations are for the public good, and by that means there shall be more and better cheap ships built and employed, more mariners and fishermen kept to work than now there are, and more people partakers of the benefits than now there doth.

Which I prove thus: first, there may be timber had to build ships, and ground for corn and keeping of cattle, and all for little or nothing.

Secondly, there may be more men trained up in fishing than now there is, whose trade is decayed in England, and they ready to starve for want of employments.

Thirdly, there may be twice so much fish taken every year as now there is. For ships that go to make voyages, seldom or never keep their boats at sea above two months or ten weeks, for making their voyage, and I dare maintain that there is fish enough to be taken, seven months in the year, if men be there ready to take opportunities.

Fourthly, the more fish that is taken, the more ships there must be for the transportation of it.

Fifthly, whereas now none doth take the benefit, but a few merchants; not all the merchants in the land, no not one of a thousand.

By plantations, not only all the merchants in the land, but all the people in the land may partake thereof.

And now to shew you how the profit may arise.

CHAPTER VI.

Sheweth how by adventuring of a hundred pounds, more or less, a man may profit so much every year, for twenty years or longer, without any more charge than at the first.

I must confess I have studied no other art a long time but the mysteries of New England's trade, and I hope at last, I

have attained to the understanding of the secrets of it, which I think the fishermen are sorry for; but it shall be no longer concealed, for that I think every good subject is bound to prefer the public before his own private good.

First, therefore, I will shew you the charge which every merchant is at yearly, in sending their ships to fish there, and so near as I can the profit they make of such voyages. Then we will see the charge which planters must be at, in sending men over to stay there, and the profit they are likely to make, and so by comparing the one with the other, we shall see which is the better and more profitable course.

A ship of two hundred ton, commonly doth carry in those voyages fifty men; these men are at no charge, but twenty shillings a man towards their victuals, neither have they any wages; but in lieu thereof, they have one third part of all the fish and train.

Another third part is allowed the owners of the ship for their fraught, and the other third part is allowed for the victual, salt, nets, hooks, lines and other implements for taking and making the fish.

The charge of victualling (which is usually for nine months,) the salt, &c., doth commonly amount to about eight hundred pounds; and for that they have (as I said one third part of the fish,) which is near sixty-seven ton, the ship being laden, which will make thirteen hundred and forty quintals, (at the market). Sometimes when they come to a good market they sell their fish for forty-four rials a quintal, and so to thirty-six rials, which is the least, but say they have forty, one time with another, and at that rate one third of the ships lading, doth yield thirteen hundred and forty pounds, which they have for disbursing of eight hundred pounds nine months.

Now take notice that they are but eight or ten weeks in taking all their fish, and about one month longer in making it fit to be shipped.

Which being considered, then say that such men as are sent over to plant, have twelve months provision, which will amount to one thousand and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, four pence; these men stay in the country, and do take the benefit both of the first and last fishing season, and

all other opportunities, the fishing, continuing good, at the least seven months in the year, though not all at one time: now I hope you will grant that they are as likely to take two ships lading as the other one, which if they do, one third thereof at the same rate, will amount to two thousand six hundred and eighty pounds, the charge you are at being deducted, the profit is one thousand and nineteen pounds, six shillings, eight pence. Now tell me seriously, which is the more profitable course?

Again consider, that in all likelihood this fish is to be taken in five months, then have you seven months more to employ your men in the country every year, about building of ships, cleaving of pipe-staves, or any other thing, and will that be worth nothing?

Truly this I will say, send men over but with eighteen months' provision, and cattle, and corn to plant, and other necessaries, and they shall afford you thus much profit yearly, without ever putting you to more charge, if God bless them with health, and you, from losses, (and I never heard of any great loss by adventuring thither) and that you be fitted with good and understanding men to oversee the business, who is able to direct them.

CHAPTER VII.

Showeth how every Parish may be freed of their weekly payments to the Poor, by the Profits which may be fetched thence. With certain Objections against the things contained in this and the former Chapter: with Answers thereunto.

And thus have I shewed you what hopes there is of profit by plantations, yet have I shewed you no other means to raise it, but by fish and timber. I would not have you say there is nothing else in the country to make any benefit of; for I assure you it is well known to myself, and others who have been there, that there are divers other good things there to be had; but I do not love to speak of all at one time, but to reserve some to stop the mouths of such prating

coxcombs as will never be satisfied with any reason, but will always cavil, though to little purpose.

And methinks I hear some such people buzzing in some other objections, and bidding me stay, and not fish before the net, for there are many lets, as these. There are many ships go, that make not so good voyages as I speak of; for they are so long beaten in their passage, or on the coast, that the best of the fishing is past before they be there.

To that I answer, I speak not what every ship doth, but what some do, and all others may do, if they be in the country to take all opportunities.

2. Object. That it is not possible to make plantations so public a business, as that it should redound to the benefit of all the king's subjects. And again that there will never be so much money raised as to establish such plantations, for that most men of this age respects their own profit one hundred times more then the public good; and their hearts are so glued to the world, that they shall as soon hang them as draw anything from them, though it be never so charitable a use. And if it should be by way of commandment, it would be a grievance not to be endured.

But I would ask such men whether they be so void of charity, as that they will not do themselves good, because some others shall have some by it also? And whether they will be grieved at a man for showing of them how, by the disbursing of twenty shillings, they shall have twenty shillings a year, for seven, ten or twenty years, and perhaps for ever.

My desire is not that any should be compelled, only this I could wish that every parish would adventure so much as they pay weekly to the relief of the poor (which is no great matter) and so every shire by itself, would send over men to plant. And if after eighteen months they shall not yearly return so much profits continually as will keep their poor, and ease their purses (provided always, as I said before, that they send such men as are fit, and that the justices of every shire be careful to appoint such a man to be their captain and director as is honest, and of good understanding, and that God bless them from losses,) will I be contented to suffer death.

And yet let me tell you, that if it should please God, that

once in seven years a ship should be cast away (which is more than hath been usual, for I dare say, that for every ship that is cast away in those voyages, there is one hundred which cometh safe) yet it is but that year's profit lost, and perhaps not half.

Another objection may be this, that all men are not fishermen, and that it is not so easy a thing to take fish, as I make it.

To that I answer, that take a survey of all the men that goeth in these voyages, and there shall not be found one third of them that are merely fishermen, and no other trades.

Nay I know many ship-companies that have amongst them, house carpenters, masons, smiths, tailors, shoemakers, and such like, and indeed it is most fit that they should be such: and I saw by experience, that divers who were never at sea before this year, proved very good fishermen; but I could wish that ever a fifth part of a company be fishermen, and the rest will quickly be trained up, and made skilful.

I would to God that some one shire, or more would begin this godly and profitable course. For certainly, God hath created all for the use of man, and nothing hath he created in vain.

And if we will endure poverty in England wilfully, and suffer so good a country as this is to lie waste, I am persuaded we are guilty of a grievous sin against God, and shall never be able to answer it.

I could also wish, that the lords both spiritual and temporal, the knights and others to whom God hath given abundance of these outward things, would (for the honor of God, the comfort of the poor of our land) join together, and by a voluntary contribution raise a sum of money, and employ it this way; and that the profits might go to the maintaining of poor children, and training them up in this course, by which they may be kept from begging and stealing.

CHAPTER VIII.

Contains certain Directions for all private Persons that intend to go into New England to plant.

Next unto this I could wish, that every private man that hath a desire this way, would consider these things which I will here set down before he go too far, least he deprive himself of the profit I have shewed may be had, and be one of those that repent when it is too late, and so bring misery upon himself, and scandalize the country, as others have done.

1. That it is a country, where none can live except he either labor himself, or be able to keep others to labor for him.

2. If a man have a wife and many small children, not to come there, except for every three loiterers, he have one worker; which if he have, he may make a shift to live, and not starve.

3. If a man have but as many good laborers as loiterers, he shall live much better there than in any place I know.

4. If all be laborers, and no children, then let him not fear, but to do more good there in seven years than in England in twenty.

5. Let no man go without eighteen months provision, so shall he take the benefit of two seasons before his provision be spent.

6. Let as many plant together as may be, for you will find that very comfortable, profitable and secure.

FINIS.

Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts Bay; with the Code adopted in 1641, *and called* THE BODY OF LIBERTIES, *now first printed. By* F. C. GRAY, *LL. D., A. A. S., S. H. S.*

THE true history and real character of the early laws of Massachusetts have been very much misunderstood. They are in fact highly honorable to our ancestors, and evince not only their acknowledged love of liberty, but a degree of practical good sense in legislation, and a liberality of sentiment far greater, than have usually been ascribed to them; for it has been generally asserted and believed, that their first Code of Laws was deduced almost literally from the Books of Moses. This belief has given rise to no little ridicule, and however creditable to their piety it may have seemed to some in former times, it has certainly not tended to give the world in general, at the present day, a very exalted idea of their legislative wisdom. As it is extremely erroneous, it is quite time, that it should be accounted for and corrected.

The early existence and long continuance of this error is by no means surprising. In the year 1641 there was published in London a pamphlet entitled: "An Abstract of the Laws of New England as they are now established. Printed in London 1641." It consists of Ten Chapters, and its provisions are chiefly taken from the Old Testament, and are for the most part accompanied by references to the chapter and verse, on which they are severally founded.

Fourteen years afterwards the same work, but in a somewhat more complete form, and citing at length the passages of scripture referred to, was published under the following title: "An Abstract of Laws and Government, wherein as in a mirror may be seen the wisdom and perfection of the government of Christ's Kingdom, accommodable to any State or form of government in the world, that is not antichristian or tyrannical. Collected and digested into the ensuing method by that godly, grave and judicious divine Mr. John Cotton of Boston in New England in his lifetime, and presented to the General Court of Massachusetts. And now published after his death, by William Aspinwall. Isa. 33. 22. *Jehovah is our Judge, Jehovah is our Lawgiver, Jehovah is our King, he will save us.* London, 1655."

In the preface, Aspinwall, the editor, states, that this Abstract was collected out of the scriptures by Mr. John Cotton, accommodated to the Colony of Massachusetts in New England, and commended to the General Court there; and intimates, that it would have been better for them, if they had then had the heart to receive it. In another part of the Preface, he says of it, "that being with all sweetness and amiableness of spirit tendered, but not accepted, he [Cotton] surceased to press it any further at that season."

The Collection of Documents published by Governor Hutchinson in 1769, as an Appendix to his History, contains the same work with a few very slight variations, under the name of "Abstract of the Laws of New England." Governor Hutchinson in a note mentions the edition of 1655, and refers not only to that edition, but also to a Manuscript Life of Cotton by Davenport to show, that Cotton drew up this Abstract. He adds, that it ought rather to be called a Code of Laws prepared for Massachusetts Bay; "for although when they compiled their Laws, they made this abstract their plan in general, yet they departed from it in many instances, and in some, which were very material." *

From Governor Winthrop's Journal, first printed in 1790, it appears, under date of October 1636, that "Mr. Cotton did this court, present a model of Moses his Judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further

* Hutchinson's Collections, p. 161.

consideration till the next General Court." * In the same Journal, under date of December, 1641, is the following passage. "This session continued three weeks, and established one hundred Laws, which were called the Body of Liberties. They had been composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward sometime Pastor of the Church of Ipswich: he had been a minister in England, and formerly a student and practiser in the course of the common law." †

In the fifth volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, A. D. 1798, the edition of this Abstract of 1641 is reprinted, and after it, the Preface prefixed by Aspinwall to the edition of 1655.‡ This reprint is accompanied by the conjecture, that Sir Henry Vane wrote the work, or at least assisted Cotton in it, a conjecture resting only on the ground, that he was here in 1636, intimate with Cotton, and of the same political and religious sentiments.

In Savage's Edition of Winthrop's Journal, we find the following note of the learned Editor on the appointment of a Committee in 1639 to prepare a Code of Laws. "In December, 1641, the labors of these Legislators were perfected, as this history will shew. The result was printed in London immediately after. An Abstract may be found by the curious 1 Hist. Coll. v. 171 — 192, with an account of a second edition by Aspinwall. We may be sure, that Winthrop could not be mistaken in ascribing to Ward the principal honor of the work, though Cotton has often enjoyed it. Perhaps any one of twenty in the civil or clerical line, had contributed as much as Cotton, though his name would carry the greatest weight."§

In balancing these authorities, the chief weight must be given to those of Winthrop and of Aspinwall, not only as contemporaries, but because they had such means of information, that it is hardly possible they should be mistaken. Governor Winthrop's position is well known. William Aspinwall was among the eminent men of the Colony in that day. He came out with Winthrop and was deacon of the Church in Boston, under the pastoral care of Wilson and Cotton from its foundation, till the two colleagues differing in the Antinomian controversy, he joined with Cotton and

* 1 Wint. J. p. 202. † 2 Wint. J. 55. ‡ 1 Hist. Col. v. 171. § 1 Wint. J. 322.

went so far beyond him, that in the year 1637, he was disfranchised and expelled from the General Court, of which he had been chosen a member for Boston. He then went, with the rest of Mrs. Hutchinson's most zealous adherents, to Providence; but returned to Boston in 1642, and was, on submission, reconciled both to the Church and to the Government. At the time of his publishing the Abstract, he seems to have been in England.

Now Aspinwall's statement, that it was drawn up by Cotton, and was not accepted by the General Court coincides perfectly with what we are told by Winthrop; that Cotton made and presented a model, but that the code actually adopted and called the Body of Liberties was composed by Ward. The only contemporaneous evidence, that this Abstract or anything like it, was ever in fact established, is the mere title of the London edition of 1641. But we know not by whom this title was prefixed to it. Probably by the publisher there. Certainly not by any person in New England, since no one here could be ignorant, that there were no laws common to all New England, but that each of the Colonies then existing in it was entirely independent of the others and unconnected with them; and no one residing here or well acquainted with our condition could have given to the Laws of Massachusetts Bay the title of the Laws of New England. The Abstract may have found its way to England at any time after 1636, and when it was learned there in 1641, that a Code of Laws had been adopted in New England, this title may not unnaturally have been put before it. However this may be, it was certainly put there by one unacquainted with our condition, and is therefore of no weight against the concurrent and positive testimony of Winthrop and Aspinwall. It should be observed, that it does not purport to be a copy of the Laws, but only an Abstract of them.

Governor Hutchinson's opinion, that this Abstract, though differing in some instances very materially from the laws first established, was yet the general plan or basis of them, is also untenable. For in his own collection, only seventeen pages after this, is printed the Declaration of the General Court holden at Boston November 4th, 1646, concerning the Remonstrance of Dr. Child and others, which

Declaration contains a parallel between the provisions of Magna Charta and other laws of England, on the one hand, and the "Fundamentals of Massachusetts," on the other.* In this they set forth forty-four fundamental propositions, annexing to each the authorities for it. Six times they refer for authority to their Charter, — seven times to Custom, — eight times to laws of specified dates, — once to the Bible, — and twenty-seven times to the "Liberties," citing each by its appropriate number. Now the provisions thus cited by them from the Body of Liberties, as their fundamental laws, are not to be found, in form or in substance, in this Abstract. How can this then have been the basis of their Code?

As to the conjecture, that Vane had a hand in drawing it up, this seems purely gratuitous; for Cotton was perfectly competent to it, and the work contains nothing that might not just as naturally fall from his pen as from that of Vane, or that can lead us to distrust in the least the contemporaneous authorities on this point, which all concur in ascribing it to Cotton and to him alone.

Being long since satisfied, for the reasons above stated, that the Abstract so repeatedly printed was not the Code established in 1641, nor the substance of it, I carefully examined the ancient records of the Colony, and soon ascertained, that this Code had not been printed, and that no copy of it existed among those Records. The researches, in which I was then engaged, led me next to seek for the first printed edition of the Laws, published in 1649; but I have never been able to find it. During this pursuit, however, it so chanced, that one day, more than twenty years ago, I took up from a corner in the old Athenæum, a folio volume containing the Colony Laws, as published in 1672; an edition not of any great rarity. But bound up with it was a manuscript of about sixty pages in the hand-writing of that day, which is not easily read. This volume appeared to have belonged to Elisha Hutchinson, who was the grandfather of Governor Hutchinson, and who died in 1717 at the age of 77. On examining the manuscript carefully, I found it to contain a copy of the Colonial Charter of 1629,

* Hutch. Col. 196.

together with ten other valuable documents relating to our early history, one of which was "A COPPIE OF THE LIBERTIES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY IN NEW ENGLAND."

Its genuineness was soon placed beyond question. All the documents accompanying it are undoubtedly genuine, and may now be found printed, with one exception, at full length, in our collections of public documents. It is divided into one hundred distinct articles, separated from each other by strong black lines; and although the introductory and concluding paragraphs are not numbered as laws, so that the highest number is ninety-eight, whereas Winthrop says the Body of Liberties contained a hundred laws, yet this is but an instance of that substantial agreement with circumstantial variation, which is one of the strongest evidences of truth. On comparing these numbers with the citations from the Liberties made in support of the fundamental laws by the General Court in 1646, it was found that they agree, and that the articles in this manuscript are numbered in the same manner as in the official copy then used by them. These liberties too are, almost without exception, incorporated, and often in the same words, into the printed Laws of the Colony, which are entitled "Laws and Liberties." Three complete editions of these were published by authority, viz. in 1649, in 1660 and in 1672. In these the laws were not inserted in the order of their dates, as in modern times; but all existing provisions of law were consolidated, and classed under appropriate titles, arranged in alphabetical order. So that the complete codification of the Statute Law is no new thing under the sun, but was practised by the Colonists of Massachusetts from the beginning. In this manuscript we find in the margin, opposite most of the Liberties, the number of a page and sometimes of a section. These are references to the page and section of the edition of 1672, where the same provision may be found.

This then is beyond all doubt the Body of Liberties composed by Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, author of the Simple Cobbler of Agawam, and adopted by the Colony of Massachusetts in 1641; the first Code of Laws established in New England.

On comparing it with the Abstract drawn up by Cotton in 1636, it will be seen that it bears no resemblance to it either in form or in substance, excepting, that in the Article entitled Capital Laws, each clause is supported by texts from the Old Testament. Many of the Puritans of that day hesitated to inflict capital punishment without warrant of scripture; and accordingly even the crime of rape was not made capital till the next year, 1642.* But as to all other offences, which they thought worthy of death, there was no difficulty in finding authority in the Pentateuch for its infliction, and these texts were cited to satisfy all scruples.

But while the Body of Liberties made no crime capital, which was not so by the Law of Moses, it did not go the length of the Abstract, and inflict the punishment of death in every case where it was inflicted by that Law; as for Heresy, profaning the Lord's day, and reviling of Magistrates, for which last the notable case of Shimei, in the second Chapter of the first Book of Kings, is quoted as authority. Neither does the Book of Liberties cite scripture except in relation to punishments, whereas in the Abstract such citation is carried to an almost ludicrous extent. As where it is provided, that the Governor and in his absence the Deputy Governor shall have power to send out warrants for calling of the General Court, and authority for this provision is gravely cited from Joshua xxiv. 1. *And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem,*" &c. And again "Every Court shall have certain officers, as a Secretary to enroll all the acts of the Court. 1 Kings, iv. 3. *Elihoreph and Ahiah the sons of Shisha scribes; Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud recorder.*"

These examples are sufficient to show the character of the Abstract drawn up by John Cotton. But the smile, they may excite, should not diminish our veneration for that eminent and holy man, and those who concurred with him

* The provisions of the Abstract on this subject strikingly exhibit the manner, in which those good men found all things in the scripture This crime committed against a woman married or espoused was considered as adultery or quasi adultery, and as such, was a capital offence But committed against a maiden not contracted, it was not to be punished with death, but 1. With fine or penalty to the father of the maid. 2. With marriage of the maid, if she and her father consent. 3. With corporal punishment of stripes, "for this wrong is a real slander." For the whimsical ground of this last whimsical position (deemed necessary in order to justify the punishment of stripes in this case) I must refer to the original.

in this matter. Our ancestors were of the strictest sect of the Puritans. Their zeal for their peculiar tenets and forms, animated by controversy, and exasperated by cruel persecutions, had driven them from the comforts of the civilized world into the wilderness, and it is not surprising, that it should have almost eaten them up. Their sufferings under the Hierarchy of England might naturally lead them to renounce all authority, but that of the scriptures, and to seek in them the only rules of civil government, as well as of moral and religious duty. No wonder, that the professional champions of those tenets and forms should possess very great authority; and that possessing it, they should not refrain from its exercise, or from seeking to extend it, by providing, that the scriptures, of which they were themselves the chief interpreters, should be the only Law of the Land. If the love of power inherent in our nature had its influence on them in this, they were no doubt entirely unconscious of it, and acted from the sincere conviction, that the scheme they proposed was the most conducive to the honor of God and to the welfare of Men. It must be admitted also, that the scriptures were not unfrequently appealed to by the Legislature itself in a manner, which at the present day would be deemed altogether extravagant; and hence no doubt the erroneous opinion here traced to its origin, has found more ready credence.

John Eliot, the devoted Apostle to the Indians, also prepared a frame of government, deduced entirely from the Scriptures, for the benefit of his Indian converts, and set it up among them.* This bears not the slightest resemblance to the Abstract drawn by Cotton from the same source; but it was regarded by its Author as the only fit model for the government of any community of Christians; and was published in London in 1654, with a Preface by him recommending it to the adoption of the People of England, under the title of the Christian Commonwealth. After the restoration of Charles II., the Legislature of Massachusetts, suspected and frowned on, by the English Government, deemed it expedient to order, that this work should be totally suppressed, and required an acknowledgment from Eliot, in

* III. Hist. Coll. iv. 271.

which he admits the government of England by King, Lords and Commons, to be lawful. No printed copy of the work now exists in any of our Libraries here. But in that of the Historical Society there is a transcript of it.

But though Eliot did set up his scheme among the Indians, the idea hitherto prevalent that Cotton's Abstract was adopted by the Colonists does them great injustice. The Body of Liberties really established by them, exhibits throughout the hand of the practised lawyer, familiar with the principles and the securities of English Liberty; and although it retains some strong traces of the times, is in the main, far in advance of them, and in several respects in advance of the Common Law of England at this day.* It shows that our Ancestors, instead of deducing all their laws from the Books of Moses, established at the outset a code of fundamental principles, which, taken as a whole, for wisdom, equity, adaptation to the wants of their community, and a liberality of sentiment superior to the age in which it was written, may fearlessly challenge a comparison with any similar production, from Magna Charta itself to the latest Bill of Rights, that has been put forth in Europe or America.

Those familiar with the Administration of the Laws in Massachusetts will here find, as in Liberty 14, and others, that some established practices which have been heretofore supposed to rest only on ancient custom, are in reality founded on express provisions of this venerable Code.

It may be useful to those engaged in such researches, and not uninteresting to others, as throwing light on the character of the colonists, to trace the history of our Colonial Code from the Charter to the edition of 1660, the earliest, of which any copy is now known to be extant. The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England were incorporated, like the African, East India and other

* Witness the 80th Liberty, providing that no man shall strike his wife; whereas the Common Law of England authorizes the infliction of chastisement on a wife, with a reasonable instrument. There is an anecdote, that Judge Buller, charging the Jury in such a case, said to them: "Without undertaking to define exactly what a reasonable instrument is, I hold, gentlemen of the jury, that a stick no bigger than my thumb comes clearly within that description;" and that a Committee of Ladies waited on him the next day, to beg that they might be favored with the exact dimensions of his Lordship's thumb.

See also Liberties 8, 9, 10, 11, 25, and several others, for provisions in advance of the age.

old English companies, for the purpose of carrying on trade, as well as of establishing a Plantation or Colony; and in the outset, held, like them, all their meetings in London. The Charter, dated March 4th, 1629, provided that the freemen or members of the company should choose from their own number a Governor, Deputy Governor and eighteen Assistants, who should hold, monthly, or oftener if they saw fit, a meeting called the COURT OF ASSISTANTS, "to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the general affairs of the Colony and the plantation thereof, and the government of the people there," — "and for the handling, ordering and dispatching of all such business and occurrents as shall from time to time happen touching or concerning the said Company or plantation."

Four times a year a great and solemn Assembly of the Governor, Deputy Governor, and such Assistants and Freemen, as should choose to attend, was to be holden, called the Great and GENERAL COURT of the Company, the Governor or Deputy Governor and seven Assistants being necessary to form a quorum, at which Court they might choose other persons to be free of said Company; — constitute and appoint such officers as they should see fit; — and make laws and ordinances, not repugnant to the Laws of England, for the welfare of the Company, and for the government of the plantation and the people inhabiting it; and for "the imposition of lawful fines, mulcts, imprisonments, or other lawful correction according to the course of other Corporations in this our realm of England." The Governor and Assistants were to be elected annually at the General Court on the last Wednesday in Easter term.

The Company having, before the date of the Charter, purchased the territory, over which it extends, from the Plymouth Company in England, had already in 1628 sent out a number of settlers, who were planted in Salem. The great object of the Colonists was to establish their own forms of Church government and discipline, in a place, where they might live under them unmolested. A number of substantial and respectable gentlemen being willing to settle permanently in the new plantation, provided the patent and government should be legally transferred and be established to remain with them and others inhabiting it,

the Company, on the motion of Matthew Cradock, the first Governor in England, agreed that it should be thus transferred; and in consequence of this arrangement, John Winthrop and others arrived in New England with the Charter in 1630.

In the small beginnings of the Colony, all business, excepting the election of officers and freemen, appears to have been transacted indifferently in the General Court or the Court of Assistants. But the people early showed, that they were very jealous of their liberties. It was at first intended to make Newtown, since called Cambridge, the capital of the colony, and it was determined to fortify it against the Indians, at the common expense. The amount assessed on Watertown by the Court of Assistants was £8, and a warrant was issued for levying it. Whereupon "the Pastor, Elder, &c., assembled the people, and delivered their opinions, that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." The Governor and Assistants summoned the Pastor, &c. before them, and argued with them, that this government was not like that of a Mayor and Aldermen, but like a Parliament, and the Assistants were the Representatives of the freemen, and so finally persuaded them to submit at that time to the assessment. The Watertown people however were clearly right in their objection, for although the Charter makes no mention of levying taxes, yet the assessment of a tax is a law, and the General Court only had the power to make laws. This occurred in February 1632.* In May following two deputies were chosen to attend from each town at the next Court, and "advise with the Governor and Assistants about the raising of a public stock, so as what they should agree upon, should bind all."† In *Col. Rec.* May 9, 1632.

In the year 1634, there were eight towns in the Colony and under date of April 1 in that year, we find the following entry in Winthrop's Journal.

"Notice being sent out of the General Court to be held the 14th day of the third month called May, the freemen deputed two of each town to meet and consider of such

* 1 Wint. J. 70. † 1 Wint. J. 76.

matters as they were to take order in at the same General Court; who having met, desired a sight of the patent, and conceiving thereby that all their laws should be made at the General Court, repaired to the Governor to advise with him about it, and about the abrogating of some orders formerly made, as for killing of swine in corn, &c.* He told them, that when the patent was granted, the number of freemen was supposed to be (as in like corporations) so few, as they might well join in making laws; but now they were grown to so great a body, as it was not possible for them to make or execute laws, but they must choose others for that purpose: and that howsoever it would be necessary hereafter to have a select company to intend that work, yet for the present they were not furnished with a sufficient number of men qualified for that business, neither could the company bear the loss of time of so many as must intend it. Yet this they might do at present, viz. they might at the General Court make an order, that once in the year, a certain number should be appointed (upon summons from the Governor) to revise all laws, &c. and to reform what they found amiss therein; but not to make any new laws, but prefer their grievances to the Court of Assistants; and that no assessment should be laid upon the country without the consent of such a committee, nor any lands disposed of." 1 *Winthrop*, 128.

This seems not to have been quite satisfactory, for among the very first acts of the General Court on the 14th of May was the following.

"It is agreed, that none but the General Court hath power to choose and admit freemen; — That none but the General Court hath power to make and establish laws, nor to elect and appoint officers as Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, Secretary, Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns or any of like moment, or to remove such upon misdemeanor, as also to set out the powers and duties of the said officers; — That none but the General Court hath power to

* There are numerous orders in relation to this subject. The last preceding this date is thus entered on the record, July 2, 1633. "It is ordered, that it shall be lawful for any man to kill any swine, that comes into his corn; the party, that owns the swine is to have them being killed, and allow recompense for the damage they do, &c."

raise money and taxes and to dispose of lands viz. to give and confirm proprieties." 1 *Col. Rec.* 115.

At the beginning of the record of the proceedings of this General Court we find entered not only the names of the Governor, Deputy Governor and the Assistants present, as previously; but also those of twenty-four freemen, three from each town, in the same manner as the names of the Deputies were subsequently entered. The natural conjecture is that they were in fact deputed by their fellow townsmen to attend the Court, probably in consequence of a recommendation to that effect, from the deputation of two from each town, mentioned by Winthrop; and as no specified number of freemen was necessary to a quorum, whatever number should actually attend would constitute with the Governor or Deputy and seven Assistants a lawful assembly. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact, that one of their first proceedings was to provide for a similar course in future.

"It was further ordered, that it shall be lawful for the freemen of every plantation to choose two or three of each town, before every General Court, to confer of and prepare such public business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next General Court. And that such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of [the] several plantations, to deal in their behalf in the public affairs of the Commonwealth, shall have the full power and voice of all the said freemen derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, &c. and to deal in all other affairs of the Commonwealth, wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own voice." 1 *Col. Rec.* 115.

The first part of this order for a meeting before the General Court seems not to have been generally complied with. Though I find mention of a convention of delegates from each town, in Salem in 1643, to nominate candidates for office at the ensuing election, a mode of proceeding revived in our own day. The second clause, providing for the election of deputies to the General Court, has ever since been acted on. At first they were chosen for each General Court; afterwards, from 1639 to 1640 they were chosen semiannually, and in 1642 and ever since that time have been elected once a year.

Such was the origin of Representative government in New England. It has been seen that some orders for killing swine in corn were the immediate occasion of its establishment; and it is somewhat remarkable, that a few years afterwards, a lawsuit about a stray sow, found in Boston in 1636, of which proceeding a minute account is given by Winthrop, ultimately led to the division of the Legislature into two separate branches. Surely the animal, whose wanderings have thus led to the establishment of two of the great securities of Liberty among us, may claim at least as honorable mention in history as has been awarded to the geese of the Capitol.

The following extracts from the Colony Records, and Winthrop's Journal need little comment. Any discrepancy of dates may be accounted for by considering, that the only date in the Records is the first day of the session; and that in citing from Winthrop a paragraph not dated, I refer it to the last preceding date. Winthrop's Journal too is not kept strictly in order of time. After giving an account, for instance, of the session in May 1642, he mentions occurrences which took place at that of December 1641, and so in other cases.

"6th of 3d month (May) 1635. The deputies having conceived great danger to our state in regard that our magistrates, for want of positive laws, in many cases, might proceed according to their discretions, it was agreed, that some men should be appointed to frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance to a Magna Charta, which being allowed by some of the ministers and the general court, should be received for fundamental laws. 1 *Wint. J.* 160.

"6th 3d month 1635. The Governor, [John Haynes] the Deputy Governor, [Richard Bellingham] John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley, Esquires, are deputed by the Court to make a draught of such laws, as they shall judge useful for the well ordering of this Plantation, and to present the same to the Court. 1 *Col. Rec.* 150.

"25 of 3d month (May) 1636. The Governor, [Henry Vane] the Deputy Governor, [John Winthrop] Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, Richard Bellingham, Esquires, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Peters and Mr. Shepherd are entreated to make a draught of laws agreeable to the word of God, which may

be the Fundamentals of this Commonwealth, and to present the same to the next General Court, and it is ordered that in the mean time the magistrates and their associates shall proceed in the Courts to hear and determine all causes, according to the laws now established, and where there is no law, then as near the laws of God as they can." 1 *Col. Rec.* 176.

Winthrop makes no mention of this appointment, and there is no evidence, either in his Journal or in the Records, that anything was done by the Committee appointed the preceding year. Of the present the result was this.

"8 bre. 25, 1636. Mr. Cotton being requested by the General Court with some other ministers to assist some of the magistrates in compiling a body of fundamental laws, did, this Court, present a copy of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further consideration till the next General Court." 1 *Wint. J.* 202.

I find nothing said of this in the Records.

"1 month, 1637. [i. e. March 1638.] At this Court, a committee was appointed of some magistrates, some ministers, and some others, to compile a body of fundamental laws." 1 *Wint. J.* 257.

"12th day of 1st month, 1637–8. For the well ordering of these Plantations now in the beginning thereof; it having been found by the little time of experience we have here had, that the want of written laws hath put the courts into many doubts and much trouble in many particular cases, this Court hath therefore ordered, that the freemen of every town (or some part thereof chosen by the rest) within this jurisdiction, shall assemble together in their several towns, and collect the heads of such necessary and fundamental laws, as may be suitable to the times and places, where God in his providence hath cast us, and the heads of such laws to deliver in writing to the Governor for the time being before the 5th day of the 4th month called June next, to the intent that the same Governor [John Winthrop] together with the rest of the standing council and Richard Bellingham Esquire, Mr. Bulkeley, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Peters and Mr. Shepherd, elders of several churches, Mr. Nathaniel Ward, Mr. William Spencer, and Mr. William Hawthorne, or the major part, may upon the survey of such heads of laws,

make a compendious abridgement of the same by the General Court in Autumn next, adding yet to the same or detracting therefrom what in their wisdom shall seem meet, that so the whole work being perfected to the best of their skill, it may be presented to the General Court for confirmation or rejection as the Court shall adjudge. And it is also ordered, that the said persons shall survey all the orders already made, and reduce them into as few heads as they may, and present them unto the General Court for approbation or refusal as aforesaid." 1 *Col. Rec.* 217.

The next entry I find on this subject is in 1639. And here we learn from Winthrop how it happened, that there should have been so many committees, and never but one report. The committees were appointed to satisfy the importunities of the people, but "most of the Magistrates and some of the Elders were not forward in the matter," and knew well how to retard it.

"9th month, 1639. The people had long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe, while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates. Divers attempts had been made at former courts, and the matter referred to some of the magistrates and some of the elders; but still it came to no effect; for, being committed to the care of many, whatsoever was done by some, was still disliked or neglected by others. At last it was referred to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Nathaniel Warde, &c., and each of them framed a model, which were presented to this General Court, and by them committed to the Governor and Deputy and some others, to consider of, and so prepare it for the Court in the third month next. Two great reasons there were, which caused most of the magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter. One was, want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people, considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive, that such laws would be fittest for us, which should arise *pro re nata* upon occasions &c. and so the laws of England and other states grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called customs, *consuetudines*. 2. For that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provide, we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of

England, and that we were assured we must do. But to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression; as in our church discipline, and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages shall not be solemnized by ministers, is repugnant to the laws of England; but to bring it to a custom by practice for the magistrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant, &c. At length (to satisfy the people) it proceeded, and the two models were digested with divers alterations and additions, and abbreviated and sent to every town, (12) to be considered of first by the magistrates and elders, and then to be published by the constables to all the people, that if any man should think fit, that any thing therein ought to be altered, he might acquaint some of the deputies therewith against the next Court." 1 *Wint. J.* 322.

We are not to understand that Cotton and Ward were on the same committee, for Cotton's appointment was in 1636, and he first presented his model, as Winthrop himself informs us, in that year, though it may have been presented at this Court again. Ward was only on the committee of 1638, of which Cotton was not a member.

"5th day of 9th month, 1639. It is ordered that the Governor, [J. Winthrop] Deputy Governor, [Thomas Dudley] Treasurer and Mr. Stoughton or any three of them, with two or more of the deputies of Boston, Charlestown or Roxbury, shall peruse all those models which have been or shall be further presented to this Court or themselves concerning a form of government and laws to be established, and shall draw them up into one body, altering, adding or omitting what they shall think fit, and shall take order, that the same shall be copied out and sent to the several towns, that the elders of the churches and freemen may consider of them against the next General Court, and the charges to be defrayed by the Treasurer. 1 *Col. Rec.* 266.

"13th of 3d month, 1640. Whereas a Breviate of Laws was formerly sent forth to be considered by the elders of the churches and other freemen of this Commonwealth, it is now desired, that they will endeavour to ripen their thoughts and counsels about the same by the general court in the next 8th month." 1 *Col. Rec.* 278.

Well done. Truly the magistrates were "not forward in

the matter." Never were the demands of a free people eluded by their public servants with more of the wisdom or of the contortions of the serpent. Of course from no bad motive. But appointing committee after committee to do nothing, — ordering every town to frame a set of heads of laws to be considered, — directing that all the various models, that had been or should be presented, should be diligently perused and digested, as if there were a hundred of them, when we know from Winthrop, that there were only two, — when driven at last to take one of them, ordering it to be sent to all the towns for scrutiny and objection, — and to crown all, after having evaded the urgent importunities of the people for six years, gravely desiring them to take further time to ripen their thoughts ; — how unreasonable it is to suspect such men, of being so totally destitute of worldly wisdom, as to undertake to carry on their government solely by the Laws of Moses?

The next entry I find touching the laws is the following, which I insert, though it appears not to refer to the proposed code, but to laws previously adopted ; and one object of it may have been to amuse the people by appearing to do something about the Laws.

"2d of the 4th month, [June] 1641. The Governor [Richard Bellingham] is appointed to peruse all the laws, and take notice what may be fit to be repealed, what to be rectified, what to stand, and make return to the next General Court. 1 *Col. Rec.* 300.

"7th of 8th month, [October] 1641. The Governor [Bellingham] and Mr. Hawthorne were desired to speak to Mr. Ward for a Copy of the Liberties and of the Capital laws to be transcribed and sent to the several towns." 1 *Col. Rec.* 317.

Subsequently at the same session is the following entry.

"Mr. Deputy Endicot, Mr. Downing and Mr. Hawthorne are authorized to get nineteen Copies of the Laws, Liberties and the forms of oaths transcribed and subscribed by their several hands, and none to be authentic but such as they subscribed, and to be paid for by the Constable of each Town, ten shillings a piece for each copy, and to be prepared within six weeks." 1 *Col. Rec.* 321.

None of these proceedings are noticed by Winthrop; but

in his account of the proceedings of the General Court held in the 10th month, [December] 1641, he says, —

"This session continued three weeks and established one hundred laws, which were called the Body of Liberties. They had been composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward (sometime pastor of the church of Ipswich: he had been a minister in England and formerly a student and practiser in the course of the common law) and had been revised and altered by the Court and sent forth into every town to be further considered of, and now again in this Court, they were revised, amended and presented, and so established for three years, by that experience to have them fully amended and established to be perpetual." 2 *Wint. J.* 55.

The Colony Records from October 1641 to May 1642 are lost. They belonged to the beginning of the second volume, which is mutilated. The subject is not afterward mentioned by Winthrop, so that all the subsequent extracts are from the Records. In these it appears, that at a court held on the 18th of the 3d month, 1642, three laws for punishing rape with death were adopted, and the Capital laws were ordered to be printed. A copy of this publication containing the Capital laws and the freeman's oath may be found in II. Hist. Coll. iv. 112. It has been seen that the Body of Liberties was established for three years, before the expiration of which time, there is the following entry, but no subsequent mention of any doings of the Committees.

"7th of 1st month, [March] 1643–4. It is ordered that the Governor, [John Winthrop] Mr. Dudley and Mr. Hibbens, these or any two of them shall be a committee to consider of the Body of Liberties, against the next General Court what is fit to be repealed or allowed, and present the same to the next Court. Also the Magistrates residing at Ipswich or any two of them are appointed a Committee for the same purpose, that so the Court conferring both together may more easily determine what to settle about the same.

"It is ordered that Richard Bellingham Esq. should finish that, which was formerly committed to him about the perusing of the Book of laws, &c. and to present the same to the next Court." 2 *Col. Rec.* p. 47.

The fact, that almost all the Articles in the Body of Liberties are in substance contained in every subsequent Digest

of the Colony Laws, shows, that the people were not dissatisfied with its provisions. But they still desired a more minute and complete Code to include all the laws and orders of general obligation. It will be seen, that after some further hesitation and delay, the magistrates yielded more fully to their wishes, and set themselves heartily to the work. It is possible, that as the Royal cause declined in England, and that of the Parliament prevailed, they were less apprehensive of the consequences of publishing laws repugnant to those of England, in violation of their charter from the King; relying on the favor and indulgence of the dominant party there.

At the General Court in 5th month, [July] 1645, a committee was appointed for the county of Suffolk, of which Governor Winthrop and Mr. Cotton were members, "to draw up a body of laws and to present them to the consideration of the next General Court;" and another Committee for Middlesex, and a third for Essex, with similar powers. Mr. Bellingham and Mr. Ward were members of the last. 2 *Col. Rec.* 85.

At the next Court 1st, 8th month, October, 1645, the committees appointed at the last session to meet in every shire, to consult together and to return at this Court a "result of their thoughts, that this Court might proceed thereupon to satisfy the expectation of the country in establishing a body of laws," are desired to hold their first meeting on or before the 12th of November for the accomplishment of the end so desired, and to make their return at the next sitting of the General Court. 2 *Col. Rec.* 102.

On the 15th of the 3d month, 1646, the Court thankfully accepts of the labors of the several Committees, and "being very unwilling such precious labors should fall to the ground without that good success as is generally hoped for," appoints a Committee, including Bellingham and Ward, to cause the returns to be transcribed, so that each Committee may see the other's labors; and the same Committee is to meet on or before the 10th of August and on perusing the labors of all the others, "with the abbreviation of the laws in force, which Mr. Bellingham took great store of pains and to good purpose in," upon the whole to make return at the next session, "at which time the Court intends, by the favor

and blessing of God, to proceed to the establishing of so many of them, as shall be thought most fit for a body of laws amongst us." *2 Col Rec.* 133.

"4 day 9 month, [November] 1646. The Court being deeply sensible of the earnest expectation of the Country in general for this Court's completing of a body of Laws for the better and more orderly wielding all the affairs of this Commonwealth; willing also to their utmost to answer their honest and hearty desires therein, unexpectedly prevented by multitude of other pressing occasions, think fit and necessary that this Court make choice of two or three of our honored Magistrates, with as many of the Deputies to peruse and examine, compare, transcribe, and compose in good order, all the liberties, laws and orders extant with us; and further to peruse and perfect all such others as are drawn up, and to present such of them as they find necessary for us, as also to suggest what they deem needful to be added, as also to consider and contrive some good method and order, with titles and tables for compiling the whole; so as we may have ready recourse to any of them, upon all occasions, whereby we may manifest our utter disaffection to arbitrary Government and so all relations be safely and sweetly directed and protected in all their just rights and privileges; desiring thereby to make way for printing our Laws for more public and profitable use of us and our successors. Our honored Governor, [J. Winthrop] Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Hibbens, Mr. Hill and Mr. Duncan as a Committee for the business abovementioned, or any three of them meeting, the others having notice thereof, shall be sufficient to carry on the work." *2 Col. Rec.* 147.

"26th 3d month, 1647. The Court understanding that the Committee for perfecting the laws appointed by the last General Court, through streights of time and other things intervening have not attained what they expected, and on all hands so much desired touching a body of laws, think meet and necessary that our honored Governor, [J. Winthrop] Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Hibbens, the Auditor General and Mr. Hills be chosen as a Committee of this Court to do the same, according to the aforesaid order, against the next sessions in the 8th month or the next General Court." *2 Col. Rec.* 170.

At the Court on the 27th of the 8th month, 1647, is the

following entry. "The laws being to be put in print, it is meet, that they should be conveniently penned, therefore it is desired, that the Committee for drawing up the laws will be careful therein. And to that purpose, they have liberty to make some change of form to put in apt words as occasion shall require, provided the sense and meaning in any law or part thereof be not changed." 2 *Col. Rec.* 181.

Subsequently at the same Court is the following.

"The laws now being in a manner agreed upon, and the Court drawing to an end, it is time to take order: 1. How all alteration of former laws may be without mistaking compared and fair written: 2d. That all old laws not altered be also written in the same copy: 3dly. That there be a Committee chosen for this business, to be made ready against the first day of the first month next, so as the Court of Assistants, if they see cause may advise for a General Court to prepare them for the press: 4thly. That there be large margins left at both sides of the leaf, and the heads of each law written on the two outsides thereof, and upon the other margent any references and scriptures or the like, and that these be written copywise." 2 *Col. Rec.* 187.

"On the 5th of the first month, 1648. The Court doth desire that Mr. Rawson and Mr. Hill compare the amendments of the Books of laws passed, and make them as one, and one of them to remain in the hands of the Committee for the speedy committing of them to the press, and the other to remain in the hands of the Secretary sealed up till the next Court." 2 *Col. Rec.* 196.

"10th of 3d month, 1648. It is ordered, the copy of the laws in the two Rowles, which were by order of Court sealed up, with intent, that if any question should arise about the copy now at the press, it might be examined by this, whereby the faithfulness of the Committee might be tried, and that the other copy now remaining with Mr. Hill should forthwith be sent for the use of the Court."* 2 *Col. Rec.* 201.

"17th of 8th month, 1649. The Court finding by experience the great benefit that doth redound to the country by

* There seems something wanting here to complete the sense, but so stands the record.

putting of the law in print, do conceive it very requisite that those laws also, which have passed the consent of the General Court since the books were imprinting or printed should be forthwith committed to the press." 2 *Col. Rec.* 245.

In June 1654 it appears, that certain laws were printed, in October 1656 the laws of the two preceding years were printed, in May 1657 all laws not then already printed were ordered to be so: and in 1658 we find provision made for a new Digest.

"19 May, 1658. It is ordered that Major General Daniel Dennison diligently peruse, examine and weigh every law and compare them with others of like nature, and such as are clear, plain and good, free from any just exception to stand without any animadversion as approved; such as are repealed or fit to be repealed to be so marked and the reasons given, such as are obscure, contradictory or seeming so, to be rectified and the emendations prepared. Where there is two or more laws about one and the same thing, to prepare a draught of one law, that may comprehend the same; to make a plain and easy table, and to prepare what else may present in the perusing of them to be necessary and useful and make return at the next session of this Court." 3 *Col. Rec.* 281.

At the next session, 19 October, 1658. It is ordered, "that the Book of Laws, as they have been revised and corrected and put into form by order of this Court, together with the alterations and additions hereunder expressed, shall forthwith be printed, and be in force in one month after the same, and that there shall be a perfect table made thereunto, what remains to be done to be prepared for the press by our honored Major General:" Then follows a list of amendments not important, and it is ordered, "that the preface to the old law book with such alterations as shall be judged meet by the Governor [John Endicott] and Major General be added thereunto," and Mr. Danforth is appointed to oversee the impression. 3 *Col. Rec.* 291.

On the 30th of May, 1660. "For the more equal distribution of the Law Books when they shall be printed," it is ordered that the Treasurer after supplying certain officers mentioned, shall distribute the residue among the towns in proportion to their taxes, the towns to pay for them at such

rate, that no charge shall be put upon the country for the same. Mr. Danforth is also directed to make an index with all convenient speed, so that the work may no longer be delayed. 3 *Col. Rec.* 341.

The first order at the General Court 16th October, 1660, is, that the last impression of the laws shall be of force after the expiration of thirty days from this date and "in the mean time the old books stand good and be attended to as before." 3 *Col. Rec.* 350.

A perfect copy of this edition is in the Library at the State House, and one wanting only the title page and part of the preface in the Dane Law College at Cambridge.

The Connecticut Code of laws, adopted in 1650, and first printed a few years ago, is digested in the same form under alphabetical heads, and a large portion of its provisions may be found in our Code of 1660, generally in the same words. No doubt it was still more like our Code of 1649, if not a copy of it. For in many cases where it differs from our Code of 1660, we have still the means of showing, that it agrees exactly with our laws as existing in 1649; and that it is our own Code of 1660, which varies from them. The fifteen Capital laws of the Connecticut Code are all found in ours of 1660, with the same references to the scriptures, and in the same words, excepting that the former contains only the first clause of our law against treason, and that there are six other variations of phraseology not affecting the sense. In five of these six cases, the Connecticut Code agrees word for word with the capital laws printed by authority in Massachusetts in 1642: and in the sixth case the difference is only the omission of the word "surely" in the phrase "shall surely be put to death."

The first law establishing public schools in America was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts at its session on the 27th of 8th month [October] 1647, and its preamble is frequently cited as characteristic of our ancestors, and highly honorable to them. Now it so happens, that this is one of the few laws entered at length on the Records, and the preamble there begins thus: "It being one chief project of that ould deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the scripture," &c. This preamble and the whole law are printed in the Connecticut Code of 1650 word for word as they

stand on the Records of Massachusetts in 1647. But in our own edition of 1660 the words "that ould deluder" are omitted, appearing probably to General Dennison, by whom this last code was prepared for publication, to be somewhat ludicrous.

While writing these remarks, I learn, that the discovery of the Body of Liberties may have an important bearing on law-suits now pending and involving the title to a great amount of property in this City. It seems, that several valuable estates are holden under a grant made in 1641, in which they are bounded on "high water mark." The argument is, that if the ancient law annexing the flats to the adjacent upland then existed, the flats were already the property of the grantor, and would not pass by the deed; but if it was enacted afterwards, it gave them to the grantee or those claiming under him. Now in the printed Code of 1660 the section containing this provision, contains also others relating to free fishing, fowling, &c., and at the end of it are placed the dates "1641, 1647," indicating that it consists of laws passed in those two years digested into one section for publication, as we have seen was the usage. It has commonly been called the Ordinance of 1641, and no one could tell, which of its provisions were passed in the one year and which in the other, without knowing the laws of one of those years. But with the Code of 1641 before us, we know what portion is of that year; and of course, that the residue, including the provision in question, is of 1647.

In printing the Body of Liberties, the spelling of the original will be adhered to: but signs and abbreviations printed at length.

A COPPIE OF THE LIBERTIES OF THE MASSACHUSETS COLLONIE IN NEW ENGLAND.

* The free fruition of such liberties Immunities and priveledges as humanitie, Civilitie, and Christianitie call for as due to every man in his place and proportion without impeachment and Infringement hath ever bene and ever will be the tranquillitie and Stabilitie of Churches and Commonwealths. And the deniall or deprivall thereof, the disturbance if not the ruine of both.

We hould it therefore our dutie and safetie whilst we are about the further establishing of this Government to collect and expresse all such freedomes as for present we foresee may concerne us, and our posteritie after us, And to ratify them with our sollemne consent.

Wee doe therefore this day religiously and unanimously decree and confirme these following Rites, liberties and priveledges concerneing our Churches, and Civill State to be respectively impartiallie and inviolably enjoyed and observed throughout our Jurisdiction for ever.

1. No mans life shall be taken away, no mans honour or good name shall be stayned, no mans person shall be arested, restrayned, banished, dismembred, nor any wayes punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no mans goods or estaite shall be taken away from him, nor any way indammaged under colour of law or Countenance of Authoritie, unlesse it be by vertue or equitie of some expresse law of the Country waranting the same, established by a generall Court and sufficiently published, or in case of the defect of a law in any parteculer case by the word of God. And in

* In the printed Codes both of Massachusetts and Connecticut this paragraph begins with the words "Forasmuch as," here wanting.

Capitall cases, or in cases concerning dismembring or banishment according to that word to be judged by the Generall Court. *pag.* 1.

2. Every person within this Jurisdiction, whether Inhabitant or forreiner shall enjoy the same justice and law, that is generall for the plantation, which we constitute and execute one towards another without partialitie or delay. *pag.* 143.

3. No man shall be urged to take any oath or subscribe any articles, covenants or remonstrance, of a publique and Civill nature, but such as the Generall Court hath considered, allowed, and required. *pag.* 219.

4. No man shall be punished for not appearing at or before any Civill Assembly, Court, Councell, Magistrate, or Officer, nor for the omission of any office or service, if he shall be necessarily hindred by any apparent Act or providence of God, which he could neither foresee nor avoid. Provided that this law shall not prejudice any person of his just cost or damage, in any civill action. *pag.* 4.

5. No man shall be compelled to any publique worke or service unlesse the presse be grounded upon some act of the generall Court, and have reasonable allowance therefore. *pag.* 73, *sec.* 2.

6. No man shall be pressed in person to any office, worke, warres or other publique service, that is necessarily and suffitiently exempted by any naturall or personall impediment, as by want of yeares, greatnes of age, defect of minde, fayling of sences, or impotencie of Lymbes. *pag.* 73, *sec.* 2.

7. No man shall be compelled to goe out of the limits of this plantation upon any offensive warres which this Comonwealth or any of our freinds or confederats shall volentarily undertake. But onely upon such vindictive and defensive warres in our owne behalfe or the behalfe of our freinds and confederats as shall be enterprized by the Counsell and consent of a Court generall, or by authority derived from the same. *pag.* 73.

8. No mans Cattel or goods of what kinde soever shall be pressed or taken for any publique use or service, unlesse it be by warrant grounded upon some act of the generall Court, nor without such reasonable prices and hire as the ordinarie rates of the Countrie do afford. And if his Cattle or goods shall perish or suffer damage in such service, the owner shall be suffitiently recompenced. *pag.* 73.

9. No monopolies shall be granted or allowed amongst us, but of such new Inventions that are profitable to the Countrie, and that for a short time. *pag.* 119.

10. All our lands and heritages shall be free from all fines and licenses upon Alienations, and from all hariotts, wardships, Liveries, Primer-seisins, yeare day and wast, Escheates, and forfeitures, upon the deaths of parents or Ancestors, be they naturall, casuall or Juditiall. *pag.* 88.

11. All persons which are of the age of 21 yeares, and of right understanding and meamories, whether excommunicate or condemned shall have full power and libertie to make there wills and testaments, and other lawfull alienations of theire lands and estates. *pag.* 1.

12. Every man whether Inhabitant or fforreiner, free or not free shall have libertie to come to any publique Court, Councel, or Towne meeting, and either by speech or writeing to move any lawfull, seasonable, and materiall question, or to present any necessary motion, complaint, petition, Bill or information, whereof that meeting hath proper cognizance, so it be done in convenient time, due order, and respective manner. *pag.* 90.

13. No man shall be rated here for any estaite or revenue he hath in England, or in any forreine partes till it be transported hither. *pag.* 25, *sec.* 2.

14. Any Conveyance or Alienation of land or other estaite what so ever, made by any woman that is married, any childe under age, Ideott or distracted person, shall be good if it be passed and ratified by the consent of a generall Court.

15. All Covenous or fraudulent Alienations or Conveyances of lands, tenements, or any heriditaments, shall be of no validitie to defeate any man from due debts or legacies, or from any just title, clame or possession, of that which is so fraudulently conveyed. *pag.* 32, *sec.* 3.

16. Every Inhabitant that is an howse holder shall have free fishing and fowling in any great ponds and Bayes, Coves and Rivers, so farre as the sea ebbes and flowes within the presincts of the towne where they dwell, unlesse the free men of the same Towne or the Generall Court have otherwise appropriated them, provided that this shall not be extended to give leave to any man to come upon others proprietie without there leave. *pag.* 90, *sec.* 2.

17. Every man of or within this Jurisdiction shall have free libertie, notwithstanding any Civill power to remove both himselfe, and his familie at their pleasure out of the same, provided there be no legall impediment to the contrarie. *pag.* 91, *sec.* 3.

Rites Rules and Liberties concerning Juditiall proceedings.

18. No mans person shall be restrained or imprisoned by any authority whatsoever, before the law hath sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient securitie, bayle or mainprise, for his appearance, and good behaviour in the meane time, unlesse it be in Crimes Capitall, and Contempts in open Court, and in such cases where some expresse act of Court doth allow it. *pag.* 74.

19. If in a general Court any miscariage shall be amongst the Assistants when they are by themselves that may deserve an Admonition or fine under 20 sh. it shall be examined and sentenced among themselves, If amongst the Deputies when they are by themselves, it shall be examined and sentenced amongst themselves, If it be when the whole Court is togeather, it shall be judged by the whole Court, and not severallie as before. *pag.* 36, *sec.* 6.

20. If any which are to sit as Judges in any other Court shall demeane themselves offensively in the Court, The rest

of the Judges present shall have power to censure him for it, if the cause be of a high nature it shall be presented to and censured at the next superior Court. *pag.* 36, *sec.* 6.

21. In all cases where the first summons are not served six dayes before the Court, and the cause breifly specified in the warrant, where appearance is to be made by the partie summoned, it shall be at his libertie whether he will appeare or no, except all cases that are to be handled in Courts suddainly called, upon extraordinary occasions, In all cases where there appeares present and urgent cause any assistant or officer apointed shal have power to make out attaichments for the first summons. *pag.* 7, *sec.* 2.

22. No man in any suit or action against an other shall falsely pretend great debts or damages to vex his adversary, if it shall appeare any doth so, The Court shall have power to set a reasonable fine on his head. *pag.* 3, *sec.* 8.

23. No man shall be adjudged to pay for detaining any debt from any Crediter above eight pounds in the hundred for one yeare, And not above that rate proportionable for all somes what so ever, neither shall this be a coulour or countenance to allow any usurie amongst us contrarie to the law of god. *pag.* 153.

24. In all Trespasses or damages done to any man or men, If it can be proved to be done by the meere default of him or them to whome the trespasse is done, It shall be judged no trespasse, nor any damage given for it. *pag.* 18, *sec.* 3.

25. No Summons pleading Judgement, or any kinde of proceeding in Court or course of Justice shall be abated, arested or reversed upon any kinde of cercumstantiall errors or mistakes, If the person and cause be rightly understood and intended by the Court. *pag.* 7, *sec.* 2.

26. Every man that findeth himselfe unfit to plead his owne cause in any Court shall have Libertie to imploy any man against whom the Court doth not except, to helpe him,

Provided he give him noe fee or reward for his paines. This shall not exempt the partie him selfe from Answering such Questions in person as the Court shall thinke meete to demand of him.

27. If any plantife shall give into any Court a declaration of his cause in writeing, The defendant shall also have libertie and time to give in his answer in writeing, And so in all further proceedings betwene partie and partie, So it doth not further hinder the dispach of Justice then the Court shall be willing unto.

28. The plantife in all Actions brought in any Court shall have libertie to withdraw his Action, or to be nonsuited before the Jurie hath given in their verdict, in which case he shall alwaies pay full cost and chardges to the defendant, and may afterwards renew his suite at an other Court if he please. *pag.* 3, *sec.* 7.

29. In all actions at law it shall be the libertie of the plantife and defendant by mutual consent to choose whether they will be tryed by the Bensh or by a Jurie, unlesse it be where the law upon just reason hath otherwise determined. The like libertie shall be granted to all persons in Criminall cases. *pag.* 152, *sec.* 2.

30. It shall be in the libertie both of plantife and defendant, and likewise every delinquent (to be judged by a Jurie) to challenge any of the Jurors. And if his challenge be found just and reasonable by the Bench, or the rest of the Jurie, as the challenger shall choose it shall be allowed him, and tales de cercumstantibus impaneled in their room. *pag.* 152, *sec.* 3.

31. In all cases where evidences is so obscure or defective that the Jurie cannot clearely and safely give a positive verdict, whether it be a grand or petit Jurie, It shall have libertie to give a non Liquit, or a spetiall verdict, in which last, that is in a spetiall verdict, the Judgement of the cause shall be left to the Court, And all Jurors shall have libertie in matters of fact if they cannot finde the maine issue, yet to

finde and present in their verdict so much as they can, If the Bench and Jurors shall so suffer at any time about their verdict that either of them cannot proceede with peace of conscience the case shall be referred to the Generall Court, who shall take the question from both and determine it. *pag.* 87, *sec.* 3, *part of it.*

32. Every man shall have libertie to replevy his Cattell or goods impounded, distreined, seised, or extended, unlesse it be upon execution after Judgement, and in paiment of fines. Provided he puts in good securitie to prosecute his replevin, And to satisfie such demands as his Adversary shall recover against him in Law. *pag.* 132.

33. No mans person shall be arrested, or imprisoned upon execution or judgment for any debt or fine, If the law can finde competent meanes of satisfaction otherwise from his estaite, and if not his person may be arrested and imprisoned where he shall be kept at his owne charge, not the plantife's till satisfaction be made, unlesse the Court that had cognizance of the cause or some superior Court shall otherwise provide. *pag.* 6.

34. If any man shall be proved and Judged a commen Barrator vexing others with unjust frequent and endlesse suites, It shall be in the power of Courts both to denie him the benefit of the law, and to punish him for his Barratry. *pag.* 9.

35. No mans corne nor hay that is in the feild or upon the Cart, nor his garden stuffe, nor any thing subject to present decay, shall be taken in any distresse, unles he that takes it doth presently bestow it where it may not be imbesled nor suffer spoile or decay, or give securitie to satisfie the worth thereof if it comes to any harme. *pag.* 41.

36. It shall be in the libertie of every man cast condemned or sentenced in any cause in any Inferior Court, to make their appeale to the Court of Assistants, provided they tender their appeale and put in securitie to prosecute it, before the Court be ended wherein they were condemned,

And within six dayes next ensuing put in good securitie before some Assistant to satisfie what his Adversarie shall recover against him; And if the cause be of a Criminall nature, for his good behaviour, and appearance, And everie man shall have libertie to complaine to the Generall Court of any Injustice done him in any Court of Assistants or other. *pag.* 3, *part of it.*

37. In all cases where it appeares to the Court that the plantife hath wilingly and witingly done wronge to the defendant in commenceing and prosecuting an action or complaint against him, They shall have power to impose upon him a proportionable fine to the use of the defendant, or accused person, for his false complaint or clamor. *pag.* 3, *sec.* 8.

38. Everie man shall have libertie to Record in the publique Rolles of any Court any Testimony given upon oath in the same Court, or before two Assistants, or any deede or evidence legally confirmed there to remaine in perpetuam rei memoriam, that is for perpetuall memoriall or evidence upon occasion. *pag.* 131.

39. In all actions both reall and personall betweene partie and partie, the Court shall have power to respite execution for a convenient time, when in their prudence they see just cause so to doe. *pag.* 7, *sec.* 1.

40. No Conveyance, Deede, or promise whatsoever shall be of validitie, If it be gotten by Illegal violence, imprisonment, threatening, or any kinde of forcible compulsion called Dures. *pag.* 32, *sec.* 3.

41. Everie man that is to Answere for any criminall cause, whether he be in prison or under bayle, his cause shall be heard and determined at the next Court that hath proper Cognizance thereof, And may be done without prejudice of Justice. *pag.* 38, *sec.* 10.

42. No man shall be twise sentenced by Civill Justice for one and the same Crime, offence, or Trespasse. *pag.* 129.

43. No man shall be beaten with above 40 stripes, nor shall any true gentleman, nor any man equall to a gentleman be punished with whipping, unles his crime be very shamefull, and his course of life vitious and profligate. *pag.* 129.

44. No man condemned to dye shall be put to death within fower dayes next after his condemnation, unles the Court see spetiall cause to the contrary, or in case of martiall law, nor shall the body of any man so put to death be unburied 12 howers unlesse it be in case of Anatomie. *pag.* 30.

45. No man shall be forced by Torture to confesse any Crime against himselfe nor any other unlesse it be in some Capitall case, where he is first fullie convicted by cleare and suffitient evidence to be guilty, After which if the cause be of that nature, That it is very apparent there be other conspiratours, or confederates with him, Then he may be tortured, yet not with such Tortures as be Barbarous and inhumane. *pag.* 129.

46. For bodilie punishments we allow amongst us none that are inhumane Barbarous or cruel. *pag.* 129.

47. No man shall be put to death without the testimony of two or three witnesses or that which is equivalent thereunto. *pag.* 158.

48. Every Inhabitant of the Countrie shall have free libertie to search and veewe any Rooles, Records, or Regesters of any Court or office except the Councell, And to have a transcript or exemplification thereof written examined, and signed by the hand of the officer of the office paying the appointed fees therefore. *pag.* 131, *sec.* 3.

49. No free man shall be compelled to serve upon Juries above two Courts in a yeare, except grand Jurie men, who shall hould two Courts together at the least. *pag.* 87, *sec.* 5.

50. All Jurors shall be chosen continuallie by the freemen of the Towne where they dwell. *pag.* 86, *sec.* 1.

51. All Associates selected at any time to Assist the Assistants in Inferior Courts, shall be nominated by the Townes belonging to that Court, by orderly agreement amonge themselves.

52. Children, Idiots, Distracted persons, and all that are strangers, or new commers to our plantation, shall have such allowances and dispensations in any cause whether Criminall or other as religion and reason require. *pag.* 152, *sec.* 4.

53. The age of discretion for passing away of lands or such kinde of herediments, or for giveing, of votes, verdicts or Sentence in any Civill Courts or causes, shall be one and twentie yeares. *pag.* 1.

54. Whensoever any thing is to be put to vote, any sentence to be pronounced, or any other matter to be proposed, or read in any Court or Assembly, If the president or moderator thereof shall refuse to performe it, the Major parte of the members of that Court or Assembly shall have power to appoint any other meete man of them to do it, And if there be just cause to punish him that should and would not. *pag.* 153.

55. In all suites or Actions in any Court, the plaintife shall have libertie to make all the titles and claims to that he sues for he can. And the Defendant shall have libertie to plead all the pleas he can in answere to them, and the Court shall judge according to the intire evidence of all.

56. If any man shall behave himselfe offensively at any Towne meeting, the rest of the freemen then present, shall have power to sentence him for his offence. So be it the mulct or penaltie exceede not twentie shilings. *pag.* 147, *sec.* 1.

57. Whensoever any person shall come to any very suddaine untimely and unnaturall death, Some assistant, or the Constables of that Towne shall forthwith sumon a Jury of twelve free men to inquire of the cause and manner of their death, and shall present a true verdict thereof to some neere

Assistant, or the next Court to be helde for that Towne upon their oath. *pag.* 39.

Libertics more peculiarlie concerning the free men.

58. Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to see the peace, ordinances and Rules of Christ observed in every church according to his word. so it be done in a Civill and not in an Ecclesiastical way. *pag.* 44, *sec.* 11.

59. Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to deale with any Church member in a way of Civill Justice, notwithstanding any Church relation, office or interest. *pag.* 44, *sec.*11.

60. No church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any Civill dignitie, office, or Authoritie he shall have in the Commonwealth. *pag.* 44, *sec.* 10.

61. No Magestrate, Juror, Officer, or other man shall be bound to informe present or reveale any private crim or offence, wherein there is no perill or danger to this plantation or any member thereof, when any necessarie tye of conscience binds him to secresie grounded upon the word of god, unlesse it be in case of testimony lawfully required. *pag.* 86, *sec.* 2.

62. Any Shire or Towne shall have libertie to choose their Deputies whom and where they please for the Generall Court. So be it they be free men, and have taken there oath of fealtie, and Inhabiting in this Jurisdiction. *pag.* 40, *sec.* 2.

63. No Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistant, Associate, or grand Jury man at any Court, nor any Deputie for the Generall Court, shall at any time beare his owne chardges at any Court, but their necessary expences shall be defrayed either by the Towne or Shire on whose service they are, or by the Country in generall. *pag.* 22, *sec.* 1.

64. Everie Action betweene partie and partie, and proceedings against delinquents in Criminall causes shall be

briefly and destinctly entered on the Rolles of every Court by the Recorder thereof. That such actions be not afterwards brought againe to the vexation of any man. *pag.* 129, *sec.* 1.

65. No custome or prescription shall ever prevaile amongst us in any morall cause, our meaneing is maintaine anythinge that can be proved to be morrallie sinfull by the word of god. *pag.* 126.

66. The Freemen of every Towneship shall have power to make such by laws and constitutions as may concerne the wellfare of their Towne, provided they be not of a Criminall, but onely of a prudentiall nature, And that their penalties exceede not 20 sh. for one offence. And that they be not repugnant to the publique laws and orders of the Countrie. And if any Inhabitant shall neglect or refuse to observe them, they shall have power to levy the appointed penalties by distresse. *pag.* 147, *sec.* 1.

67. It is the constant libertie of the free men of this plantation to choose yearly at the Court of Election out of the freemen all the General officers of this Jurisdiction. If they please to dischardge them at the day of Election by way of vote. They may do it without shewing cause. But if at any other generall Court, we hould it due justice, that the reasons thereof be alleadged and proved. By Generall officers we meane, our Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, Generall of our warres. And our Admirall at Sea, and such as are or hereafter may be of the like genrall nature. *pag.* 48, *sec.* 4.

68. It is the libertie of the freemen to choose such deputies for the Generall Court out of themselves, either in their owne Townes or elsewhere as they judge fitest. And because we cannot foresee what varietie and weight of occasions may fall into future consideration, And what counsells we may stand in neede of, we decree. That the Deputies (to attend the Generall Court in the behalfe of the Countrie) shall not any time be stated or inacted, but from Court to Court, or at the most but for one yeare, that the

Countrie may have an Annuall libertie to do in that case what is most behoofefull for the best welfaire thereof. *pag.* 40, *sec.* 2.

69. No Generall Court shall be desolved or adjourned without the consent of the Major parte thereof. *pag.* 35, *sec.* 5.

70. All Freemen called to give any advise, vote, verdict, or sentence in any Court, Counsell, or Civill Assembly, shall have full freedome to doe it according to their true Judgements and Consciences, So it be done orderly and inofensively for the manner. *pag.* 153.

71. The Governor shall have a casting voice whensoever an Equi vote shall fall out in the Court of Assistants, or generall assembly, So shall the presedent or moderator have in all Civill Courts or Assemblies. *pag.* 35, *sec.* 6.

72. The Governor and Deputy Governor Joyntly consenting or any three Assistants concurring in consent shall have power out of Court to reprive a condemned malefactour, till the next quarter or generall Court. The generall Court onely shall have power to pardon a condemned malefactor. *pag.* 35, *sec.* 4.

73. The Generall Court hath libertie and Authoritie to send out any member of this Comanwealth of what qualitie, condition or office whatsoever into forreine parts about any publique message or Negotiation. Provided the partie sent be acquainted with the affaire he goeth about, and be willing to undertake the service. *pag.* 35, *sec.* 4.

74. The freemen of every Towne or Towneship, shall have full power to choose yearly or for lesse time out of themselves a convenient number of fitt men to order the planting or prudentiall occasions of that Towne, according to Instructions given them in writeing, Provided nothing be done by them contrary to the publique laws and orders of the Countrie, provided also the number of such select persons be not above nine. *pag.* 148, *sec.* 2.

75. It is and shall be the libertie of any member or members of any Court Councell or Civill Assembly in cases of makeing or executing any order or law, that properlie concerne religion, or any cause capitall, or warres, or Subscription to any publique Articles or Remonstrance, in case they cannot in Judgement and conscience consent to that way the Major vote or suffrage goes, to make their contra Remonstrance or protestation in speech or writeing, and upon request to have their dissent recorded in the Rolles of that Court. So it be done Christianlie and respectively for the manner. And their dissent onely be entered without the reasons thereof, for the avoiding of tediousnes. *pag.* 128.

76. Whensoever any Jurie of trialls or Jurours are not cleare in their Judgements or consciences conserneing any cause wherein they are to give their verdict, They shall have libertie in open Court to advise with any man they thinke fitt to resolve or direct them, before they give in their verdict. *pag.* 87, *sec.* 5.

77. In all cases wherein any freeman is to give his vote, be it in point of Election, makeing constitutions and orders or passing sentence in any case of Judicature or the like, if he cannot see reason to give it positively one way or an other, he shall have libertie to be silent, and not pressed to a determined vote. *pag.* 153.

78. The Generall or publique Treasure or any parte thereof shall never be exspended but by the appointment of a Generall Court, nor any Shire Treasure, but by the appointment of the freemen thereof, nor any Towne Treasurie but by the freemen of that Towneship. *pag.* 150, *sec.* 1, 2.

Liberties of Woemen.

79. If any man at his death shall not leave his wife a competent portion of his estaite, upon just complaint made to the Generall Court she shall be relieved.

80. Everie marryed woeman shall be free from bodilie correction or stripes by her husband, unlesse it be in his owne defence upon her assalt. If there be any just cause

of correction complaint shall be made to Authoritie assembled in some Court, from which onely she shall receive it. *pag.* 101, *sec.* 1.

Liberties of Children.

81. When parents dye intestate, the Elder sonne shall have a doble portion of his whole estate reall and personall, unlesse the Generall Court upon just cause alleadged shall judge otherwise. *pag.* 158, *sec.* 3.

82. When parents dye intestate haveing noe heires males of their bodies their Daughters shall inherit as Copartners, unles the Generall Court upon just reason shall judge otherwise. *pag.* 158, *sec.* 3.

83. If any parents shall wilfullie and unreasonably deny any childe timely or convenient mariage, or shall exercise any unnaturall severitie towards them, such childeren shall have free libertie to complaine to Authoritie for redresse. *pag.* 28, *sec.* 5.

84. No Orphan dureing their minoritie which was not committed to tuition or service by the parents in their life time, shall afterwards be absolutely disposed of by any kindred, freind, Executor, Towneship, or Church, nor by themselves without the consent of some Court, wherein two Assistants at least shall be present. *pag.* 28, *sec.* 6.

Liberties of Servants.

85. If any servants shall flee from the Tiranny and crueltie of their masters to the howse of any freeman of the same Towne, they shall be there protected and susteyned till due order be taken for their relife. Provided due notice thereof be speedily given to their maisters from whom they fled. And the next Assistant or Constable where the partie flying is harboured. *pag.* 105, *sec.* 6.

86. No servant shall be put of for above a yeare to any other neither in the life time of their maister nor after their death by their Executors or Administrators unlesse it be by

consent of Authoritie assembled in some Court or two Assistants. *pag.* 105, *sec.* 7.

87. If any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man-servant, or maid servant, or otherwise mayme or much disfigure him, unlesse it be by meere casualtie, he shall let them goe free from his service. And shall have such further recompense as the Court shall allow him. *pag.* 105, *sec.* 8.

88. Servants that have served deligentlie and faithfully to the benefitt of their maisters seaven yeares, shall not be sent away emptie. And if any have bene unfaithfull, negligent or unprofitable in their service, notwithstanding the good usage of their maisters, they shall not be dismissed till they have made satisfaction according to the Judgement of Authoritie. *pag.* 105, *sec.* 9.

Liberties of Forreiners and Strangers.

89. If any people of other Nations professing the true Christian Religion shall flee to us from the Tiranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famyne, warres, or the like necessary and compulsarie cause, They shall be entertayned and succoured amongst us, according to that power and prudence, god shall give us. *pag.* 143.

90. If any ships or other vessels, be it freind or enemy, shall suffer shipwrack upon our Coast, there shall be no violence or wrong offerred to their persons or goods. But their persons shall be harboured, and relieved, and their goods preserved in safety till Authoritie may be certified thereof, and shall take further order therein. *pag.* 161.

91. There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or Captivitie amongst us unles it be lawfull Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authoritie. *pag.* 10.

Off the Bruite Creature.

92. No man shall exercise any Tirranny or Crueltie towards any bruite Creature which are usuallie kept for man's use. *pag.* 39.

93. If any man shall have occasion to leade or drive Cattel from place to place that is far of, so that they be weary, or hungry, or fall sick, or lambe, It shall be lawful to rest or refresh them, for a competent time, in any open place that is not Corne, meadow, or inclosed for some peculiar use. *pag.* 42.

94. *Capitall Laws.*

1.

Deut. 13. 6, 10. Deut. 17. 2, 6. Ex. 22. 20. If any man after legall conviction shall have or worship any other god, but the lord god, he shall be put to death. *pag.* 14, *sec.* 1.

2.

Ex. 22. 18. Lev. 20. 27. Dut. 18. 10. If any man or woeman be a witch, (that is hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit,) They shall be put to death. *sec.* 2.

3.

If any person shall Blaspheme the name of god, the Lev. 24. 15, 16. father, Sonne or Holie Ghost, with direct, expresse, presumptuous or high handed blasphemie, or shall curse god in the like manner, he shall be put to death. *sec.* 3.

4.

If any person committ any wilfull murther, which is manslaughter, committed upon premeditated mal- Ex. 21. 12. Numb. 35. 13, 14, 30, 31. lice, hatred, or Crueltie, not in a mans necessarie and just defence, nor by meere casualtie against his will, he shall be put to death. *sec.* 4.

5.

Numb. 25, 20, 21. Lev. 24. 17. If any person slayeth an other suddaienly in his anger or Crueltie or passion, he shall be put to death. *sec.* 5.

6.

Ex. 21. 14. If any person shall slay an other through guile, either by poysoning or other such divelish practice, he shall be put to death. *sec.* 6.

7.

If any man or woeman shall lye with any beaste or bruite creature by Carnall Copulation, They shall surely be put to death. And the beast shall be slaine, and buried and not eaten. *sec.* 7.

Lev. 20. 15, 16.

8.

Lev. 20. 13. If any man lyeth with mankinde as he lyeth with a woeman, both of them have committed abhomination, they both shall surely be put to death. *sec.* 8.

9.

Lev. 20. 19, and 18, 20. Dut. 22. 23, 24. If any person committeth Adultery with a maried or espoused wife, the Adulterer and Adulteresse shall surely be put to death. *sec.* 9.

10.

Ex. 21. 16. If any man stealeth a man or mankinde, he shall surely be put to death. *sec.* 10.

11.

Deut. 19. 16, 18, 19. If any man rise up by false witnes, wittingly and of purpose to take away any mans life, he shall be put to death. *sec.* 11.

12.

If any man shall conspire and attempt any invasion, insurrection, or publique rebellion against our commonwealth, or shall indeavour to surprize any Towne or Townes, fort or forts therein, or shall treacherously and perfediouslie attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of politie or Government fundamentallie, he shall be put to death. *sec.* 12.

95. *A Declaration of the Liberties the Lord Jesus hath given to the Churches.*

1.

All the people of god within this Jurisdiction who are not in a church way, and be orthodox in Judgement, and not scandalous in life, shall have full libertie to gather themselves into a Church Estaite. Provided they doe it in a Christian way, with due observation of the rules of Christ revealed in his word. *pag.* 43, *sec.* 1.

2.

Every Church hath full libertie to exercise all the ordinances of god, according to the rules of scripture. *sec.* 3.

3.

Every Church hath free libertie of Election and ordination of all their officers from time to time, provided they be able, pious and orthodox. *sec.* 4.

4.

Every Church hath free libertie of Admission, Recommendation, Dismission, and Expulsion, or deposall of their officers, and members, upon due cause, with free exercise of the Discipline and Censures of Christ according to the rules of his word. *sec.* 5.

5.

No Injunctions are to be put upon any Church, Church officers or member in point of Doctrine, worship or Discipline, whether for substance or cercumstance besides the Institutions of the lord. *sec.* 6.

6.

Every Church of Christ hath freedome to celebrate dayes of fasting and prayer, and of thanksgiveing according to the word of god. *sec.* 7.

7.

The Elders of Churches have free libertie to meete monthly, Quarterly, or otherwise, in convenient numbers and places,

for conferences, and consultations about Christian and Church questions and occasions. *sec.* 8.

8.

All Churches have libertie to deale with any of their members in a church way that are in the hand of Justice. So it be not to retard or hinder the course thereof. *sec.* 9.

9.

Every Church hath libertie to deale with any magestrate, Deputie of Court or other officer what soe ever that is a member in a church way in case of apparent and just offence given in their places, so it be done with due observance and respect. *pag.* 44, *sec.* 10.

10.

Wee allowe private meetings for edification in religion amongst Christians of all sortes of people. So it be without just offence for number, time, place, and other cercumstances. *sec.* 12.

11.

For the preventing and removeing of errour and offence that may grow and spread in any of the Churches in this Jurisdiction, And for the preserveing of trueith and peace in the severall churches within themselves, and for the maintenance and exercise of brotherly communion, amongst all the churches in the Countrie, It is allowed and ratified, by the Authoritie of this Generall Court as a lawfull libertie of the Churches of Christ. That once in every month of the yeare (when the season will beare it) It shall be lawfull for the minesters and Elders, of the Churches neere adjoyneing together, with any other of the breetheren with the consent of the churches to assemble by course in each severall Church one after an other. To the intent after the preaching of the word by such a minister as shall be requested thereto by the Elders of the church where the Assembly is held, The rest of the day may be spent in publique Christian Conference about the discussing and resolveing of any such doubts and cases of conscience concerning matter of doctrine or worship or government of the church as shall be propounded by

any of the Breetheren of that church, with leave also to any other Brother to propound his objections or answeres for further satisfaction according to the word of god. Provided that the whole action be guided and moderated by the Elders of the Church where the Assemblie is helde, or by such others as they shall appoint. And that no thing be concluded and imposed by way of Authoritie from one or more churches upon an other, but onely by way of Brotherly conference and consultations. That the trueth may be searched out to the satisfying of every mans conscience in the sight of god according his worde. And because such an Assembly and the worke thereof can not be duely attended to if other lectures be held in the same weeke. It is therefore agreed with the consent of the Churches. That in that weeke when such an Assembly is held, All the lectures in all the neighbouring Churches for that weeke shall be forborne. That so the publique service of Christ in this more solemne Assembly may be transacted with greater deligence and attention.

96. Howsoever these above specified rites, freedomes Immunities, Authorites and priveledges, both Civill and Ecclesiastical are expressed onely under the name and title of Liberties, and not in the exact forme of Laws or Statutes, yet we do with one consent fullie Authorise, and earnestly intreate all that are and shall be in Authoritie to consider them as laws, and not to faile to inflict condigne and proportionable punishments upon every man impartiallie, that shall infringe or violate any of them.

97. Wee likewise give full power and libertie to any person that shall at any time be denyed or deprived of any of them, to commence and prosecute their suite, Complaint or action against any man that shall so doe in any Court that hath proper Cognizance or judicature thereof.

98. Lastly because our dutie and desire is to do nothing suddainlie which fundamentally concerne us, we decree that these rites and liberties, shall be Audably read and deliberately weighed at every Generall Court that shall be held, within three yeares next insueing, And such of them as shall

not be altered or repealed they shall stand so ratified, That no man shall infringe them without due punishment.

And if any Generall Court within these next thre yeares shall faile or forget to reade and consider them as abovesaid. The Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, and every Assistant present at such Courts, shall forfeite 20sh. a man, and everie Deputie 10sh. a man for each neglect, which shall be paid out of their proper estate, and not by the Country or the Townes which choose them, and whensoever there shall arise any question in any Court amonge the Assistants and Associates thereof about the explanation of these Rites and liberties, The Generall Court onely shall have power to interprett them.

[*This order in Council is in the same manuscript with the preceding article. Part of it is printed in Chalmers, p.* 505, *&c. It is here complete.*]

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL, THE 20th JULY, 1677.

PRESENT.

Lord Chancellor,	Earl of Craven,
Lord Treasurer,	Lord Bishop of London,
Lord Privy seal,	Lord Maynard,
Duke of Ormond,	Lord Berkeley,
Marquis of Worcester,	Mr. Vice Chancellor,
Lord Chamberlain,	Mr. Secretary Coventry,
Earl of Northampton,	Mr. Secretary Williamson,
Earl of Peterborough,	Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Earl of Sunderland,	Master of the Ordinance,
Earl of Bath,	Mr. Speaker.

Whereas the Right honorable the Lords of the Committee for trade and plantations did, in pursuance of an order of the 7th February last, make a report to the Lords of the matters in controversy between the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and Mr. Mason, Mr. Gorges touching the right of soil and government claimed by the said parties in certain lands there, by virtue of several grants from his majesties royal father and grandfather as followeth in hæc verba:

May it please your Majesty,

Having received your Majesty's order in Council of the 7th February last past, whereby we are directed to enter

into the examination of the bounds and limits, which the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay in New England on the one hand, and Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges on the other do pretend by their several grants and patents to have been assigned unto them, as also to examine the patent and charters which are insisted on by either side, in order to find out and settle how far the rights of soil or government do belong unto any of them; in the consideration whereof the Lords Chief Justices of your Majesty's courts of Bench and Common Pleas were appointed to give us their assistance, we did on the 5th April last, together with said Lords chief Justices, meet in obedience to your Majesty's commands, and having heard both parties by their counsel learned in the law, we did recommend unto their Lordships to receive a state of the claims made by both parties and to return their opinions upon the whole matter unto us, which their Lordships have accordingly performed in the words following:

In obedience to your Lordship's order we appointed a day for the hearing of all parties and considering the matter referred, having received from them such papers of their cases, as they were pleased to deliver, at which time all parties appearing, the Respondents did disclaim title to the lands claimed by the Petitioners, and it appeared to us, that the said lands are in the possession of several other persons not before us, whereupon we thought not fit to examine any claims to the said lands, it being in our opinion improper to judge of any title of land without hearing of the Tertenants or some other person in their behalf; and if there be any Court of Justice upon the place, we esteem most proper to direct the parties to have recourse thither for the decision of any question of propriety, until it shall appear, that there is just cause of complaint against the Courts of Justice there for injustice or grievance.

We did in the presence of said parties examine their several claims to the government. And the Petitioners having waived the pretence of a grant of government from the council of Plymouth, wherein they were convinced by their own counsel, that no such power or jurisdiction could be transferred or assigned by any colour of law, the question was reduced to the Province of Maine, whereto the Peti-

tioner Gorges made his title by a grant from King Charles the first, in the fifteenth year of his reign, made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his heirs of the Province of Maine and the government thereof. In answer to this, the Respondents alleged, that long before, viz. in quarto Car. I. the government was granted to them, and produced copies of letters patent, wherein it is recited, that the Council of Plymouth having granted to certain persons Territories thus described viz. All that part of New England in America, which lies and extends between a great river there commonly called Monomak or Merrimack, and a certain other river there called Charles river, being in the bottom of a certain Bay there called the Massachusetts Bay, and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying and being within the space of three English miles on the south part of the said Charles river or of any or every part thereof; and also all and singular the lands and heriditaments whatsoever lying and being within the space of three English miles to the southernmost part of the said Bay called Massachusetts Bay, and all those lands and hereditaments whatsoever which lie and be within the space of three English miles to the northward of the said river called Monomak alias Merrimack or to the northward of any and every part thereof, and all lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the limits aforesaid north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main lands there from the Atlantic and western sea and ocean on the east part to the south sea on the west. By the said letters patent the king confirmed that grant, made them a Corporation, and gave them power to make laws for the governing of the lands and people therein.

To this it was replied; that the patent of the 4th Charles 1st, is invalid. 1. Because there was a patent granted 18 Jacobi, of the same thing then in being, which patent was surrendered afterwards and before the date of the other 15 Charles 1st. 2. The grant of the government can extend no further than the ownership of the soil, the boundaries of which are recited in the patent, wholly excludes the Province of Maine, which lies northward more than three miles beyond the river Merrimack.

We having considered these matters, do humbly conceive

as to the first matter, that the patent of the 4th Charles 1st is good notwithstanding the grant made 18 Jacobi, for it appeared to us by recital in the patent 4th Charles 1st that the Council of Plymouth had granted away all their interest in the lands the year before, and it must be presumed they then deserted the government, whereupon it was lawful and necessary for the king to establish a suitable frame of government, according to his royal wisdom, which was by the patent 4th Charles 1st, making the adventurers a corporation upon the place.

As to the second matter, it seems to us to be very clear, that the grant of the government 4th Charles 1st, extends no further than the boundaries expressed in the patent, and those boundaries cannot be construed to extend farther northwards along the river Merrimack than three English miles. For the north and south bounds of the lands granted, so far as the rivers extend, are to follow the course of the rivers, which made the breadth of the grant. And the words describing the length to comprehend all the lines from the Atlantic ocean to the South sea, of and in all the breadth aforesaid, do not warrant the overreaching of those bounds by imaginary lines or bounds. Other expressions would (in our humble opinion) be unreasonable and against the intent of the grant. The words of and in all the breadth afterward, show the breadth was not intended an imaginary line of breadth laid upon the broader part; but the breadth respects the continuance of the boundaries by the rivers as far as the rivers go, but where the known boundary of breadth determines, it must be carried on by imaginary lines to the South sea. And if the Province of Maine lies more northerly than three English miles from the river Merrimack the patent of 4th Charles 1st gives no right to govern there, and thereupon the patent of the same 15th Charles 1st to the Petitioner Gorges will be valid.

So that upon the whole matter we are humbly of opinion, as to the power of government, that the respondents the Massachusetts and their successors by their patent 4° Martii 4° Caroli primi have such rights of government as is granted them by the same patent, within the boundaries of their lands expressed therein, according to such description and expression as we have thereof made as aforesaid. And

the Petitioner Sir Ferdinando Gorges his heirs and assigns by the patent third April, 15th Charles 1st, have such right of government as is granted them by the same patent within the lands called the Province of Maine according to the boundaries of the same expressed in the same patent.

RICH RAINSFORD,
FRA NORTH.

All which being the opinion of the Lords chief Justices and fully agreeing with what we have to report unto your Majesty upon the whole matter referred unto us by the said order, we humbly submit the determination thereof to your Majesty.

ANGLESEY,	CRAVEN,	J. WILLIAMSON,
ORMOND,	H. LONDON,	THO. CHICHELEY,
BATH,	G. CARTERET,	EDW. SEYMOUR.

Which having been read at the Board the 18th inst., it was then ordered, that the said Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges, as also the agents for the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay, should be this day heard upon the said report, if they have any objections to make thereunto. In pursuance whereof all parties attending with their counsell who not alledging any thing so material as to prevail with his Majesty and the Board to differ in judgment from the said report, his majesty thereupon pleased to approve and confirm the same and did order, that all parties do acquiesce therein, and to contribute what lies in them to the punctual and due performance of the said report as there shall be occasion.

JOHN NICHOLES.

Gleanings for New England History. *By* JAMES SAVAGE, *LL. D., A. A. S., S. H. Pr.*

Collegisse juvat.

DURING the summer months of 1842, in a visit to England, I was chiefly occupied with searching for materials to illustrate our early annals; and although disappointment was a natural consequence of some sanguine expectations, yet labor was followed by success in several. Accident threw in my way richer acquisitions which were secured with diligence.

First among my successful perquisitions was the will of Isaac Johnson, Esquire, husband of the lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and often regarded (especially by the first chief Justice Sewall, see Prince's Annals, pp. 316 and 319 of Ed. 1826) as the founder of our city of Boston. Governor Hutchinson, in a note on p. 16 of Vol. I. gives several provisions of a will, executed April 28 in the 5th of Charles I. i. e. 1629, in his time remaining on the Massachusetts files, but which Mr. Felt has not been so happy as to discover. In the same note, he says Johnson made another will before his death, and appointed John Hampden, Esquire, one of his executors, with Winthrop and Dudley. This instrument of 8th March following, though of near a year later date, is, also, of 5th of Charles I. his accession being 27th March, 1625, two days only after the new year by old style. I asked a copy of it, but was careful enough to examine that copy by the original Record. Some slight corrections, after the attestation, were found necessary, in my opinion, to express the exact truth.

"*Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.*

In the name of God Amen I Isaack Johnson beinge by the Grace of God forthwith to undertake a voyage into New England in America and well weighing the uncertaine condicon of all earthly things and especially of the life of man Do for the *pnte dispose of my personall estate in manner and forme following And first whereas I have already in and by the same deed by wch I have settled the inheritance of all my lands tenements and hereditaments in such sorte manner and forme as my earnest desire is the same should goe and bee enjoyed in case I should happen to dye without issue of my body lawfully begotten disposed all those my inclosed grounds in Brandeston commonly called the Bury field unto the use of Richard Knightly Frauncis Nicholls John Readinge Esquires John Butler John Smith and John Holled gents for the terme of one and twenty years from the time of my death To the intent that they and the survivor of them and the Executors and administrators of the survivor of them should dispose thereof and of the rents issues and profitts thereof during the said terme to such pson and persons and in such sorte manner and forme and under such provisoes condicons and limitacons as I by my last Will and Testament in writing or by any other writing by me subscribed shall lymitt sett downe and appointe I doe by this my pnte last Will and Testament lymitt sett downe and appointe that they my said trustees and the survivor of them and the executors and administrators of the survivor of them shall dispose of such of the rents issues and profitts of the said Bury feilde as shall amount to the full satisfaccon and value of all such debts as I shall owe at the time of my decease to and for the payment and satisfaction thereof and that my said debts and all monies that shall growe due for or in respect of the forbearance thereof shal bee first paide out of the said rents issues and profitts And that after my debts paid they my said trustees shall dispose of the rest and residue of the said terme of one and twentie years which shal bee then to come and unexpired And of the rents issues and profitts of the said Bury feilde during

* Abbreviation, in the engrossing hand, for present.

the said residue of the said terme In manner following vizt. onethird parte thereof to Mr. Abraham Johnson my father another third part thereof the whole in three equall parts to be divided to and amonge my bretheren and sister the rest of the children of my said father that shal be then livinge and the remayninge third pte thereof to my executors to be disposed by them to and amonge such of my poore kindred as they shall thinke fitt and doe also hereby bequeath after the payment of my debts and legacies one third pte of my other psonall estate wch I shall have in England at the time of my death the whole in three equall parts to be divided to my said father another third parte thereof to and among my said bretheren and sister and the remayning third pte thereof my will is my executors shall dispose to and amonge such of my poore kindred as they shall thinke fitt And as to such of my psonall estate as I shall have in New England in America or in any other place then in the Kingdome of England att the time of my death my will and minde is that the right honourable the Lady Arbella my wife shall after my debts and other Legacies paid have one third pte thereof (the whole in three ptes to be equally divided) And that one third pte of the remayning two parts (the said two partes in three to be divided) shall goe and be disposed to the Governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England aforesaid to and for the benefitt of their plantacons there And that the residue thereof shall goe and be equallie divided amonge my said brethren and sister And I doe make and constitute John Hampden of Hampden in the countie of Buckingham Esquire John Winthrop of Groton in the countie of Sufk. Esquire and the said John Reading and John Holled and Thomas Dudley of Clipsham in the countie of Rutland Esquire to be the executors of this my last Will and doe give unto the said John Hampden three pounds of lawfull monies to make him a ringe of and for the like unto the said John Winthrop Thomas Dudley and John Holled five pounds apeece of like lawfull monies And to the said John Reading Tenn pounds of like monies for their paynes and care to bee taken in the execution of this my Will In Witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the eighth day of March Anno Dom. 1629 And I doe hereby revoke all other Wills Isa Johnson

Signed sealed and published thees two sheets to bee my last Will in the presence of Ric Fitche Philip Johnson Edward Greene.

Probatum fuit testamentum supradictum apud London coram venerabili viro domino Henrico [1] Marten milite legum doctore Curiæ Prerogativæ Cantuariensis magistro custode sive Comissario legitime constituto primo die mensis Julii anno dmni millesimo sexcentesimo tricesimo primo Juramento Johannis Reading unius executorum in hujusmodi testamento nominatorum cui Commissa administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti de bene et fideliter administrando eadem ad Sancta Dei Evangelia Jurato Reservata potestate similem Commissionem faciend Johanni Hampden Johanni Winthropp Johanni Holled et Thomæ Dudley Ceteris Executoribus etiam in hujusmodi testamento nominatis cum venerint seu alter eorum venerit eandem petitur. CHAS DYNELEY, JOHN IGGULDEN, W F GOSTLING } *Deputy Registers.*

Interest, by a greater number, no doubt, in our country, will be found in the result of investigations at Cambridge and Oxford. The records, at least those preceding the middle of the seventeenth century, examined by me, are kept on very different plans at the two Universities. Resort must be had to the registry of the particular College, at which a student is entered, in Cambridge, to ascertain the time of such *entry*, but the University registry gives the date of *matriculation*, (which may be long after,) shows also the College of which he is *then* a member, (and this may be a different one from that in which he began,) and exhibits under each year the catalogue of the several degrees. Before 1604 the number only of *bachelors* is found, without their names; so that it is uncertain in what year Peter Bulkley, John Cotton, Robert Peck, John Robinson or Nathaniel Ward received their first degrees, though we know such honors were conferred, from the annunciation of their rank as masters under their respective years. An index, generally very accurate, facilitates much the inquiry

[1] Sir Henry Marten, LL. D., judge of the Prerogative Court, was father of Henry Marten, the regicide, who was not executed, being spared, Bishop Burnet thinks, on account of his vice and blasphemy, which helped him to many friends.

for graduates. The matriculation book shows the several orders, or styles of living, in which students are entered, as Richard [1]Saltonstall, Mr. 1 Convictus, i. e. Fellow commoner, matriculated 14th Decr. 1627; John Harvard, 2 Conv. in the *second* order of living, i. e. pensioner, or one who pays his own expenses, matriculated 7th July, 1631; and Simon Bradstreet, in *third* order, i. e. a sizer, one who needs assistance, matriculated 9th July, 1618. At Oxford, on the contrary, all the students subscribe their names in one book to certain Articles on matriculation; and in another volume, under each College, in every year, is entered each student's name with a description, as in the list will be shown. No subscription, however, even on receiving the degrees, was required at Cambridge previous to 1616; and the order of the Royal pedant, introducing this innovation, was for a season resisted by the University. One advantage of subscription, besides that of the handwriting, is, that it gives the manner of spelling the name at the same time.

Without success I sought for the names of some of the reverend fathers of New England, at Cambridge; and leave to more persevering inquiry than was within my power, at Oxford, to find John Avery, Francis Dane, Nathaniel Eaton, Henry Green, Robert Lenthall, John Maverick, Thomas Mayhew, Roger Newton, Edward Norris, James Parker, Peter Prudden and John Warham, or either of them. Ample satisfaction for my search will be seen in the following list of early settlers in our country, including three most eminent promoters of our cause, who came not over, who were graduates at the University of Cambridge:

*Allen, Tho., of Gonville and Caius Coll.		A. B. 1627	A. M. 1631	
Ames, William,	Christs	1607	——	
*Blaxton, William,	Emanuel	1617	1621	
*Bradstreet, Simon,	"	1620	1624	
Bulkley, Peter,	St. Johns	——	1608	
*Burre, Jonathan,	[2]Bennet	1623	1627	
*Carter, Thomas,	St. Johns	1629	1633	
*Chauncey, Charles,	Trinity	1613	1617	B. D. 1624.
*Child, Robert,	Bennet	1631	1635	
Cotton, John,	Trinity	——	1606	
Dalton, Timothy,	St. Johns	1613	——	
*Denton, Richard,	Catherine Hall	1623	——	

[1] He did not have a degree, probably because he left the University, before finishing his studies, to accompany his father, Sir Richard, to our country in April 1630.
[2] Since called Corpus Christi.

*Dudley,[1] Thomas,	Emanuel	A. B. 1626		A. M. 1630	
*Dunster, Henry,	Magdalen	1630		1634	
*Eaton, Samuel,	"	1624		1628	
*Eliot, John,	Jesus	1622		——	
*Fisk, John,	Kings	1625		——	
*Gibson, Richard,	Magdalen	1635		——	
*Harvard, John,	Emanuel	1631		1635	in quite a plain hand.
Higginson, Francis,	Jesus	1609	St. John's	1613	
Hooker, Thomas,	Emanuel	1607		1611	
*Hubberd, Peter,	Magdalen	1625		1629	
*James, Thomas,	Emanuel	1614		1618	
*Leverich, William,	"	1625		1631	
Maude, Daniel,	"	1606		1610	
*Miller, John,	Gon. and Caius	1627		——	
*Milton, John,	Christs	1628		1632	in a beautiful hand.
*Moxon, George	Sydney	1623		——	
*Norcrosse, Nathaniel,	Catherine Hall	1636		——	
*Norton, John,	Peterhouse	1623		1627	
Peck, Robert,	Magdalen	——		1603	
*Pierson, Abraham,	Trinity	1632		——	
*Peters, Hugh,	"	1617		1622	
*Phillipps, George,	Gon. and Caius	1613		1617	
*Phillips, John,	Emanuel	1614		1618	
Robinson, John,	"	——		1600	B. D. 1607.
Rogers, Ezekiel,	Bennet	1604	Christs	1608	
*Rogers, Nathaniel,	Emanuel	1617		1621	
*Shepard, Thomas,	"	1623		1627	
*Sherman,[2] John,	Trinity	1629		1633	
Skelton, Samuel,	Clare Hall	1611		1615	
Smith, Ralph,	Christs	1613		——	
*Stone, Samuel	Emanuel	1623		1627	
*Symmes, Zacharye,	"	1620		——	
*Walton, William,	"	1621		1625	
*Ward, John,	"	1626		1630	
Ward, Nathaniel,	"	——		1603	
*Welde, Thomas,	Trinity	1613		1618	
*Wheelocke, Ralph,	Clare Hall	1626		1631	
*Wheelwright, John,	Sydney	1614		1618	
*Whiting, Samuel,	Emanuel	1616		1620	
Wilson, John,	Christs	1605		1609	

Those marked with a star had all subscribed, as in every instance I saw.

Further research, by the Rev. Joseph Romilly, Registrar of the University, enabled him, some weeks later, to enlarge my list by the four additional names:

Baker, Nicholas,	St. Johns	A. B. 1631	A. M. 1635
Reyner, John,	Magdalen	1625	——
Saxton, Peter,	Trinity	——	1603
Wetherill, William,	Bennet	1622	1626

[1] Whether this were a son of Governor Dudley is uncertain, but not improbable.

[2] In the Index of graduates in the University, I detected, 12 July, an error of date against this name, which, on turning to the original record of the Senate, was forthwith corrected by the Registrar of the University.

with the further information about this last: "He wrote his name in two different ways, first, Wil. Weatherill, 2 Wil. Wetherill," and he adds, that in searching for Henry Flint, Hansard Knollys, John Lothrop and Henry Whitfield, he had been unsuccessful.

By the Rev. Dr. Archdale, Master of Emanuel, and Vice Chancellor of the University, the register of students admitted at that house was shown me; but in the parts examined by me it was only copy of an older book. Of the other Colleges and Halls I was unable to see the registers, because it was vacation. Search among them would be interesting, as they contain, of course, names of those who did not remain to receive degrees, as well as those who did. The time from entry to first degree, which is conferred in January, varies in several instances. Of the entry at Emannel I took only these names:

Robinson, John,	1592	Ward, Nathaniel,	1596
Phillips, John,	1611	Whiting, Samuel,	1613
Rogers, Nathaniel,	1614	[1] Bradstreet, Simon,	1617
Symmes, Zacharye,	1617	Shepard, Thomas,	1619
Stone, Samuel,	1620	Ward, John,	1622
Saltonstall, Richard,	1627	Harvard, John,	1628

Greater satisfaction is felt in examination of the registries at Oxford, though a longer time is required for the search than at Cambridge. Of graduates here the list in Wood's Fasti goes back far enough for our purposes, but the printed Catalogue of Cambridge begins with the Restoration in 1660. My transcription of students admitted to matriculation is very slender result of two days' work:

"Ædes Christi Adam Blakeman 23 May 1617 Staffordiensis plebei filius annos natus 19."

"Aula Magdalensis 12 Novr. 1619 Herbertus Pelham Lincoln. Eq. Aurati fil. an. nat. 18."

"Ænei Nasi 28 Jan. 1619 William Tompson Lancast. Pleb. fil. an. natus 22."

"Collegium Trinit. 3 Mart. 1619 Samuel Newman Oxon. pleb. fil. an. nat. 17."

"Collegium Trinit. 19 May 1620 William Hooke Southamptoniensis Generosi filius annos natus 19."

[1] From Mather we should receive the impression, that Bradstreet was not able to remain at the University long enough to receive its honors; and Farmer following him makes him "one year at Emanuel College." He must have given three years to earn his bacalaureate, and perhaps nearly four more for his master's degree.

"Colleg. Lincolniense 20 Junii 1623 Joh. Oxenbridge Northampt. fil. [1] Danielis Oxenbridge de [2] Dentrie in Com. pred. Doctoris an. nat. 18."

"Colleg. Magdalens. 27 Junii 1623 Joh. Allen Oxon. fil. Roberti Allen de Horley in Com. pred. pleb. an. nat. 18."

"Colleg. Omnium animarum 20 Feb. 1623 Marmadukus Mathews Glamorgan. fil. Mathæi Mathews de Swansey in Com. pred. pleb. an. nat. 18."

"Colleg. Jesu 30 April 1624 Johannes Jones [3] Monuensis fil. Gul. Jones de Abergevenia in com. pred. Plebei. annos natus 17."

"Hospitium Novum 18 Febr. 1624 Francis Bright London. fil. Edoardi Bright de Londo. pl. an. nat. 22."

"Colleg. Lincoln. 16to. Martii 1626 Elias Corlet London. fil. Henrici Corlet de London. pleb. annos nat. 17."

"Aula Magdalens. 16 Mart. 1648 Jac. Allen."

Of all the preceding names, subscribed by the parties, except the last, I saw the proof. Perhaps, after the overthrow of the government a few years earlier, subscription was not required. Pelham's is in a beautiful hand at the top of the list for the year in his college.

My time was too limited, at Oxford, to permit all the investigations that would be agreeable. Many were entered at the University, without being matriculated afterwards; and many matriculated, no doubt, abandoned their rights without reaching the honor of a degree, that would entitle their names to entry in the Fasti. Some happier visiter may increase my list.

Of the age of Samuel Newman the foregoing entry enables us to correct the errors of the Magnalia and of Increase Mather. From the latter, in Wood's Athenæ III. 648, letters are quoted "that he thinks Mr. Sam. Newman, author of the Concordance, was born in Yorkshire, and that (as he takes it) he was in the 65th year of his age when he died." No doubt his years were less than sixty-two. The Register of Banbury, in Oxford, proves that the clergyman of that parish "baptized May 24, 1602 Samuel Newman, son of Richard Newman." The Fasti of Wood I. 392 sub an. 1620 gives him of "St. Edmund Hall A. B. 17 Oct." A

[1] The excellent Editor of Wood's Athenæ supplies this certificate:

"Ædes Christi 1590 Octob. 30 Daniell Oxenbridg Warwicke Minister verb. dei ætat 17." Reg. Matric. P. fol. 28.

He proceeded Bachelor of Arts May 9, 1593, and Master of Arts at the Act 1596. Became Bachelor of Medicine with licence to practise, and D. of Med. May 23, 1620. The above the father of John Oxenbridge of Boston, Massachusetts

PHILIP BLISS,
July 28 1842. *Registrar of the University.*

[2] Usually written Daventry, though pronounced according to the text.

[3] Anglice, of Monmouth.

relation to Yorkshire he certainly had, for I find in the History of Hallamshire, by Rev. Jos. Hunter, folio, London, 1819, p. 283, Samuel Newman was presented to the chapel of Midhope in Yorkshire, 1625; and that Mat. Booth, his successor, was presented in 1635.

A partial deficiency of records of the Unversity, "during the usurpation times," excluded me from information, probably, about Rev. Charles Morton, and from something more than is told of Samuel Lee in the Fasti II. 111, sub an. 1648, 14 April, when he was created M. A. being of Magdalen Hall; and, again, when Oliver Cromwell was Chancellor, ib. 164 sub an 1651, 9 April, where his name stands the second proctor, and "fellow of Wadham College" is added. Wood says "the junior proctor being not of sufficient standing in the degree of master[1] for the taking on him the procuratorial office, at which time he was elected by the society of his coll. the visiters dispensed with it by their order, dat. 22 Mar. 1650."

For our William Hooke, of New Haven, in the foregoing list, the Fasti I. 392, mentions his admission to B. A. 28 June 1620 and ib. 411 M. A. 7 July 1623, but this last mentioned day is an error, as, on reference to the original register O. fol. 260 of the University, it appears 26 May in that year.

Henry Saltonstall and William Stoughton, sons of our own college, we know were created fellows of New College at Oxford, and that the latter is not named in the Fasti; but of the former is this notice: II. 172 sub an. 1652 "June 24, Henr. Saltonstall, a knight's son, fellow of New Coll. by the favour of the visitors, and doct. of phys. of Padua was then incorporated. The said degree he took at Padua in Oct. 1649." This made me curious to see the records of New College, which Dr. Williams, the Warden, exhibited, and permitted extracts from the list of Fellows: "Henr. Saltonstall 1653–1657, Med. Dr. Patavii and Oxoniæ, Equ. aurati filius Author. Parl. 1650.

"Gul. Stoughton A. Mr. antehac Acad. Nov. Angliæ graduatus, hic positus auth. Parl. rege reduci discessit 1660." Here is, I suppose, a sufficient protest against such intrusion.

[1] Four years standing, as master of arts, is by the Statutes, the Registrar informed me, the qualification of eligibility for a proctor.

Perhaps the acquisition most valuable in the opinion of our local antiquaries is my copious extracts from a MS. volume in folio at the Augmentation Office (so called), where Rev. Joseph Hunter, one of the Record Commissioners, presides, in Rolls Court, Westminster Hall. It contains the names of persons, permitted to embark, at the port of London, after Christmas 1634, to the same period in the following year, kept *generally* in regular succession. This was found only a few months since, and may not have been seen by more than two or three persons for two hundred years.

The first page is for names of a few soldiers to serve under Capt. Prichard at Gottenburgh; the 2d, 3d and part of 4th pages are for persons bound to Virginia; the next list is for St. Christophers; then twelve several short lists of soldiers going on service, then a long list to go in the Hopewell, Thomas Wood, master, to Barbadoes, entered 17th Feb'ry; then nine lists of soldiers for different parts of Flanders or other countries.

But on p. 16, I find, "11 March 1634, theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, having brought certificate from the Justices of the Peace & Ministers of the parish of St. Egyd. Cripplegate, the party hath taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Peter Howson, 31 years, and his wife Ellin Howson, 39 years old, and Turris Lond. (parish,) Thomas Stares 31 years, Susan Johnson 12." Under 16 Mar. "to New England, imbarqued in the Christopher de Lo[ndon] John White, master, bound thither, the men have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

Francis Stiles,	35 yeres.	George Chappell,	20 yeres.
Thomas Basset,	37	Robert Robinson,	45
Thomas Stiles,	20	Edward Patteson,	33
Thomas Barker,	21	Francis Marshall,	30
Jo. Dyer,	28	Rich. Heyles,	22
Jo. Harris,	28	Tho. Halford,	20
James Horwood,	30	Tho. Hauksworth,	23
Jo. Reeves,	19	Jo. Stiles,	35
Tho. Foulfoot,	22	Henry Stiles,	40
James Busket,	28	Jane Morden,	30
Tho. Cooper,	18	Joan Stiles,	35
Edward Preston,	13	Henry Stiles,	3
Jo. Grubb,	30	Jo. Stiles,	9 mo.
Mildred Bredstreet,		Rachell Stiles,	28

After this many lists of soldiers succeed; but, p. 22, comes "22 Mar. 1634, theis underwritten names are to be im-

barqued in the Planter, Nic. Trarice, master, bound for New England, per certificate from Stepney parish, & attestacon from Sir Tho. Jay & Mr. Simon Muskett, two Justices of the Peace; the men have taken the oath of supremacy and allegiance.

	Nicholas Davies,	40 yeres.	Robert Stevens,	22	a sawyer	4 servants.
	Sara Davies,	48	John More,	24	a laborer	
	Joseph Davies,	13	James Haieward,	22		
	William Locke,	6	Judith Phippin,	16		
a sawyer	Jo. Maddox,	43				
glover	James Launin,	26				

Next come embarkations 26 Mar. 1635, for Barbadoes and St. Christophers; but, p. 23, I find "1 Apr. in the Hopewell of London, Wm. Burdocke, for New England,

Jo. Cooper,	41 yeres.	of Oney in Buckinghamshire	Theis have taken the othe of allegiance and supremacy.
Edmond Farrington,	47		
Wm. Purryer,	36		
Geo. Griggs,	42	of Landon	Buckinghamsh.
Phillip Kyrtland,	21	of Sherington	
Nath'l. Kyrtland,	19	of Sherington	

Tho. Griggs,	15	Wibroe,	42 yeres, wife of Jo. Cooper
Wm. Griggs,	14	Elizabeth,	49 wife of Edmond Farrington
Eliz. Griggs,	10	Alyce,	37 wife of Wm. Purryer
Mary Griggs,	6	Alyce,	42 wife of Geo. Griggs
James Griggs,	2		

Children of Geo. Griggs aforesaid

Mary Cooper,	13	Philip Phillips,	15 ser. to John Cooper
Jo. Cooper,	10	Sara Farrington,	14
Tho. Cooper,	7	Martha Farrington,	12
Martha Cooper,	5	Jo. Farrington,	11
		Eliz. Farrington,	8

Children of John Cooper aforesaid

Children of Edmond Farrington

Mary Purryer,	7	Children of Wm. Purryer
Sara Purryer,	5	
Nathan Purryer,	18 mo.	

27 persons."

The next list is 2 April. "Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Planter, Nic. Trarice, master, bound thither. The parties have brought certificate from the minister of Great St. Albans in Hertfordshire, and attestacon from the Justices of Peace according to the Lords' order.

		Yeres.			Yeres.
a mercer	John Tuttell,	39		Marie Chiltwood,	24
	Joan Tuttell,	42	shoemaker	Tho. Olney,	35
	John Lawrence,	17		Mary Olney,	30
	Wm. Lawrence,	12		Tho. Olney,	3
	Maria Lawrence,	9		Epenetus Olney,	1
	Abigail Tuttell,	6	husbandman	Geo. Giddins,	25
	Symon Tuttell,	4		James Giddins,	20
	Sara Tuttell,	2		Tho. Savage, a tailor,	27
	Jo. Tuttell,	1	a tailor husbandman	Richard Harvie,	22
				Francis Peboddy,	21

	Joan Antrobus,	65	linen weaver	Wm. Wilcockson,	34	
	Marie Wrast,	24		Margaret Wilcockson,	24	
	Tho. Greene,	15		Jo. Wilcockson,	2	
	Nahum Haserd,	16	servant to Jo. Tuttell.	An. Harvea,	22	
a mason	William Beardsley,	30	shoemaker	Willm Felloe,	24	
	Maria Beardsley,	26	a tailor	Francis Baker,	24	
	Maria Beardslea,	4		Tho. Carter, 25	servants to Geo. Giddins, pred.	
	John Beardslea,	2		Michell Williamson, 30		
	Joseph Beardslea,	6 mo.		Elizabeth Morrison, 12		
husbandman	Allen Perley,	27				
stationer	James Weaver,	23				
husbandman	Edmond Weaver,	28	and his wife Margaret, aged 30 years. dwelling in Auckstray, in Herefordshire."			

The next list is "Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Hopewell, master Wm. Burdick, the parties have brought certificates from the minister and Justices of Peace, that they are no subsidy men, they have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, per certificate from Stanstedd Abby there.

husbandman	John Astwood,	26	husbandman	Lawrence Whittemore,	63
	Jo. Ruggles,	10		Elizabeth Whittemore,	57
	Martha Carter,	27		Elizabeth Turner,	20
	Marie Elliott,	13		Sara Elliott,	6
Nazing in Essex.				Robert Day	30
shoemaker	Jo. Ruggells,	44		Wm. Peacock,	12
uxor	Barbarie Ruggells,	30		Isaac Disbrough,	18
	Jo. Ruggells,	2	of Ell — Tyrley in com. Cambridge.		
	Elizabeth Elliott,	8		Elizabeth Elliott,	30
	Giles Payson,	26		Lydia Elliott,	4
	Isaac Morris,	9		Phillip Elliott,	2
husbandman	Jo. Peat,	38	of St. Katharines.		
of Duffil parish in Derbysh.			husbandman	Robert Titus,	35
	Edward Keele,	14	uxor	Hanna Titus,	31
	Jo. Goadby,	16		John Titus,	8
	Jo. Bell,	13		Edmond,	5
	Tho. Greene,	15			

Geo. Woodward, 35, fishmonger, per certificate from Sir Geo. Whitmore & Sir Nich. Raynton, two Justices of the Peace in London, and from Jo. Thorp, minister of the parish of St. Buttolphs Billingsgate."

Next follow short lists for Barbados 3 and 4 Apr. and then a long additional list for the Planter, Nic. Trarice as beforesaid, hereunder given, "6 April 1635.

a currier	Martin Saunders,	40	a glover	Anto. Stannion,	24
uxor	Rachell Saunders,	40		Daniell Hanbury,	29
3 children.	Lea Saunders,	10		Francis Dexter,	13
	Judith Saunders,	8		Willm. Dawes,	15
	Martin Saunders,	4		Maria Saunders,	15

3 servants	Marie Fuller, 17	a tailor	Clement Bates, 40			Theis parties imbarked in the Elizabeth, master Wm. Stagg, bound for New England, per certificate from the Justices and Minister of the parish."
	Richard Smith, 14		Ann Bates, 40			
	Rich'd Ridley, 16	5 children	James Bates, 14			
husbandman	Francis Newcom, 30		Clement Bates, 12			
wife and 2 children	Rachell Newcom, 20		Rachell Bates, 8			
	Rachell Newcom, 2½		Joseph Bates, 5			
	Jo. Newcom, 9 mo.		Benj. Bates, 2			
		said servants.	Jo. Winchester, 19			
			Jarvice Gold, 30			

"More for the Planter.

husbandman	Richard Tuttell,	42	husbandman	Willm Tuttell,	26
	Ann Tuttell,	41		Elizabeth Tuttell,	23
	Ann Tuttell,	12		Jo. Tuttell,	3½
	Jo. Tuttell,	10		Ann Tuttell,	2¼
	Rebecca Tuttell,	6		Tho. Tuttell,	3 mo.
	Isbell Tuttell,	70		Sycille Clark,	16
	Marie Wolhouston,	30		Marie Bill,	11
	Phillip Atwood,	12	a carpenter	Francis Bushnell,	26
	Barth Faldoe,	16		Marie Bushnell,	26
	Maria Smith,	18		Martha Bushnell,	1
	Elizabeth Swayne,	20		Willm Lea,	16
	Margaret Leach,	15		Hanna Smith,	18
				Ann Wells,	15

In the Hopewell, Willm Burdock, master, bound for New England.

	James Burges,	14		Christian Luddington,	18
	Alexander Thwaits,	20		Maria Abbott,	16
	Jo. Abbott,	16		Maria Cope,	14
	Jo. Bellowes,	12		Maria Peake,	15
	Jo. Johnes,	15	a tailor	Tho. Pell,	22
a glazier	Jo. Bushnell,	21			

In the Rebecca, of London, Mr. Hedges, for New England.

a husbandman	Peter Underwood, 22		Isabell Cradock,	30

7 Apr. this party under mentioned is to be imbarqued in the Planter, bound for New England, per certificate from Alderman Fenn of his conformity, he hath taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Richard Fenn 27."

Then follow long lists, by several ships, for St. Christophers and Barbadoes; but on p. 30 comes "8 Apr. theis parties hereunder mentioned are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth of London, Wm. Stagg, master, bound thither; they have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, per certificate from the parish of St. Alphage, Cripplegate, the minister thereof.

Tanners	Wm. Holdred,	25	Daniell Bradley,	29
	Roger Preston,	21	Isaac Stedman,	30"

Also, with a similar verification from the "minister of Kingston upon Thames, in the County of Surrey, to be transported in the Planter.

a miller	Palmer Bayley,	21
an ostler	Wm. Buttrick,	20
a miller	Tho. Jernell,	27

9 Apr. in the Elizabeth de London pred. master Will'm Stagg bound for New England, theis underwritten names have brought certificate from the minister of Hauckust in Kent, and attestacon," &c. &c.

		Yeres.		
a clothier	James Hosmer,	28	Jo. Stow,	40
uxor	Ann Hosmer,	27	Edward Gold,	28
2 children	Marie Hosmer,	2	Geo. Russell,	19
	Ann Hosmer,	3 mo.	Jo. Mussell,	15
maid servants	Marie Dounard,	24		
	Marie Martin,	19		

In the Rebecca, master Jo. Hedges, bound for New England.

husbandman	Jacob Welsh,	32	Wm. Swayne,	16
	Geo. Woodward,	35	Francis Swayne,	14
	Elizabeth Winchell,	52		
	Jo. Winchell,	13		

17th Apr. in the Eliza & Ann, Master Ro. Cooper, bound to New England,

Thomas Hedsall, 47 years.

In the Increase, of London, master Robert Lea, versus New England,

a mason	Geo. Baron,	43 years.			
	Samuel,	12	Children of the said mason.		
	Susan,	10			
	John,	8			
a husbandman	Tho. Jestlin,	43	Rebecca,	18	Children of the said Tho. Jestlin.
	Rebecca, his wife,	43	Dorothy,	11	
	Eliza Ward, a maid servant,	38	Nathaniell,	8	
			Eliza,	6	
			Mary,	1	

10 Apr. theis underwritten names are to be transported in the Planter, pred. Nico. Trarice, master, bound for New England, per certificate of the minister of Sudburie in Suffk.

and from the maior of the town, of his conformity to the orders & discipline of the church of England, & that he is no subsidy man, he hath taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

carrier	Richard Hasfell,	54 yrs.	Alice Smith,	40
uxor	Martha,	42	Elizabeth Cooper,	24
5 daughters.	Marie Hasfell,	17	Jo. Smith,	13
	Sara Hasfell,	14	Job Hawkins,	15
	Martha Hasfell,	8		
	Rachell Hasfell,	6		
	Ruth Hasfell,	3		

In the Planter pred. &c. &c.

	Eylin Hanford,	46	Rodolphus Elmes,	15
2 daughters.	Margaret Hanford,	16	Tho. Stansley,	16
	Elizabeth Hanford,	14		

In the Elizabeth of London, Wm. Stagg, master, bound for New England.

Will'm Wilder,	30
Peter Thorne,	20
Alice Wild,	40

A list of soldiers embarking for Flanders follows; and then comes:

"11 Apr. In the Elizabeth, pred. Wm. Stagg, master, bound for New England, &c. &c.

a carpenter	Wm. Whitteredd,	86	Jo. Cluffe,	22
uxor	Elizabeth,	30	Jo. Wild,	17
son	Tho. Whitteredd,	10	Samuell Haieward,	22
			Jo. Duke,	20

In the Planter pred. theis &c. &c.

	Sara Pittnei,	22	Margaret Pitney,	22
2 children.	Sara Pitnei,	7	Rachell Deane,	31
	Samuell Pitney,	1½		

12 Apr. In the Elizabeth & Ann, master Roger Cooper, bound for New England, per certificate from the maior of Evesham in Com. Worcest. & from the minister, &c. &c.

Margaret Washborne,	49	
Jo. Washborne,	14	2 sons.
Phillip Washborne,	11	

In the Elizabeth de London, Wm. Stagg, master, pred.

theis underwritten names brought certificate from the minister of St Savior's, Southwark, of &c. &c.

	Thos. Miller,	30		Joshua Wheat,	17
uxor	Marie Miller,	29		Jo. Smith,	12
	Ursula Greenway,	32		Ralph Chapman,	20
	Henrie Bull,	19		Tho. Millet,	2

To be imbarqued in the Increase, Robert Lea, master, bound for New England per certificate from Billericay in Essex from the minister of the parish, that he is no subsidy man.

husbandman	Wm. Rusco,	51			
et uxor	Rebecca,	40			
	Sara Rusco,	9	4 children.	Samuell,	6
	Marie Rusco,	7		Wm. Rusco,	1

In the Increase pred. &c. &c. from All Sts. Stayning's, Mark Lane.

a tailor	Tho. Page,	29			
wife &	Elizabeth Page,	28		Edward Sparks,	2 servants."
2 children.	Tho. Page,	2		Kat. Taylor,	
	Katherin Page,	1			

On p. 35 we find "In the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master &c., to be imbarqued for New England, having taken &c. &c. and likewise brought &c. &c.

husbandman	Robert Hawkins,	25		Wm. Hubbard,	35
	Jo. Whitney,	35		Tho. Hubbard,	10
	Jo. Palmerley,	20		Tho. Eaton,	1
	Richard Martin,	12		Marie Hawkins,	24
	Jo. Whitney,	11		Ellin Whitney,	30
	Richard Whitney,	9		Abigall Eaton,	35
	Nathaniell Whitney,	8		Sara Cartrack,	24
	Tho. Whitney,	6		Jane Dammand,	9
	Jonathan Whitney,	1		Marie Eaton,	4
	Nico. Sension,	13		Marie Broomer,	10
	Henry Jackson,	29		Mildred Cartrack,	2
				Joseph Alsopp,	14

In the Susan & Ellin, Edward Payne, master, for New England, theis &c. &c. &c.

husbandman	John Procter,	40	husbandman	Richard Saltonstall,	23
	Martha Procter,	28		Merriall Saltonstall,	22
	John Procter,	3		Merriall Saltonstall,	9 mo
	Marie Procter,	1		Tho. Wells,	30
	Alice Street,	28		Peter Cooper,	28
husbandman	Walter Thornton,	36		Wm. Lambert,	26
	Joanna Thornton,	44		Samuell Podd,	25

John North,	20	Jeremy Belcher,	22
Mary Pynder,	53	Marie Clifford,	25
Francis Pynder,	20	Jane Coe,	30
Marie Pynder,	17	Marie Riddlesden,	17
Joanna Pynder,	14	Jo. Pellam,	20
Anna Pynder,	12	Mathew Hitchcock,	25
Katherin Pinder,	10	Elizabeth Nicholls,	25
Jo. Pynder,	8	Thomazin Carpenter,	35
Richard Skofield,	22	Ann Fowle,	25
Edward Weeden,	22	Edmond Gorden,	18
George Wilby,	16	Tho. Sydlie,	22
Richard Hawkins,	15	Margaret Leach,	22
Tho. Parker,	30	Marie Smith,	21
Symon Burd,	20	Elizabeth Swayne,	15
Jo. Mansfield,	34	Grace Berlie,	30
Clement Cole,	30	Ann Wells,	20
Jo. Jones,	20	Dyonis Tayler,	48
Wm. Burrow,	19	Hanna Smith,	30
Phillip Atwood,	13	Jo. Buckley,	15
Wm. Snowe,	18	Wm. Buttrick,	18
Edward Lummus,	24		

15 May, Penelope Pellam, 16 yeres, to pass to her brothers plantacon."

P. 36. "In the Increase, of London, master Robert Lea, for New England.

Robert Cordell, Goldsmith, in Lambert street, sent them away.

- Samuel Andrewes, aged 37 yeres.
- Robte. Naney, 22
- Robt. Sankey, 30
- James Gibbens, 21

Also,

all for New England in the Increase aforesaid,

- Jane, the wife of the bovesaid Saml Andrewes, 30.
- Ellyn Longe, her servant, aged 20 yeares.
- Jane Andrewes, her daughter, aged 3 yeares.
- Elizabeth Andrewes, her daughter, aged 2 yeares.

15 Apr. In the Elizabeth de London, master Wm. Stagg versus New England.

Rich'd Walker, 24 yrs.
Jo. Beamond, 23
Wm. Beamond, 27
Tho. Lettyne, 23
Jo. Johnson, 23
William Walker, 15.

Theis parties have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy before Sir Wm. Whitmore, Sir Nicho. Ranton.

15 Apr. In the Elizabeth & Ann de Lond., master Roger Cooper, versus New England.

Percy King, 24 yrs., a maid servant to Mr. Ro. Crowley.

In the Elizabeth de Lond. master Wm. Stagg versus New England.

James Walker, 15 yrs. & Sarra Walker 17 yrs. servants to Jo. Browne, a Baker, & to one Wm. Brasey, linen draper in Cheapside, London, per certificate of their conformity."

Next is a page for soldiers to Flanders.

P. 38. "18 Apr. Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Increase, de Lond. Robert Lea, master, the parties predict. having brought, &c. &c.

Glover Tho. Bloggett,	30	Daniell Bloggett,	4	2 children
uxor Susan Bloggett,	37	Samuell Bloggett,	1½	

In the Increase, pred. The partie underwritten hath brought certificate from the minister of Wapping and from two Justices, &c. &c. &c.

Lynen weaver Tho. Chittingden,	51	Isack Chittingden,	10	2 children.
uxor Rebecca Chittingden,	40	Hen. Chittingden,	6	

Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Susan & Ellyn, Edward Payne, master, the parties have brought certificate, &c. &c.

A draper	Ralph Hudson,	42	husbandman	Simon Crosby	26		
uxor	Marie Hudson,	42	uxor	Ann Crosby,	25		
3 children,	Hanna Hudson,	14		Tho. Crosby, 8 mo.		1 child.	
	Eliz. Hudson,	5	husbandman	Rec. Rainton,	36		
	Jo. Hudson,	12	uxor	Ann Rainton,	36		
	Tho. Brigham,	32		Edmond Rainton,	6	1 child.	
servants,	Ben. Thwing,	16	a husbandman	Percival Greene,	32		
	Ann Gelston,	34	uxor	Ellin Greene,	32		
	Judith Kirk,	18		Jo. Traine,	25	2 servants.	
	Jo. More,	41		Margaret Dix,	19		
	Henry Knowles,	25		Jo. Atherson,	24		
	Geo. Richardson,	30		Ann Blason,	27		
	Ben. Thomlins,	19		Ben. Buckley,	11		
	Edward Thomlins,	30		Daniell Buckley,	9		
	Barbara Ford,	16		Jo. Carrington,	33		
	Joan Broomer,	13		Mary Carrington,	33"		
	Richard Brooke,	24					
	Tho. Brooke,	19					

Next follow five pages of soldiers for service abroad, and above a page of names for Barbadoes.

"15 Apr. Theis parties hereafter expressed are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Increase, Robert Lea, master, having taken, &c., as also being conformable, &c., whereof they brought testimony per certif. from the Justices & ministers where there abodes have lately been.

husbandman	Samuell Morse,	50
uxor	Elizabeth Morse,	48
	Joseph Morse,	20
	Elizabeth Daniell,	2
A linen weaver	Philemon Dalton,	45
uxor	Hanna Dalton,	35
	Samuel Dalton,	5½
	Wm. White,	14
husbandman	Mathew Marvyn,	35
uxor	Elizabeth Marvyn,	31
	Elizabeth Marvin,	31
	Mathew Marvyn,	8
	Marie Marvyn,	6
	Sara Marvyn,	3
	Hanna Marvyn,	½
	Jo. Warner,	20
	Isack More,	13
carpenter	Samuell Ireland,	32
uxor	Marie Ireland,	30
	Martha Ireland,	1½
Plowrite	Willm. Buck,	50
	Roger Buck,	18
A joyner	Jo. Davies,	29
A husbandman	Abram Fleming,	40
husbandman	Jo. Fokar,	21
Clothier	Tho. Parish,	22
Chyrurgion	Symon Ayres,	48
uxor	Dorothy Ayres,	38
	Marie Ayres,	15
	Tho. Ayres,	13
	Symon Ayres	11
	Rebecca Ayres,	9
	Jane Rainton,	30
husbandman	Symon Stone,	50
uxor	Joan Stone,	38
	Francis Stone,	16
	Ann Stone,	11
	Symon Stone,	4
	Marie Stone,	3
	Jo. Stone,	5 weeks
	John Crodie,	17
butcher,	Wm. Houghton,	22
husbandman,	Willm Payne,	37
	Anna Payne,	40
	Wm. Payne,	10
	Anna Payne,	5
	Jo. Payne,	3
	Daniell Payne,	8 weeks.
	James Bitton,	27
	Wm. Potter,	25
	Elizabeth Wood,	38
	Elizabeth Beards,	24
	Suzan Payne,	11
	Aymes Gladwell,	16
	Phebe Perce,	18
Carpenter	Henry Grosse,	20
husbandman	Tho. Kilborne,	55
uxor	Francis Kilborne,	50
	Margaret Kilborne,	23
	Lyddia Kilborne,	22
	Marie Kilborne,	16
	Francis Kilborne,	12
	Jo. Kilborne,	10
	James Roger,	20
	Richard Nunn,	19
	Tho. Barrett,	16
	Jo. Hackwell,	18
	Christian Ayres,	7
	Anna Ayres,	5
	Benjamin Ayres,	3
	Sara Ayres, 3 mo.	
A sawyer,	Steeven Upson,	23
	Jo. Myndell,	16
servants,	Isack Warden,	18
	Nathaniell Wood,	12
	Elizabeth Streaton	19
	Marie Toller,	16"

Next follows a whole page for the Island of Providence. P. 47. "17 Apr. Theis parties hereunder expressed are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth, Wm. Stagg, master, per certificate, &c. &c. &c.

husbandman	James Bate,	53
	Alice Bate,	52
	Lyddia Bate,	20
	Marie Bate,	17
	Margaret Bate,	12
	James Bates,	9
husbandman	Edward Bullock,	32
	Elizabeth Stedman,	26
	Nathaniell Stedman,	5
	Isack Stedman,	1
	Robert Thornton,	11
	Peter Gardner,	18
	Wm. Hubbard,	35
	Rachell Bigg,	6
	Patience Foster,	40
	Hopestill Foster,	14
	Francis White,	24
	Joan Sellin,	50
	Ann Sellin,	7
	Edward Loomis,	27
	Jo. Hubbard,	10
	Jo. Davies,	9

	Margaret Davies,	32		Marie Davies,	4
	Elizabeth Davies,	1		Jo. Browne,	40"
	Dorothy Smith,	45			
filia	Mary Smith,	15			

P. 48. "The partie hereunder named with his wife & children is to be transported to New England, imbarked in the Elizabeth & Ann. Willm. Cooper, master, &c. &c. &c.

	Alexander Baker,	28			
uxor	Elizabeth,	23	yeares.	Clement Chaplin,	48
	Elizabeth Baker,	3		Wm. Swayne,	50"
	Christian Baker,	1			

Next is a list of ten for the Island of Providence; and on same page follows:

"27 Apr. Theis underwritten names are to be transported to New England, Roger Cooper, master, bound thither, in the Elizabeth & Ann, &c. &c. &c.

A carpenter	Richard Brooke,	31		Daniell Preston,	13"
	Edward Sall,	24			

Next follows a very long list for Barbados; but on p. 50 comes, "29 Apr. Theis, &c. &c. to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master, the parties having, &c. &c. &c.

	Ric'd. Goare,	17		Joseph Faber,	26
A smith	Tho. Lord,	50		Tho. Pond,	21
uxor	Dorothy,	46		Robert Lord,	9
	Thomas Lord,	16		Aymie Lord,	6
	Ann Lord,	14		Dorothy Lord,	4
	Wm. Lord,	12		Josias Cobbet,	21
	John Lord,	10		Jo. Holloway,	21
	James Cobbett,	23		Jane Bennet,	16
A Taylor	Christopher Stanley,	32		Wm. Reeve,	22"
uxor	Susanna	31			
	Wm. Samond,	19			

Then follow a few soldiers.

P. 51. "4 May, &c. &c. imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, pred. &c. &c. &c. &c.

A tallow chandler	Hen. Wilkinson,	25		Robert Haus, A soape boyler	

Theis &c. &c, imbarqued in the Abigail, Richard Hackwell, master, &c. &c. &c. &c.

	Tho. Buttolph,	32		Nathaniell Tylly,	32
uxor	Ann Buttolph,	24		Peter Kettell,	10
	Wm. Fuller,	25		Tho. Steevens,	12
	Jo. Fuller,	15		Elizabeth Harding,	12"

Then follow names on more than two pages for Barbados; and on p. 54 comes for "New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master, &c. &c. &c.

Samuell Hall,	25	Vyncent Potter,	21
Wm. Smyndes,	20	Ric'd Goare,	17
Jo. Halsey,	24	Wm. Adams,	15
		Hilary Carter,	27

7 May, in the Elizabeth & Ann, pred. Roger Cooper, master, &c. &c. &c. &c.

John Mylne,	25	George Orris,	21
Jo. Thomson,	22	Jo. Jackson,	27
Edmond Weston,	30	Elizabeth Fabin,	16
Gamaliell Bement,	12	Grace Bulkley,	33"
Audry Whitton,	45		

On p. 55, after a short list of soldiers, "Nono die Maii, Theis underwritten &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Suzan & Ellin, Edward Payne, master &c. &c. &c. &c.

	Yeres.		
Peter Bulkley,	50	Rich'd Brooke,	24
Tho. Brooke,	20	Elizabeth Taylor,	10
Precilla Jarman,	10	Ann Lieford,	13

In the Elizabeth & Ann, pred. Roger Cooper, master, bound for New England.

		Yeres.			
	Robert Jeofferies,	30	Hanna Day,	20	2 maid servants.
wife and	Marie Jeofferies,	27	Suzan Browne,	21	
3 children,	Tho. Jefferies,	7	Robert Carr,	21	A Taylor.
	Elizabeth Jefferies,	6	Calebb Carr,	11	
	Mary Jefferies,	3	Ric'd White,	30	Carpenters."
			Tho. Dane,	32	
			Wm. Hilliard,	21	

Then three soldiers to Holland.

P. 56. "11 May Theis, &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, pred. &c. &c. &c. &c.

A shoemaker	Willm. Courser,	26	A carpenter	Geo. Parker,	23
A husbandman	Geo. Wylde,	37			

12 May. In the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master, bound to New England. Theis underwritten names, &c. per certificate from the minister of Beninden in Kent of their conformity, &c. &c.

John Borden,	28	Jeremy Whitton,	8
uxor Joan,	23	Mathew Borden,	5

Nico. Morecock,	14		Elizabeth Borden,	3
Bennett Morecock,	16		Thomas Whitton,	36
Marie Morecock,	10		Samuell Baker,	30

14 May. Theis, &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Elizabeth & Ann, Roger Cooper, master, &c. &c. &c.

		Yeares.		
A Taylor	Richard Samson,	28	John Oldham,	12
	Tho. Alsopp,	20	Tho. Oldham,	10
			Rob't Standy,	22"

Next follow eleven lists of soldiers, for various service, then a list for Virginea, another, quite long, for St. Christophers, a second for Virginea, a short one for Flanders, a third, very long, for Virginea, and a very long list for Bermuda; and, p. 68, comes "15 June. Theis, &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Abigall de Lond. master H. Hackwell. The partie having brought certificate from the minister of Thesselworth, &c. &c. &c.

		Yeares.		
	Dennis Geere,	30	Ann Pancrust,	46
wife and 2 children.	Elizabeth Geere	22	Elizabeth Tusler,	55
	Elizabeth Geere,	3	Constant Wood,	12"
	Sara Geere,	2		

Next follow three lists of soldiers.

P. 69. "19 June. Theis, &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Abigall, Hackwell, master, the parties having brought certificate from the min. of the parish of the little Minories of his conf. &c. &c.

		Yeres.		
	Wm. Tilly,	28	Charles Jones,	21
	Robert Whiteman,	20	Liddia Browne,	16

Aboard the James, Jo. May, for New England.

Taylor	Tho. Ewer,	40	Sara Beale,	28
	Sara Ewer,	28	Elizabeth Newman,	24
	Elizabeth Ewer,	4	Jo. Skudder,	16
	Tho. Ewer,	1½		

20 June. Theis, &c. to be imbarqued in the Abigall de Lond. Hackwell, and bound to New England, have taken, &c. &c. as per certif. from two Justices of peace and minister of St. Lawrence in Essex.

	Henry Bullocke,	40 yrs. husbandman.
	and Susan his wife,	42
3 children,	Henry,	8
	Mary,	6
	Tho.	2

20th. In the Defence de Lond., Mr. Peirce, and bound for New England, per certificate from two Justices of Peace and minister of All Saints leoman in Northampton.

Wm. Hoeman, 40 yrs. husbandman,
his wife Winifrid, 35
Alice Ashley, 20 yrs. a maid servant. 5 children { Hanna, 8; Jeremy, 6; Mary, 4; Sarra, 2; Abraham, 1 yrs.

20 June. In the Abigall de Lond. master Hackwell, bound for New England, per certificate, &c. from two Justices of Peace and minister of Eaton Bray in com. Bedford.

Jo. Houghton, 4 yeares old.

7 July. In the Defence de Lond., master Edward Bostocke versus New England, per certificate two Justices of peace and minister from Dunstable in com. Bedfordshire.

Robert Louge, 45 yers inholder Lucy Mercer, 18 a servant.
Elizabeth his wife, 30
and children { Michell, 20; Sarra, 18; Robert, 16; Eliza, 12; Ann, 10; Mary, 9; Rebecca, 8; Jo. 6; Zachery, 4; Joshua, 3 quarts old.

In the Defence de Lond. master Pearce versus New England, per certificate, &c. &c. &c. of Towcester in com. Northampton.

Jo. Gould, 25 yrs. husbandman. Grace his wife, 25 yrs.

22 June. In the Abbigall de Lond. master Hackwell versus New England per certificate from minister of Cranbrook in Kent.

Edward White, 42 yers. husbandman.
and his wife Martha, 39 Jo. Allen, 30 yers husbandman } per certificate from (illegible) in Kent.
2 children, { Martha, 10; Mary, 8 } his wife Ann, 30

In the Abbigall per certificate from Justice of Peace and minister of Stepney.

Geo. Hadborne, 43 yers. Glover.
his wife Anne, 46 Joseph Borebancke, 24 } servants to Geo.
2 children, { Rebecca, 10; Anna, 4 } Joane Jordan, 16 } Hadborne.

In the Defence de Lond. master Edward Boswell versus New England, per certificate from Sir Henry Mildmay and minister of Baddow in Essex.

		Jo Browne,	27 yers Taylor.
his 3 servants,	{	Tho. Hart,	24
		Mary Denny,	21
		Anne Leake,	19

26 Junii. In the Abigall, Robert Hackwell, master, to New England, per certificate from Northampton Tho. Martin maior and two Justices.

Shoemaker	Jo. Harbert,	23	Bricklayer	Richard Adams,	29
4 July	Henry Somner,	15		Suzan Adams,	26
	Elisa Somner,	18			

17 June. Theis, &c. to New England imbarqued in the Abigall, Robert Hackwell, master, per certificate, &c. &c. &c.

Ralph Wallis,	40 yeres.	Mary Monnings,	30	
Ralph Roote,	50	Mary Monnings,	9	
Jno. Freeman,	35	Anna Mannings	6	
Walter Gatsell,	34	Mehitabell Mannings,	3	
Richard Graves,	23	Elizabeth Ellis,	16	
Robert More,	43	Ellin Jones,	36	
Samuell More,	3	Isack Jones,	8	
Edmund Manning,	40	Hester Jones,	6	
Tho. Jones,	40	Tho. Jones,	3	
Geo. Dedmen,	19	Sara Jones,	3	mo.
Wm. Marshall,	40	Cegona Covell,	15	
Thomas Knore,	33	Joan Wall,	19	
John Hallinck,	38	Wm. Payne,	15	
George Wallis,	15	Noll Knore,	29	
Rebecca Peirse,	14	Sara Knore,	7	
Marie Freeman,	50	Rob't Driver,	8	
Jo. Freeman,	9	Elizabeth More,	30	
Sycillie Freeman,	4	John More,	3	mo.
Jo. West,	11			

Also,

Christopher Foster,	32	Chr. Almie,	3	
uxor Francis Foster,	25	John Strowde,	15	
Children, { Rebecca Foster,	5	Edward Rainsford,	26	
{ Nathaniell Foster,	2	Robert Sharp,	20	
{ Jo. Foster,	1	John Rookeman,	45	
Edward Ireson,	32	Elizabeth Rookman,	31	
Wm. Almond,	34	Jo. Rookeman,	9	
Mary Jones,	30	Hugh Burt,	35	
Awdrey Almond,	32	Ann Burt,	32	
Annis Almy,	8	Wm. Bassett,	9	
Edward Burt,	8	Jo. Fox,	35	
Tho. Freeman,	24	Richard Fox,	15	
Wm. Yates,	14	Jo. Payne,	14	
Elizabeth Ireson,	27	Edmund Freeman,	45	

Theis, &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Blessing, Jo. Lecester master, &c. &c. &c. &c.

Willm. Cope,	26	Nico. Robertson,	30
Richard Cope,	24	Jo. Mory,	19
Thomas King,	21	Charles Sturbridge,	1
Jo. Stockbridge,	27	James Saiewell,	1½
Robert Saiewell,	30	Jo. Robinson,	5
Wm. Brooke,	20	Ann Stockbridge,	21
Gilbert Brooke,	14	Suzan Saiewell,	25
Nathaniell Byham,	14	Ann Vassall,	42
Jo. Vassall,	10	Suzan King,	30
Wm. Vassall,	42	Judith Vassall,	16
Ric'd More,	20	Sara Tynkler,	15
Robert Turner,	24	Fra. Vassall,	12
Eliza. Holly,	30	Thomazin Manson,	14
Ann Vassall,	6	Kat. Robinson,	12
Margaret Vassall,	2	Mary Robinson,	7
Mary Vassall,	1	Rob't. Onyon,	26"
Elizabeth Robinson,	32		
Sara Robinson,	1½		

Then follow two long lists for Virginia.

P. 76. "ultimo Junii. Abord the Abigall, Robert Hackwell, master, per certificate from the minister of Stepney parish, &c. &c. &c. &c.

Starchmaker	Henry Collins,	29 yeres.		Josua Griffith,	25	servants.
uxor	Ann Collins,	30		Hugh Allers,	27	
3 children,	Henry Collins,	5		Mary Roote,	15	
	Jo. Collins,	3		Jo. Coke,	27	
	Margery Collins,	2		Geo Bardin,	20	

In the same

	Yeres.	
Edward Fountaine,	28	
Ralph Sheppard,	29	
Thanks Sheppard,	23	wife and daughter.
Sara Sheppard,	2	

Primo die Julii. In the Abigall pred.

	Ann Gillam,	28		John Cooke,	15	servants.
son	Ben. Gillam,	1		Edward Belcher,	8	
husbandman	Thomas Brane,	40		Ann Williams,	10	
	Tho. Launder,	22		Phillip Drinker,	39	
husbandman	William Potter,	27	uxor	Elizabeth Drinker,	32	
uxor	Francis Potter,	26		Edward Drinker,	13	
	Joseph Potter, 20 weeks.			Jo. Drinker,	8	
	Rich'd Carr,	29		Margaret Tucker,	23	
	Wm. King,	28		Elliner Hillman,	33	
	George Ram,	25		Jo. Terry,	32	
	Jo. Stantley,	34		Jo. Emerson,	20	
	James Dodd,	16		Ric'd. Woodman,	9	
	Mathew Abdy,	15		Elizabeth Freeman,	12	
husbandman	Edward Freeman,	34		Alice Freeman,	17	
uxor	Elizabeth Freeman,	35		Hugh Burt,	15	

Edmond Freeman,	15	Annis Alecock,	18
John Freeman,	8	Tho. Thomson,	18
Jo. Jones,	15		

Secundo die July In the Abigall pred. per certificate from the minister of Shoreditch parish and Stepney parish, bound to New England.

John Deyking,	25	Ann Arnold,	39
Jesper Arnold,	40	Alice Steevens,	22
Alice Deyking,	30	Margaret Devotion,	9
		Ruth Buskett,	23

Theis &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Defence, Tho. Bostock, master, the partie hath brought &c. &c. in Cambridge.

A Taylor	Adam Mott,	39	Jo. Mott,	14	children.
uxor	Sara Mott,	31	Adam Mott,	12	
mason	Henry Steevens,	24	Jonathan Mott,	9	
husbandman	John Sheppard,	36	Elizabeth Mott,	6	
	Margaret Sheppard,	31	Mary Mott,	4	
	Tho. Sheppard,	3mo.			

In the Defence pred. Tho. Bostock, master, for New England per certificate from the minister of Fenchurch of &c. &c. &c.

Tho. Boylston, 20 yeres.

4 July In the Abigall de Lond. per certif. from the min. and Justice of peace of St. Olives Southwark.

Ralph Mason 35 yeres Joyner
His wife Anne, 35 yers
3 child. { Richard 5 yers; Samuell 3 yers; Susan 1 yere }

In the Defence pred.

Elizabeth French,	30	Francis French,	10
Elizabeth French,	6	Jo. French,	5mo.
Marie French,	2½		

4 July. In the Defence de Lond. master Thomas Bostocke vs. New England per cert. &c. &c. &c.

Roger Harlakenden, aged 23 toke oathe of allegiance and supremacie.

Eliza, his wife	18	Anne Wood, his servant,	23	servants to the aforesaid Roger Herlakenden.
* Mable, his sister	21	Samuell Shepherd, servant,	22	
		Joseph Cocke,	27	
		Geo. Cocke,	25	
		Wm. French,	30	
		Elisa, his wife,	32	
		Robert, a man servant,		
		Sarra Simes,	30	

* Govr. Haynes married Mabell Harlackenden, I believe.

6 Jully In the Defence de Lo. master Tho. Bostocke vs. New England.

Jo. Jackson 30 yers wholesale man in Burchen lane per certif. from Sir Geo. Whitmore & minister of the parish.

10 July In the Abigall, Richard Hackwell, master, per certificate &c. &c. &c. &c.

	yeres.		
John Wynthropp,	27	Tho. Goad,	15
Elizabeth Winthropp,	19	Elizabeth Epps,	13
Deane Winthropp,	11	Mary Lyne,	6

In the Defence pred. per certif. &c. &c. &c.

A Taylor James Fitch, 30 Abigall Fitch, 24"

Then follow a long list of soldiers to Flanders, and two very long lists to Virginea; next p. 83. "11 die July. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Defence of London, Edward Bostock, master, per cert. &c. &c. &c.

A miller Richard Peck, 33 } yeres.
Margery Peck, 40 }
Israel Peck, 7 }
Elizabeth Peck, 4 }
Henry Duhurst, 35

14 July. In the Defence de Lond. master Edmond Bostocke vs. New England, per certif. &c. &c. &c.

Robert Hill 20 yers. servant to Mr. Craddocke.

17 July. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Pied Cowe, per cert. from the minister of his conformitie, & from Sir Edward Spencer resident neere Branford, that &c. &c. &c. &c.

Willm. Harrison, 55 yeres old.
Jo. Baldin, 13
Wm. Baldin, 9

Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Defence pred. per cert. &c. &c. &c. &c.

Sara Jones,	34	husbandman	Wm. Hubbard,	40
Sara Jones,	15		Judith Hubbard,	25
Jo. Jones,	11		John Hubbard,	15
Ruth Jones,	7		Wm. Hubbard,	13
Theophilus Jones,	3		Wm. Read,	48
Rebecca Jones,	2		Mabell Read,	30
Elizabeth Jones,	½		George Read,	6
Tho. Doun,	25		Ralph Read,	5
Suzanna Farebrother,	25		Justice Read,	18mo.

Elizabeth Fennick,	25
Wm. Stanley,	25
Martha Hubbard,	22
Mary Hubbard,	20
Robert Colburne,	28
Edward Colburn,	17
Dorothe Adams,	24
Francis Nutbrowne,	16
Wm. Williamson,	25
Marie Willimson,	23
Luce Mercer,	19
Jo. Fitch,	14
Penelope Deno,	29
Martha Banes,	20
Dorothee Knight,	30
Nathaniell Hubbard,	6
Richard Hubbard,	4
Jasper Goun,	29
Ann Goun,	25
Febe Maulder,	7
Sym. Roger,	20
Jo. Jenkynn,	26
Robert Keyne,	40
Elizabeth Steerer,	18
Sara Knight,	50
Ann Keyne,	38
Ben Keyne,	16
Jo. Burles,	27
Mary Bentley,	20

Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the James, Jno. May, master, for New England, per certif. &c. &c. &c.

husbandman	Wm. Ballard,	32
	Elizabeth Ballard,	26
	Hester Ballard,	2
	Jo. Ballard,	1
	Alice Jones,	26
	Elizabeth Goffe,	26
	Edmond Bridges,	23
	Michell Milner,	23
	Tho. Terry,	28
	Robert Terry,	25
	Ricd. Terry,	17
	Tho. Marshall,	22
	Wm. Hooper,	18
	Edmond Johnson,	23
	Samuel Bennett,	24
	Richd. Palmer,	29
	Anto. Bessy,	26
	Edward Gardner,	25
	Wm. Colbron,	16
	Henry Bull,	25
	Salomon Martin,	16
wheelewrite	Wm. Hill,	70
	Nico. Buttny,	33
	Martha Buttny,	28
	Grace Buttny,	1
shoemaker	Jo. Hart,	40
	Mary Hart,	31
shoemaker	Henry Tybbott,	39
	Elizabeth Tibott,	39
	Jeremy Tybbott,	4
	Samuell Tybbott,	2
	Remembrance Tybbott,	28
clothworker	Nico. Goodhue,	60
	Jane Goodhew,	58
	John Johnson,	26
	Suzan Johnson,	24
	Elizabeth Johnson,	2
	Tho. Johnson,	18mo.
Barber	Ralph Farman,	32
	Alice Farman,	28
	Mary Farman,	7
	Tho. Farman,	4
	Ralph Farman,	2

Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Blessing, John Lester, master, the parties have &c. &c.

fisherman	Jo. Jackson,	40
	Margaret Jackson,	36
	John Jackson,	2
	Jo. Manifold,	17
	John Burles,	26
	Jo. Fitch,	14
	Nico. Long,	19
	Christian Buck,	26
	Barnabie Davies,	36
	Suzan Danes,	16
	Robert Lewes,	28
	Eliz. Lewes,	22
	Mary Hubbard,	24
	Mary Spratt,	20
	Ricd. Hallingworth,	40
	Suzan Hallingworth,	30
	Christian Hunter,	20
	Eliz. Hunter,	18
	Tho. Hunter,	14
	Wm. Hunter,	11
	Wm. Hollingworth,	7
	Ric. Hallingworth,	4
	Suzan Hallingworth,	2
	Eliz. Hallingworth,	3

Edward Ingram,	18	Tho. Trentum,	14
Henry Beck,	18	Tho. Biggs,	13
Jo. Hathoway,	18	Jo. Briggs,	20
Richard Sexton,	14	Robt. Lewes,	28
		Eliz. Lewes,	22

Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Love, Joseph Young, master.

Baker Willm. Cherrall,	26	Sara Harman,	10
Ursula Cherrall,	40	Walter Parker,	18
Jo. Harman,	12	fisherman Willm. Browne,	26
Francis Harman,	43	Mary Browne,	26"

After one list for Virginea and three lists for Flanders comes this entry:

"23 July. This &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Pied Cowe, master Ashley, &c. &c. &c.

husbandman Robert Bills, 32."

A list for Flanders follows, and then on p. 88:

"28 July. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Hopewell of London, Tho. Babb, master, per cert. from the minister of St. Giles, Cripplegate, that &c. &c. &c. &c.

	yeres		yeres
A smith Thomas Tredwell,	30	Tho. Blackley,	20
Mary Tredwell,	30	Tho. Tredwell,	1"

Then come a long list for Flanders and four very long for Virginea.

P. 95. "11 Augti. In the Batcheler de Lo. master Tho. Webb vs. New England, Lyon Gardner 36 yers & his wife Mary 34 yers & Elisa. Colet 23 yers their maid servant, & Wm. Jope 40 yers, who are to pass to New England, have brought &c. &c. &c."

After a long list for Flanders and two quite long for Virginea, comes on p. 101:

"21 Augti. In the Hopewell de Lo. master Babb vs. New England, Henry Maudsley 24 yers hath brought &c. &c. &c."

Next follow a long list for Holland, two long ones for Virginea, a long one for St. Christophers, and another for Virginea; but on p. 107 comes:

"11 Septr. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Hopewell, Tho. Babb master, per cert. &c. &c.

		yeres.
husbandman	William Wood,	27
	Elizabeth Wood,	24
	Jo. Wood,	26
	Robert Chambers,	13
	Tho. Jno'son,	25
	Marie Hubbard,	24
	Jo. Kerbie,	12
	Jo. Thomas,	14
	Isack Robinson,	15
	Ann Williamson,	18
Tanner	Jo. Weekes,	26
	Marie Weekes,	28
	Anna Weekes	1
	Suzan Withie,	18
	Robert Baylie,	23
	Marie Withie,	16
	Samuel Younglove,	30
	Margaret Younglove,	28
	Samuel Younglove,	1
	Daniell Pryer,	13
	Katherin Hull,	23
	Mary Clark,	16
	Jo. Marshall,	14
	Joan Grave,	30
	Mary Grave,	26
	Joan Cleven,	18
	Edmond Chippfield,	20
	Andrew Hulls,	29
	Anthony Freeman,	22
	Twiford West,	19
	Roger Toothaker,	23
	Margaret Toothaker,	28
	Roger Toothaker,	1
	Robert Withie,	20
	Henry Ticknall,	15
harnesmaker	Isack Heath,	50
	Elizabeth Heath,	40
	Elizabeth Heath,	5
	Martha Heath,	30
	Wm. Lyon,	14
	Grace Stokes,	20
	Tho. Bull,	25
	Joseph Miller,	15
	Jo. Prier,	15
	Richard Hatley,	15
	Mary With,	62
	Robert Edwards,	22
	Robert Edye,	25
	Walter Lloyd,	27
	Ellin Leaves,	17
	Alice Albon,	25
	Barbery Rose,	20
	Jo. Foster,	14
	Gabriell Reld,	18
		54

20 Septr. Theis &c. &c. to New England, imbarqued in the Truelove, Jo. Gibbs, master, &c. &c. &c. &c.

		yeres.
Labouring man	Thomas Burchard,	40
	Mary Burchard,	38
	Elizabeth Burchard,	13
	Marie Burchard,	12
	Sara Burchard,	9
	Suzan Burchard,	8
	Jo. Burchard,	7
	Ann Burchard,	18mo.
	Peter Place,	20
	Wm. Beresto,	23
	Geo. Beresto,	21
husbandman	Edward Howe,	60
	Elizabeth Howe,	50
	Jeremie Howe,	21
	Sara Howe,	12
	Ephraim Howe,	9
	Isack Howe,	7
	Wm. Howe,	6
	Jo. Sedgwick,	24
	Jeremy Blackwell,	18
	Lester Gunter,	13
	Zacharia Whitman,	40
	Sara Whitman,	25
	Zacha. Whitman,	2½
	Rebecca Fenner,	25
	Tho. Tibbalds,	20
	Thomas Streme,	15
	Jo. Streme,	14
husbandman	Ralph Tomkins,	50
uxor	Kat. Tomkins,	58
	Elizabeth Tomkins,	18
	Marie Tomkins,	14
	Samuel Tomkins,	22
	Richard Hawes,	29
	Ann Hawes,	26
	Anna Hawes,	2½
	Obediah Hawes,	6mo
	Ralph Ellwood,	28
	Geo. Tayler,	31
	Elizabeth Jenkins,	27
	Wm. Preston,	44
	Marie Preston,	34
	Eliz. Preston,	11
	Sara Preston,	8
	Marie Preston,	6
	Jo. Preston,	3

William Bentley,	47	Wm. Joes,	28
Alice Bentley,	15	Edward Jefferies,	24
Margaret Killinghall,	20	John Done,	17
Jo. Bentley,	17	Roger Broome,	16
Tho. Stockton,	21	Dorothie Lowe,	13
Geo. Morrey,	23	Jo. Simpson,	30
Richard Swayne,	34	Tho. Brighton,	31
Sarah Haile,	11	Tho. Rumball,	22
Samuel Grover,	16	Edward Parrie,	24
Robert Browne,	24	Jane Walston,	19
Tho. Blower,	50		—
			66"

Then follows a list of 95 to Barmodos, then a list of 33 to St. Christophers, another of 105 to same, another of 85 to Virginea, another of 51 to same, another of 205 to Barbados, five lists of soldiers, and, lastly, one of 46 and one of 32 for Barbados, and so the volume ends.

It was not in my power to recollect the authority, under which the formality was adopted, that led to such a happy result as the formation of this volume, from which I have taken every name of persons, embarked for New England. Many errors in spelling are not chargeable to me, for the writers at the custom-house soon became careless of executing their orders. The chance of mistake, too, was increased by the rule, that requires all transcripts at the Record Office to be taken in pencil, after which, at my lodgings, this copy was copied with a pen. My first memorandum book is, of course, in some degree become indistinct, and may hardly be worth preserving many months. It may be, that two of the servants of Harlackenden, here written Cocke, may have been called *Cook* before or after settling at Cambridge; and it is quite probable that, to evade the despicable tyranny of the regulations, a true description of the persons was sometimes concealed. Peter Bulkley was not called a minister, because his departure, perhaps, would have been forbidden. We know, in this voyage of the Abigail, forty passengers, more than are here mentioned, came over, some of whom thought best, no doubt, to be taken in, like Hugh Peters, after the clearance of the vessel.

Several weeks later, in a book, found at the London Institution, History of Sandwich, by Wm. Boys, printed at Canterbury, M.D.C.C.C.XCII (manifest error for 1792) in a part of the work, called Annals of Sandwich from A. D. 665, sub anno 1634, beginning each year on the first Mon-

day after the feast of St. Andrew, as the municipal year is counted by the mayoralty of that borough, p. 707, the text threw this light on the matter of my doubt: "A letter from the commissioners of plantations prohibiting the promiscuous passing of his Majesty's subjects to the American plantations: no subsidy men to pass without a license, nor other persons without attestation from two justices. A return of the names of 102 persons embarked at Sandwich for New England."

Reference is here made in the lower margin to Appendix J. page 750 of the volume, which reads, "A list or register of all such persons as embarked themselves in the good ship called the Hercules of Sandwich, of the burthen of 200 tons, John Witherley, master, and therein transported from Sandwich to the plantation called New England in America, with the certificates from the ministers where they last dwelt of their conversation, and conformity to the orders and discipline of the church, and that they had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy."

CERTIFICATES.	MASTERS OF FAMILIES.	CHILDREN.	SERVANTS.
From Mr. Jno. Gee, vicar of Tenterden, 26 feb. 1634. Jno. Austin, mayor, Tenterden, and Fregift Stace, jurat, 4 mar. 1634.	Nathaniel Tilden, of Tenterden, yeoman, and Lydia, his wife.	Seven by name.*	Seven by name.*
Mr. Jno. Gee, 1st mar. 1634. Jno. Austin, mayor, and Fregift Stace, jurat, 4 mar. 1634.	Jonas Austen, of Tenterden, and Constance, his wife.	Four.	
Samuel Marshall, mayor of Maidstone, Tho. Swinnok, jurat, Edw. Duke and Rob. Barrel, ministers, 14 mar. 1634.	Rob. Brook, of Maidstone, mercer, and Ann, his wife.	Seven.	
William Colepeper, Caleb Bancks, Edw. Duke, Hen. Crispe, Franc. Froiden, cler. 14 mar. 1634.	Tho. Heyward, of Aylesford, taylor, and Susannah, his wife.	Five.	
Sam. Marshal, mayor of Maidstone, Tho. Swinnuck, Edw. Duke and Rob. Barrel, cl. 14 mar. 1634.	Will. Witherell, of Maidstone, schoolmaster, and Mary, his wife.	Three.	One.
Edw. Chute, Edm. Hayes, vicar of Ashford, Elias Wood, parson of Hinxhill, 4th mar. 1634.	Fannett ..... of Ashford, hemp dresser.		
Mr. Tho. Warren, rector of St. Peter, in Sandwich, 14th mar. 1634.	Tho. Boney and Hen. Ewell, of Sandwich, shoemakers.		

* In the original, we may presume, the name of each child and servant, perhaps the age also, was given; but that was beyond my reach. The printed book is carefully copied.

CERTIFICATES.	MASTERS OF FAMILIES.	CHILDREN.	SERVANTS.
Mr. Tho. Gardener, vicar of St. Mary's, Sandwich, 17th mar. 1634.	Will. Hatch, of Sandwich, merchant, and Jane, his wife.	Five.	Six.
Mr. Jno. Gee, vicar of Tenterden, Jn. Austin, mayor, Fregift Stace, jurat, 15th mar. 1634.	Sam. Hinkley, of Tenterden, and Sarah, his wife.	Four.	
Mr. Tho. Warren, rector of St. Peter, Sandwich, 14th mar. 1634.	Isaac Cole, of Sandwich, carpenter, and Joan, his wife.	Two.	
Edm. Hayes, vicar of Ashford, 21st mar. 1634.			A servant.
Edm. Hayes, vicar, 12th mar. 1634.	Tho. Champion, of Ashford.		
Tho. Warren, rector of St. Peter. Sandwich, 13th mar. 1634. Tho. Harman, vicar of Hedcorn, 6 Mar. 1634.	Tho. Besbeech, of Sandwich.	Six.	Three.
Jno. Gee, vicar of Tenterden, 20 feb. 1634. Jno. Austin, mayor, and Fregift Stace jurat, 1st mar. 1634.	Jno. Lewis, of Tenterden, and Sarah, his wife.	One.	
Jos. Leeth, vicar of Bow, London, 19th mar. 1634.	Parnel Harris, of Bow, London.		
Edw. Nicholls, vicar of Northbourn, 2d feb. 1634.	James Sayers, of Northbourn, taylor.		
Edm. Hayes, vicar of Ashford, 21 mar. 1634. Jno. Honnywood, Tho. Godfrey, justices.	Comfort Starre, of Ashford, chirurgion.	Three.	Three.
Rob. Gorsham, curate of Great Chart, 20 mar. 1634.	Jos. Rootes, of Great Chart.		
Will. Sandford, rector of Eastwell, 16 mar. 1634.	Em. Mason, of Eastwell, wid.		
Mr. Tho. Gardiner, vicar of St. Mary's, Sandwich, 26 mar. 1634.	Margt. wife of Will Johnes, late of Sandwich, now of New England, painter.		
Tho. Jackson, minister of St. George's, Canterbury, ult. feb. 1634.	Jno. Best, of the said parish, taylor.		
Jno. Phillips, minister of Faversham, 5th mar. 1634. Jno. Knowler, mayor, and Will. Thurston, jurat.	Tho. Bridgen, of Faversham, husbandman, and . . . . . his wife.	Two.	

Again, in the body of the work, sub. an. 1636, following the before-explained mode of reckoning, we read, p. 708: "A list of 80 persons who have taken passage from Sandwich to the American plantations."

The margin refers to Appendix K, which I copy from p. 752; "A true roll or list of the names, surnames and qualities of all such persons who have taken passage from the town and port of Sandwich for the American plantations since the last certificate of such passengers returned into the office of Dovor castle." Probably the phrase may safely be confined to New England.

"Thomas Starr, of Canterbury, yeoman, and Susan, his wife, 1 child.
Edward Johnson, of Canterbury, joiner, and Susan, his wife, 7 children, 3 servants.
Nicholas Butler, of Eastwell, yeoman, and Joice, his wife, 3 children, 5 servants.
Samuel Hall, of Canterbury, yeoman, and Joan, his wife, 3 servants.
Henry Bachelor, of Dovor, brewer, and Martha, his wife, 4 servants.
Joseph Bachelor, of Canterbury, taylor, and Elizabeth, his wife, 1 child, 3 servants.
Henry Richardson, of Canterbury, carpenter, and Mary, his wife, 5 children.
Jarvis Boykett, of Charington, carpenter, 1 servant.
John Bachelor, of Canterbury, taylor.
Nathaniel Ovell, of Dovor, cordwinder, 1 servant.
Thomas Calle, of Faversham, husbandman, and Bennett, his wife, 3 children.
William Eaton, of Staple, husbandman, and Martha, his wife, 3 children, 1 servant.
Joseph Coleman, of Sandwich, shoemaker, and Sara, his wife, 4 children.
Matthew Smith, of Sandwich, cordwinder, and Jane, his wife, 4 children.
Marmaduke Peerce, of Sandwich, taylor, and Mary, his wife, 1 servant.

"Certified under the seal of office of mayoralty, 9th june, 1637."

It seems, then, that the Commissioners of Plantations introduced this regulation, of which, as that Committee of the Privy Council had for its head William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, we may be confident, the principal object was, to embarrass the puritan ministers desirous of coming to our country. His elevation to the primacy was in September, 1633, and next year this Commission was instituted. How utterly ineffectual was such petty statemanship, may be known by a reference to the names of distinguished men, who came passengers in these same ships, but not entered in the lists. Power thus used was altogether illegal; but as it failed of its purpose, we may now rejoice in the attempt, that has furnished us so valuable a document. No similar volume could be heard of in England, and only a single other return was found by me, which will be given in a few pages onward.

A mine of unexhausted information about our country is contained in the volumes, printed and manuscript, at the British Museum, and in the exploration of the latter my little success should not discourage more hardy or patient adventurers. References casually offering may lead to treasure.

Eagerly did my eye explore the page 65. b. in the Harleian MSS. 7033, where the hope was held out, that something might be learned of our apostle Eliot, and it was found, to my grievous disappointment, to be only abbreviation of Cotton Mather.

In Harl. MSS. 5801, inscribed on its titlepage, "A catalogue of the Knights made from the first year of the reign of King Charles the 2d, during all his reign, those of King James the 2d, King William and Queen Mary, with their pedigrees, collected by Peter Le Neve, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, 7 Aug. 1696, in two volumes," fol. 12 b., I find, "Cambridge, Sir George Downing of Gamlingay, Cambr. Kted at the Hague, May 1660. He was after a baronet. See amongst my books of baronets. See his character in Anthony AWood's Athenæ Oxonienses, 2d vol." It was an agreeable thing to find, that some former possessor of this volume had written on the titlepage: "Rem nullam peragit Le Nevius, incipit omnem. Heraldry a study which only loads the memory, without improving the understanding."

Harl. MSS. 5802, fol. 23, affords me only this: "Phipps, Sir William, Captain of , Knighted at Windsor Castle 28 June 1687."

From MSS. 5808 Plut. cxix. D, being vol. vii. of Coles's MSS. p. 36, where is duly illuminated, or *tricked off*, (as the phrase is) the coat of arms of our George Downing, I extract this account: "The Worshipful & Honorable Sr. George Downing, Baronet, Knight of the Bath, and Justice of the Peace for ye County of Cambridge.

He died at his fine seat at Gamlingay, June 9, Friday, 1749, where he had been confined with the Gout for a long Time, leaving only one natural Daughter, to whom he left about 20,000 pounds, and the mother of her 200 pounds per ann. His great Estate, the largest of any Gentleman or Nobleman in this county he left to Jacob Garrard Downing, Esq. who if he dies with" [without?] "lawful Heirs, it goes to Serjeant Barnardiston with the like Proviso, & in case neither" [both?] "of these Gentlemen, both unmarried & advanced in years, die without lawful Issue, the whole Estate Sir George has bequeathed to the University of Cambridge in order to build & endow a new College where his Executors shall think proper. The Estate is supposed to be 6000 pounds per annum. A Ring I have seen for him says he died June 10, 1749. He was married young & never cohabited with his wife; & for the latter Part of his Life led a most miserable, covetous & sordid Life."

I can imagine the delight of an enthusiast of such severe

tember, as Hugh Peters, at this termination of the male lineal descendant of the first Sir George, which he might naturally regard as the retributive justice of one "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me."

Far superior in value to such trifles is a MS. 4to. volume in the splendid library of George III, presented to the Nation by George IV, now at this noble Museum. A fair transcript of the whole volume is permitted to be used. On 26 Sept. I copied the Titlepage and the story of the work: "Letters from Dr. Franklin to the Reverend Doctor Cooper, Minister of the Gospel in the Town of Boston in New England, in the years 1769, 70, 71, 72, 73 and 1774, upon the subject of American Politics, together with Dr. Cooper's Answers, and some few Letters from Govr. Pownall to Dr. Cooper upon the same subject; to which is added a short History of those Letters, or an account of the manner, in which they happened to fall into the hands of the present possessor of them."

A note in volume vii., p. 440, of the elegant Edition of Franklin's Works, by Professor Sparks, our fellow laborer, contains a slight error, in saying this collection was seized by a British officer in Boston; or if the person, who transcribed for the accomplished Editor the letters of Dr. Franklin, intended to characterize as a seizure the acts of the late Dr. Jeffries in preserving them, and, after reaching London, presenting them to Mr. Thompson, (the gentleman, it is presumed, afterwards so well known as Count Rumford,) the term must be construed in sensu mitissimo.

Here follows the "Account of the manner in which the following Letters came into the hands of the Person who now possesses them."

"Immediately after the Affair of Lexington, which happened upon the 19th of April, 1775, the Town of Boston was surrounded by the Rebels and all intercourse with the Country was cut off. Those who were in the Town were not allowed to quit it without the permission of the Commander in Chief, and no person was allowed to pass the lines to go into the country without first being searched by Officers appointed by the General for that purpose. At this time many of the leading Men of the disaffected party were still in the Town, and among the rest the Revd. Dr. Cooper,

Minister of the Gospel to one of the Religious Societies in that town, a Man of great weight and influence among the people, who admired him as much for his Abilities, as they respected him on account of his Holy profession, and his exemplary life and conversation. He, with many others, made immediate application for leave to quit the Town, and obtained a Passport for that purpose.

"At this time he had in his possession the Originals of the following Letters from Dr. Franklin, together with the original draughts of his Answers, and a great number of Letters from Gov. Pownall, written the same time, upon the same subject, with the draughts of all his answers to them. Being unwilling to destroy these papers, and afraid of detection if he attempted to take them with him through the Lines, he determined to leave them behind in the hands of a confidential friend, with directions to forward them to him by the first safe conveyance. He accordingly packed them all up together in a bundle, and sent them to Mr. Jeffries, one of the selectmen of Boston, who at that time was sick, and unable to leave the Town. He was confined to his bed, when these papers were brought to him; they were therefore put by in a trunk which contained other things of his own. As soon as Mr. Jeffries was recovered from his illness, he left the Town, and followed the rest of his Party into the Country.

"His son, Dr. John Jeffries, who is now one of the Surgeons to the Hospital at New York, not choosing to take part in the Rebellion, refused to accompany his father into Country. With this Son he left everything that he could not take with him, and among other things the beforementioned trunk, either not knowing or forgetting that it contained a treasure belonging to his friend. This trunk remained near a year in Dr. Jeffries' possession without his knowing what it contained, till, upon the evacuation of Boston in the month of March following, collecting his effects in order to embark with them for Halifax, he accidentally discovered this packet of Letters, and finding them interesting, took care to preserve them. From Halifax he brought them with him to London in January last, and made a present of them to Mr. Thompson, who now presumes most humbly to lay them at his Majesty's feet, as a literary as well as a political curiosity."

Books printed are, however, more encouraging to an enquirer than MSS.; and here may the rarest be, generally, found. Brereton's Relation of Gosnold's Discovery, printed at London, 1602, in 4to., did not engage more than a half minute's attention, because it was known, that our publishing committee for the present volume had obtained a transcript. The information, as to Chr. Levett's Voyage into New England, 4to. London, 1628, of equal diligence, removes the mortification suffered, on being answered, when that tract was asked for, that it was gone to the binders. No little regret must be felt at our numerous deficiencies in works, that would naturally be supposed to be at our command from their comparatively recent publication. At this repository in London the Catalogue (I forget the number of volumes it is contained in, but it must be over fifty folios) shows: "Adams (Amos) A. M. Pastor of the first Church of Roxbury. A concise historical view of the difficulties, hardships and perils which attended the planting and progressive improvements of New England, 8vo. Boston. London, reprinted 1770.

Bradstreet (Lieut. Col.) Impartial Account of Expedition to Fort Frontenac, 8vo. London, 1759." Neither of these books are yet in our library.

The most remarkable treasure in the Museum is a Collection of Books and Pamphlets, printed from 1640 to the Restoration, which was the property of George III. Its Catalogue, written by the collector, fills twelve small folio volumes. My attention being drawn, by one of the Keepers in the department, to this, it seemed desirable, on 30 July, to copy the story of this assiduous laborer, which is an appropriate preface to the first volume of these MSS. entitled "Mr. Thomason about his Collection."

"There have been great charges disbursed and paines taken in an Exact Colleccon of Pamphlets that have been Published from the Beginning of that long and unhappy Parlement which begun November 1640 which doth amount to a very greate Number of Pieces of all Sorts and all Sides from that time until his Majesties happy Restauracon and Coronacon, their Number Consisting of neere Thirty Thousand severall peeces to the very great Charge and greater Care and Paines of him that made the Colleccon.

The use that may be made of them for the Publique both for the present and after Ages, may and will prove of greate Advantage to Posterity, and besides this, there is not the like, and therefore onely fitt for the use of the Kings Maj'tie.

The wch Colleccon will Necessarily Imploy Six Readers att Once, they Consisting of Six Severall Sorts of Paper being as uniformly Bound as if they were but of one Impression of Bookes, it Consists of above Two Thousand severall Volumes all Exactly Marked & Numbered.

The method that hath been Observed throughout is Tyme, and such Exact Care hath been taken that the very day is written upon most of them that they came out.

The Catalogue of them fairely written doe Contain Twelve Volumes in Folio and of the Number aforesaid wch is so many that when they stand in Order according to their Numbers whilst any thing is asked for, and Shewed in the Catalogue, though but of one Sheete of Paper (or lesse) it may be instantly Shewed, this Method is of very greate use and much Ease to the Reader.

In this Number of Pamphlets is Contained neere One hundred Severall peeces that never were Printed on th'one side and on th'other (all or most of wch are on the King's side) wch no man durst venture to Publish here without the Danger of his Ruine.

This Colleccon was so privately Carried on, that it was never knowne that there was such a Designe in hand, the Collector intending them onely for his Maj'ties use that then was, his Maj'tie once having Occasion to use one Pamphlett could no where Obtain or Compasse the Sight of it but from him, wch his Maj'tie haveing seen was very well Sattisfied and pleased with the Sight of it, hee comanded a Person of honour (now) neere his Maj'tie that now is, to Restore it Safely to his hands from whome hee had it, who faithfully Restored it together with the Charge his Maj'tie gave him wch was with his owne hands to Returne it to him, and withall Express't a Desire from his then Maj'tie to him that had Begun that worke, that hee should Continue the same, his Maj'tie being very well pleased with the Designe wch was a greate Encouragem't to the Undertaker. Els hee thinks hee should never have been Enduced to have gon through so difficult a Worke wch hee found by Experience

to prove so Chargeable and heavy a Burthen both to himselfe and his Serv'ts that were Imployed in that buisines wch Continued above the Space of Twenty yeares in which time hee Buryed three of them who tooke greate Paines both day and night wth him in that tedious Imploym't.

And that hee might prevent the Discovery of them when the Army was Northward hee Pack't them up in Severall Trunks, and by one or two in a Weeke hee sent them to a Trusty freind in Surrey who safely preserved them, but when the Army was Westward and feareing their Returne that way hee was feigne to have them sent back againe and thence Safely Rec'ed them, but durst not keepe them by him the Danger was so greate, but packt them up againe and sent them into Essex, and when the Army Ranged that way to Tripleheath was feigne to send for them back from thence, and not thinking them safe any where in England att last tooke a Ressolucon to send them into Holland for their more safe preservation, but Considering with himselfe what a Treasure it was, upon Second thoughts hee durst not venture them att Sea, but Resolved to place them in his Warehouses in forme of Tables round about the Roomes Covered over with Canvas, Continuing Still without any Intermission his Goeing on nay even then when by the Usurper's Power and Com'and hee was taken out of his Bed and Clapt up Close Prisoner att Whitehall for Seaven weekes Space and above hee still hopeing and looking for that Day and time wch thankes bee to God is now come, and there he put a Period to that unparalell'd Labour Charge and Paines hee had been att.

Oxford Library keeper (that then was) was in hand with them ab't them a long time, and did hope the Publiq'e Library might Compose them, but that could not bee then Effected, it riseing to so greate a sume as had been Expended on them for so long a time together.

And if that Trayterous Usurper had taken Notice of them by any Informacon, hee to secure them had made and signed an Acquittance for One thousand pounds acknowledged to be Received in parte of that Bargaine, and have sent that Imediately thither, and they to have Challenged by virtue of that as Bought by them who had more Power then hee had that Collected them to have Contended w'th him

for them by the Power that they and their freinds could have made.

All theis hard Shifts and Exigents hath hee been put unto to preserve them, and preserved they are (by Providence) for the use of Succeeding Ages wch will scarce have Faith to Believe that such horrid and most detestable Villanyes were ever Comitted in any Christian Common Wealth since Christianity had a Name."

Then follows a letter from Barlow, newly appointed Bishop of Lincoln, who had been the Librarian at Oxford, and was named one of the Trustees, by the will of the Collector, who died 1666, for the preservation of this remarkable parcel of books. It is addressed, "For ye reverend Mr. Thomason," the son of the gatherer of this treasure, and seemed worth the transcribing:

"My reverend friend,

I am about to leave Oxon (my deare mother) and that excellent and costly Collection of Bookes, which have so longe beene in my hand there. I intreate you either to remove them, or speake to my successor, that they may continue there, till you can otherwise conveniently dispose of them. Had I money to my minde, I would be your Chapman for them; but the Collection is soe great, and my purse soe little that I cannot compasse it. It is such a Collection (both for the vast number of Bookes, and ye exact method they are bound in) as none has, nor possibly can have, besides your selfe. The use of that Collection might be of exceedinge benefitt to the publique (both Church and State) were it plac'd in some safe Repository, where learned and sober men might have accesse to, and ye use of it. The fittest place for it (both for use and honor) is the Kings, Sir Tho. Bodlies, or some publique Library; for in such places it might be most safe and usefull. I have longe indeavour'd to find Benefactors and a way to procure it for Bodlies Library, and I doe not despaire but such a way may be found in good time by

your affectionate friend
and Brother,
THOMAS LINCOLNE."

OXON, Feb. 6, 1676.

Next comes a certificate from the Clerk of the Privy Council, in substance, that his Majesty in Council was

pleased, 15 May 1684, on a petition from Anne Mearne, relict of Samuel Mearne, his Majesty's Stationer, lately deceased, to give leave to dispose of this Collection, and make sale of the said Books as she shall think fit, the petitioner's husband having been commanded by Sir Jos. Williamson, Secretary of State, to purchase the same; and the reasons offered in the petition being "the great charge they cost," and the burthen on the family "by their lying undisposed of so long."

This closing is, surely, disreputable to the character of Charles II. but he had so many heavier sins of ingratitude to the supporters of his father to answer for, that no comment is needed. It would have been agreeable, had the preface pursued the history of the Collection until it came to the possession of George III.

Some of the rare tracts in the Catalogue I think good to give titles of, with the dates marked on them by the gatherer, as the day when he obtained them. Of our Wonder-working Providences the imprint on titlepage is 1654, but Thomason procured a copy nearly four months before the close of 1653, and erased the last figure and substituted a 3. Remembering that this "History of New England" bore the date in our copies, and finding, in the General Catalogue, sub voce New England, a History inserted as printed at London the year before, my curiosity was eager to examine it. It instantly appeared to be the identical work of our Capt. Edward Johnson of Woburn, though it was not known in England, that he was the author. Of a few of these works, generally unattainable on our side of the ocean, an abstract of the subjects may be acceptable.

New Englands Tears for Old Englands Fears. Preached in a Sermon on July 28, 1640, being a day of Pubike Humiliation, appointed by the Churches in behalfe of our Native Country in time of fearful dangers, by William Hooke, Minister of God's word, sometime of Axmouth in Devonshire, now of Taunton in New England. London, 1641. A passage on p. 16 is well adapted to refresh the sensibility of his flock: "There is no Land that claimes our name, but England, wee are distinguished from all the Nations in the world by the name of English. There is no Potentate breathing, that we call our dread Soveraigne, but King Charles, nor Lawes of any Land have civilized us,

but Englands; there is no Nation that calls us Countrymen, but the English. Brethren! Did wee not thence draw in our first breath? Did not the Sunne first shine there upon our heads? Did not that Land first beare us, even that pleasant Island, but for sin, I would say, that Garden of the Lord, that Paradise?" This tract is No. 5 of Vol. XII.

The Retractation of Mr. Charles Chauncy, formerly Minister of Ware in HARFORDSHIRE, wherein is proved the unlawfulnesse and danger of Rayling in Altars or Communion Tables, written with his own hand before his going to New England in the yeer 1637. Published by his own direction for the satisfaction of all such who either are, or justly might be offended with his scandalous submission, made before the High Commission Court Febr. 11 anno 1635. London, 4to printed 1641. An Address to the Courteous Reader occupies five pages, the whole tract 39. It is No. 15 in Vol. XXIV.

Plaine Dealing, or newes from New England by Lechford is No. 22 of Vol. XLII.

Newes from New England of a most strange and prodigious birth, brought to Boston in N. E. Oct. the 17, being a true and exact Relation, brought over April 19 1642 by a Gentleman of good worth now resident in London. This is only the short story of Mrs. Dyer's suffering, in twenty-one lines, put into a preposterous publication of five other monstrous births, a llcomprised in five pages, and the Boston story is longer than either of the others, except the last. It is No. 22 in Vol. LI.

An answer of the Elders of the Church of New England unto nine positions, No. 9 of CXI. came out or was obtained 15 June 1643.

A letter of many ministers in old England requesting the judgment of their brethren in New England. No. 20 of CXVI. July 10.

A short story of the Rise, Reigne and Ruine of the Antinomians &c. This tract contains 66 pages, besides 17 of preface by T. Welde; but an initiatory address "To the Reader" is, "I meeting with this Book, newly come forth of the Presse, and being earnestly pressed by diverse to perfect it, by laying down the order & sense of this story (which in the Book is omitted)" &c. &c. &c. &c. as if the petty dis-

ingenuity could conceal the workmanship. No. 16 of CXLIII. marked 19 Feb. '43.

A letter from New England, written by Mr. Tho. Parker, declaring his judgment touching the government practised in the churches of New England. No. 22 of same vol. got same day.

A brief relation of some church courses in New England. No. 11 of CXLVI. 9 March.

New England's advice to Old England, both their governments compared. 17 of CLXIII. 5 July '44.

Weld's Answer to W. R's narration of the practises of the Churches in N. E. 18 of CLXVII. 27 July.

New England's Lamentations for Old England's present errours. 18 of CXCVIII. March 45.

The way of the Churches of Christ in New England, by Mr. John Cotton. 13 of CC. 4 April.

A brief discovery of Familism. 10 of CCI. 9 April.

A Reply to a Confutation of some grounds for Infants Baptisme, as also concerning the form of a church, put forth against mee by one Thomas Lamb. Hereunto is added a Discourse of the Verity and validity of Infants Baptisme, wherein I endevour to clear it in itself; as also in the minister's administring it, and the manner of administration by Sprinkling & not Dipping, with sundry other particulars handled herein. [The title page then quotes Matthew vii. 15 and two long Latin sentences, from August. Enchir. cap. 42 and Hieron. adv. Pelagian. Dialog. ter.] by George Philips of Watertown in New England. London, Printed by Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton. 4 of CCXI. 10 June. An address to the Reader of 10 pages, signed Tho. Shepard, is followed by the author's address in 4 pages to the Reader, in which he says, that he never writ the Treatise answered nor one word to the writer (wholly unknown to him) nor to any other in England about this matter; and then relates, that Nathaniel Biscoe "coming from England and sitting down with us at Watertown, upon a time desired some conference with me," about two points &c. which it is not worth the space to give, as probably Govr. Winthrop has said enough about the matter. The tract fills 154 pages.

Mercurius Americanus, Mr. Welds his Antitype, or Massachusetts great Apologie examined, being observations upon a paper styled A short story of the Rise, Reigne and

Ruine of the Familists &c. &c. wherein some parties therein concerned are vindicated, and the truth generally cleared. By John Wheelwright junr. London. Printed and are to be sold at the Bull near the Castle Tavern in Cornhill 1645. No. 37 of CCXXXIII. 25 Novr. An address to the reader fills 2 pages, the whole tract 24, after which comes a letter "To his honored friend Capt. Thomas Kingerbie," in which the writer says "in all times it is best to dedicate to a friend, in these times to a soldier," &c. &c.

Simplicities Defence against Seven-headed Policy in the Government of the Church in New England. 16 of CCLXXXIV. 8 Novr. '46.

The Simple Cobler of Agawam in America, willing to help mend his native country &c. No. 21 of CCXCVI. 29 Jan'y. Of this curious book, equally remarkable for its uncharitableness and its wit, so full an account, as also of Nath. Ward, the author, was given in the Boston Monthly Anthology VI. 341, that it may be unnecessary to add a word, except to correct two slight errors, about the time of his Master's degree at the University, here before set right, and the date of his leaving this country. Brook, in his Lives of the Puritans, says he returned to England in 1645.

The Day breaking, if not the Sun rising of the Gospel &c. 17 of CCCVII. 6 April '47.

New England's Jonas cast up at London, 5 of CCCVIII. 15 April.

The bloody tenent washed. 7 of CCCXI. 15 May.

New Englands Salamander discovered. 8 of CCCXIV. 29 May.

Hypocrisy unmasked. 23 of CCCXXXIII. 2 Oct.

The clear sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth. 14 of CCCLV. 3 March.

Well known works of which dates of publication are interesting.

Good Newes from New England, with an exact relation of the first planting of that country, A description of the profits accruing by the Worke, Together with a briefe, but true Discovery of their Order both in Church and Commonwealth, and maintenance allowed the painfull Labourers in that Vineyard of the LORD. With the names of the severall Towns, and who be Preachers to THEM. 4to. London.

Printed by Matthew Simmons 1647–8. 21 of CCCLV. 10 March. Of this tract our great bibliographer, Mr. Rich, in his catalogue, giving the short title and remarking, that the work is in the British Museum, asks, is this a reimpression of Winslow? So it is apparent, that he had not looked at the book. The same suggestion of my own mind caused me to neglect it, until two days before leaving London, when it was found to be a very curious pamphlet of 24 pages, that would have been exactly copied, had time permitted. It is much in the style of Johnson's Wonder-working Providences.

The glorious progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians, 11 of CCCCXXIII. June 49.

The copy of a Letter written to his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Avery, touching sundry opinions by her maintained. By Mr. Thomas Parker, sometimes of Newbury in the County of Berks. London, 1650. This copy was marked by Thomason, as obtained by him 29 Novr., of course 1649. It is No. 3 of CCCCL. It is accompanied by an Epistle to the Reader by Benjamin Woodbridge, the first born of Harvard College, then a minister in England, who says, he had "received other letters to my dear friend, Mrs. Avery" from Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Noyes, relative to her strangely turning away from the faith. She had printed a book containing those errors. Parker's answers fill twenty pages dated at our Newbury, Novr. 1648.

The meritorious price of our redemption, justification, &c. clearing it from some errors, by William Pinchin. 3 of CCCCLXXII, 2 June, 1650.

[Of the fourth of the Tracts about spreading the Gospel among the Indians, Light appearing more and more, I failed to take notice, and can give no exact date of its publication, which we know was in 1651.]

"Ill Newes from New England, or A Narrative of New England's Persecution. Wherein is declared, that while Old England is becoming new, New England is become Old. Also four Proposals to the Honoured Parliament and Councel of State, touching the way to Propagate the Gospel of Christ (with small charge and great safety) both in Old England and New. Also four conclusions touching the faith and order of the Gospel of Christ out of his last Will and

Testament, confirmed and justified. By JOHN CLARK Physician of Rode Island in America.

Revel. 2. 25 Holdfast till I come,
3. 11 Behold I come quickly,
22. 20 Amen, even so come Lord Jesus. London, Printed by Henry Hills living in Fleet-Yard next door to the Rose and Crown, in the year 1652." This very rare tract is No. 5 in vol. DXXX Thomason marks 13 May. It was the first object of my inquiry in London, and on 13 June some hours were spent in abstracting the work. Six pages are occupied with the address, or Epistle Dedicatory, to the Parliament and Councel of State for the Commonwealth of England, of "your humble and faithful subject, John Clark." The second part, in five pages, "To the Honored Magistracy, the Presbytery, and their dependency in the Mathatusets Colony in New England, The author wisheth repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ," subscribed "your loving friend and countreyman, John Clark." A third address to the true Christian Reader, in four pages, is succeeded by "A brief discourse touching New England as to the matter in hand, and to that part of it, sci. Rode Island, where my residence is, together with the occasion of my going out with others from the Mathatusetts Bay, and the many providentiall occurrences that directed us thereto, and pitched us thereon. As also the Contents of the whole Treastise." This portion of the pamphlet, filling over three pages, being the most valuable, I extract: "New England is a name (as is generally known) that was, and still is, call'd upon that place in reference to Old, yet not so much because it is peopled, and planted from thence, for so are many other Plantations of the English in those Western parts; but because it resembles the same, as the daughter the mother. It resembles it in the Climate, in the times and seasons of the year, in the fruits which the land naturally produceth, in the fouls, and the fish that are there in abundance. It resembles it in their politicall affairs; for their governments, laws, Courts, Officers, are in a great measure the same, and so are the names of their towns & Counties; and in point of good husbandry, that which is raised and produced in New England more substantially, and whether it be for food or rai-

ment it is the same with that which is here produced in Old. It is a place (in the largest acceptation) that contains in it all the Plantations of the English upon that coast of America, that lie between the Dutch Plantation on the West, and the French on the East, and extends itself upon the Seacoast above one hundred leagues. In it is contained the four Colonies, which call themselves the united Colonies, The Colony called by the name of the Province of Providence Plantations lying on the South and South East thereof, and two or three more lying on the East or North East in Agamenticus, Saco, Casco Bay and Pemaquid, where is that Treasure of Masts for Ships. The names of the united Colonies are these, in point of precedency first Matatusetts, but in point of antiquity first Plymouth, then the Matatusetts, then Conectecot, and last Quinipiuck. The chief Towns of these Colonies, and seats of their Government are these, Boston of the Mathatusetts, Plymouth of Plymouth, Hereford of Conectecot, and of Quinipiuck, New Haven.

Now as the name, New England, in the largest and truest acceptation extends to all the Plantations of the English between the French and the Dutch, so in a scanty and improper acceptance of the word (especially when it makes for advantage) it is taken for these four united Colonies, by reason of the precedency they have of others, and for the same cause, and upon the point as well, it may be taken for the Mathatusetts, and the Town of Boston therein. When I speak of New England, understand it of that part which hath got the precedency (by reason of shipping) and start of the rest, sci. the Mathatusetts, as both in my Epistle and Narrative is plain to be seen, which I have here also inserted for fear of mistake.

In the Colony of Providence Plantations in point of antiquity the Town of Providence is chief, but in point of precedency Rode Iland excels. This Iland lieth in the Narragansett Bay, being fourteen or fifteen miles long, and in breadth between four and five miles at the broadest: It began to be planted by the English in the beginning of the year 39, and by this hand of providence. In the year 1637 I left my native land, and in the ninth moneth of the same, I (through mercy) arrived at Boston. I was no sooner on shore, but there appeared to me differences among them

touching the Covenants, and in point of evidencing a mans good estate, some prest hard for the Covenant of works, and for sanctification to be the first and chief evidence, others prest as hard for the Covenant of grace that was established upon better promises, and for the evidence of the Spirit, as that which is a more certain, constant and satisfactory witness. I thought it not strange to see men differ about matters of Heaven, for I expect no less upon Earth: But to see that they were not able to bear each with other in their different understandings and consciences, as in those utmost parts of the World to live peaceably together, whereupon I moved the latter, for as much as the land was before us and wide enough, with the proffer of Abraham to Lot, and for peace sake to turn aside to the right hand, or to the left. The motion was readily accepted, and I was requested with some others to seek out a place, which accordingly I was ready to do; and thereupon by reason of the suffocating heat of the Summer before, I went to the North to be somewhat cooler, but the Winter following proved so cold, that we were forced in the Spring to make towards the South; so having sought the Lord for direction, we all agreed that while our vessell was passing about a large and dangerous Cape, we would cross over by land, having Long Island and Delaware Bay in our eie for the place of our residence; so to a town called Providence we came, which was begun by one M. Roger Williams (who for matter of conscience had not long before been exiled from the former jurisdiction) by whom we were courteously and lovingly received and with whom we advised about our design: he readily presented two places before us in the same Narragansett Bay, the one upon the main called Sow-wames, the other called then Acquedneck, now Rode Island: we enquired whether they would fall in any other Patent, for our resolution was to go out of them all: he told us (to be brief) that the way to know that, was to have recourse unto Plymouth; so our vessell as yet not being come about, and we thus blocked up, the company determined to send to Plymouth, and pitched upon two others together with myself, requesting also M. Williams to go to Plymouth to know how the case stood. So we did, and the Magistrates thereof very lovingly gave us a meeting. I then informed them of the cause of

our coming unto them, and desired them in a word of truth and faithfulness to inform us whether Sow-wames were within their Patent, for we were now on the wing, and were resolved through the help of Christ to get cleer of all, and be of ourselves, and provided our way were cleer before us, it were all one for us to go further off, as to remain neer at hand: their answer was, that Sow-wames was the garden of their Patent, and the flower in the garden: then I told them we could not desire it; but requested further in the like word of truth and faithfulness to be informed, whether they laid claim to the Ilands in the Narragansett Bay, and that in particular called Acquedneck? They all with a cheerfull countenance made us this answer, it was in their thoughts to have advised thereto, and if the provident hand of God should pitch us thereon they should look upon us as free, and as loving neighbors and friends should be assistant unto us upon the main, &c. So we humbly thanked them, and returned with that answer: So it pleased the Lord, by moving the hearts of the natives, even the chiefest thereof, to pitch us thereon, and by other occurrences of providence, which are too large here to relate. So that having bought them off to their full satisfaction, we have possessed the place ever since; and notwithstanding the different understandings and consciences amongst us, without interruption, we agree to maintain civil Justice and judgement, neither are there such outrages committed amongst us as in other parts of the Country are frequently seen."

Clark seems very fond of the number four, since, besides his Proposals to Parliament and Conclusions touching the Gospel, he uses the same division for his Narrative, which declares: "1. How those three strangers were apprehended, imprisoned, sentenced and for what: 2. How the motion was made for a publique dispute, often repeated and promised, and yet disappointed: 3. How two escaped, and the third was cruelly handled: 4. How two, for taking him but by the hand after his punishment, were apprehended, imprisoned, and sentenced to pay forty shillings or be whipped." The statement of the points in the four Conclusions may here be undesirable; nor would it be expedient to add more than the heading of the *first* part of the Narrative: "A Faithful and True Relation of the Prosecution of Obediah

Holmes, John Crandall, and John Clarke, meerly for Conscience towards God, by the principall Members of the Church, or Commonwealth of the Mathatusetts in New England which rules over that part of the World; whereby is shewn their discourteous Entertainment of Strangers, and how that Spirit by which they are led, would order the whole World, if either brought under them, or should come in unto them: Drawn forth by the aforesaid John Clarke, not so much to answer the Importunity of Friends, as to stop the mouthes, and slanderous reports of such as are Enemies to the Cross of Christ. Let him that readeth it consider, which church is most like the church of Christ (that Prince of Peace, that meek and gentle Lamb, that came into this World to save Mens lives, not to destroy them) the Persecuted, or Persecuting." My excuse for not transcribing more is that the tract fills 76 close printed pages; and I hope our friends in Rhode Island will reprint the work exactly, and so correct some casual errors in spelling, if any occur in my copy.

Strength out of Weakness, Progress of the Gospel. 6 of DXXXIX. 4 Aug.

The civil Magistrate's power in matters of religion. No. 2 of DLIII. 15 Febr. Six pages of grievous dedication beginning "To the Right Honorable Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of all the forces of the Commonwealths of England, Scotland and Ireland, Grace, Mercy and Peace be multiplied," and ending with the date and signature, "Lynne in New England this 4th of the 8th 52 Your Excellencies' humbly devoted servant Thos. Cobbet," are followed by four pages of address to the Reader, with signature again, and the residue of the work is 108 pages.

A brief answer to a scandalous pamphlet, called Ill News from New England written by, &c. 3 of DLIII. 15 Feb. This work, appropriately bound up with the last mentioned tract, fills 52 pages. It begins: "Since my composing the former Discourse about the civil Magistrate his coercive power in matters of Religion, &c." showing, that its author was Cobbet. There is a P. S. defending Winslow, and giving a minute detail of curious particulars in proceedings of Newman's church at Rehoboth. Rich's Catalogue notices a copy in the Philadelphia Library.

A Platform of church Discipline, &c. Synod of Cambridge in New England. 7 of DLVIII. 24 April.

Tears of Repentance. The sixth tract about evangelizing our Indians, 16 of DLXIII. 21 May. Of the seventh publication, that came out in 1655, no minute was taken by me.

A brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy. 8 of DLXXIV. 1 August. This did not occupy me a minute, because sufficient account of the work is in a note to Winthrop's History of New England I. 33.

A history of New England from the English planting in 1628 until 1652 (i. e. Wonderworking Providences). 4 of DLXXXVII. 29 Novr. 1653.

The Orthodox Evangelist. 9 of DC. 9 May 54.

A treatise of the Sabbath, &c. by William Pynchon. 5 of DCXXIII. 7 Novr.

Holy time, or the true limits of the Lord's day, by William Pynchon. 6 of DCXXIII. 7 Novr.

Samuel Vassall of London his Petition to the Parliament. 5 of DCCXLI. 23 Jany. 57, reciting, that he endured imprisonment in several prisons for about 16 years, for opposing the illegal taxes laid by the late King, and his goods were taken away, and that the consideration of his case being referred to a Committee, on their Report the House voted him £10445, 12, 2 for his damages, and would farther consider his case; that he had received not one penny; that £2591, 17, 6 also were lent to the Parliament by him in Ireland in their great straights, and that also for one of his ships service £3328, 2, 7 were due, and for part of three other ships in service, and he makes up the whole to be £20010, 19, 8. Besides all which, another ship of his, the Mayflower, laden, manned with sixty men for the Streights, was taken, by order of the Committee of Safety, for public service, and after being returned and fitted for another voyage, taken again from him, to prevent some design of the enemy, to the overthrow of his voyage, and his great losse.

Abel being dead yet speaketh. Life and death of John Cotton by John Norton 6 of DCCXLIV. 14 April.

America painted to the Life. By Ferdinando Gorges, Esq. is Vol. DCCLXXVI. 2 Mar 58.

A dissertation concerning Church members and their children by Assembly of Divines at Boston in New England. 3 of DCCXCIV. 17 June.

The Christian Commonwealth, or the civil policy of the rising kingdom of Jesus Christ. By John Eliot, 10 of DCCCV. 26 Oct.

All the foregoing volumes, and others, up to 870, are small quartos. Catalogue of 142 volumes, large quartos, shows nothing about our country, except in Newspapers, which are the chief contents of this parcel. Next follows Catalogue of 1968 pieces in 905 volumes of the octavo size, of which but few were attractive to me.

A Key into the Language of America, &c. By Roger Williams of Providence in New England. London, printed by Gregory Dexter, 1643. Vol. LXVIII. 7 Septr.

A description of the new world, or America, islands and continent, by George Gardyner. Vol. CCV. 16 Jany. 1649.

The tenth Muse lately sprung up in America, or several poems. Also, a Dialogue between Old England and New, concerning the late troubles. With divers other pleasant and serious Poems. By a Gentlewoman in those parts. Vol. CCLXXIV. marked 5 July 1650. It opens with an address to the "Kind Reader," ending with verses, by N. Ward, followed by three pages of verses "To my deare Sister, the Author of these Poems," signed I. W. another copy of verses, signed C. B. another, signed R. Q. with a fourth, signed N. H. a fifth "upon the author," signed C. B. "another to Mrs. Anne Bradstreete author of this poem," signed H. S. and a final page of two Anagrams. No more need be said, as the second edition in a decent 12mo. printed at Boston by John Foster 1678 is in our Library.

The heart of New England rent at the blasphemies of the present generation, or a brief tractate concerning the Doctrines of the Quakers. By John Norton. Vol. DCCCXVIII. marked Jany. 1659.

Eleventh and twelfth Vols. of the Catalogue refer to the folios, only 38 in number, filled with single sheets, as public Acts, Proclamations, &c.

Of one of the first class of Harvard College I found a letter in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa II. 504 of the Ed. in 4to. being No. 19 of lib. XIII. which may seem worth copying, addressed to the clerk of the Council of State: "After my humble service and thankfulnesse for all your christian respect and favours, I am occasioned by an extraordinary

exigent, to move you, a little beyond my bounds, that (as this bearer, Mr. Clerke, my agent & faithfull friend, shall explaine my affairs to you) you may vouchsafe to lighten my present cares so farre as (with securitie from my Lord Charles Fleetwood or lieutenant general Ludlow) you shall find safe and convenient. Wherein you would greatly refresh my bowells, & (with your pardon of this strange boldnesse) more oblige me to be

your very humble faithful servant,

Alby in Norfolk, July XXVI. NATL. BREWSTER.
MDCLVIII.

These to the worthily honored Henry Scobell Esq. present, in Westminster."

One of my principal pursuits was to obtain evidence of births or marriages of our early settlers, in which the frequent failure of registries in the Parishes subjected me to be sometimes disheartened. Occasionally there may be too heavy expense in searching those records; but usually the keepers are as liberal as exact. For the copious extracts from the Parish Register of Groton in Suffolk, I was indebted to Richard Almack, Esquire, which are here given precisely as transcribed:

1582 Teomasing [1]Clopton the daughter of Mr. Willm Clopton Gent. and of Mistress Margery his wife was baptised the 18th day of February. (She was married to John Winthrop and died in childbed 1626.)

1587 [2]John Winthrop the sonne of Adam Winthropp and Anna his wife was baptised the 16th January.

1592 Jane the daughter of Adam Winthrop was baptised the 17th daie of June.

1600 Lucie Winthropp the daughter of Adam Winthropp Gent. and Mrs. Anna his wife was baptised the 27th day of January.

1605 John Winthropp the sonne of John Winthropp and of Marie his wife was baptised the 23d of February.

1607 Hennery Winthropp the sonne of John Winthropp and of Mary his wife was baptised the 19th day of Januarye.

1614 Anna Winthropp the daughter of John Winthrop Esqre. was baptised the 8th day of August.

1615 Anna Winthropp the daughter of John Winthrop Esq. was baptised the the 26th of June.

1619 Steven the son of John Winthrop Esqre. and Margaret his 3d wife was baptised the last daie of March.

[1] The seat of the family, of which William was the head, was Castleins, a manor house in Groton. It is often mentioned in the letters of Govr. Winthrop to his third wife. The date of the death of this second wife is, evidently, an error of transcription, as the true time is given afterwards.

[2] He was four days old, when baptized, as his father mentions his birthday in the Almanac we possess.

1620 Adam the sonne of John Winthropp Esquire was baptised the 9th of April.
1622 Deane Winthropp the sonne of John Winthroppe Esqre was baptised the 23d of Marche.
1624 Nathaniel Winthroppe the sonne of John Winthroppe Esquire was baptised the 20th of Februarie.
1627 Samuell the sonne of John Winthroppe Esqre. & Margaret his wife August the 26th.
1630 Ann Winthropp daughter of John Esqre. and Margaret his 3d wife baptised Aprill 29th.
Martha Winthropp daughter of Harry & Elizabeth his wife baptised May 9th.
1651 Stephen Winthropp sonne of Stephen Winthroppe and of Judith his wife was born May 13th.
1563 Willm Mildmaye Esq. and Annis Winthropp widow was married the 7th daie of June — [1]Thomas his son, and Alice her daughter the 12th of the same Month.
1579 Adam Winthrop Gent. & Anne Browne were married the 20th daie of Februarie.
1604 Thomas [2]Jones and Anna Winthropp were married the 20th daie of Februarie — She died the 16th daie of Maie Anno 1619.
1612 [3]Thomas Gosline and Mrs. Jane Winthrop were married the 5th day of January.
1615 John Winthrop Esq. and Thomasinge Clopton was married the 6th day of Decr.
1622 Immanuell Downinge and Luce Winthropp Gent were married the 10th of Aprile.
1630 John Winthrope and Martha [4]Jones were married Februarie the 8th.
1562 [5]Adam Winthrop the elder Esq was buryed the 12th day of November.
1614 Anna Winthrop the daughter of John Winthrope Esq. was buried the 26th day of August.
1615 Mrs. Mary Winthropp the first wife of John Winthrope Esq was buryed the 26th day of June.
Anna Winthrop her daughter was buryed the 29th day of June.
1616 A younge child of John Winthrop Esq. was buried the second of December.
Mtrs. Thomasin Winthrope the 2d wife of John Winthrop Esq. was buried the 11th day of December.
1623 Adam Winthropp Gent. was buried the 28th of Marche.
1629 [6]Mrs. Winthropp Senr. April the 19th.
1630 Mrs. [7]Forth Wintropp buried 23d November.

[1] This Thomas was knighted (I suppose, by Queen Elizabeth) and resided at Springfield Barnes in Essex. He left issue by Alice Winthrop, (who was, of course, aunt of our first Governor,) and Sir Wm. Mildmay, created baronet in 1765 was descended from them. See Burke's Extinct Baronetcies.

[2] Probably the name Fones, several times occurring in the printed letters of Govr. Winthrop is mistaken for Jones; or this name is an error, and should be that.

[3] Philip was given as the name of Mr. Gostling in an old genealogy, by some mistake; or was assumed, erroneously, from the use of this name in the *first* will of Winthrop, instead of Thomas, who was, probably, son of Philip.

[4] She was, we may presume, daughter of her husband's aunt.

[5] No doubt this was the grandfather of Govr. Winthrop; and, probably, to him was made the grant of the manor of Groton from Henry VIII. after the suppression of the religious houses.

[6] Beyond question, this is our Governor's mother. See his letters April 29 and May 8 of this year.

[7] We had never heard before of the marriage of Forth Winthrop. He was a son of the first John by the first wife, but younger, probably, than Henry, from the order

An earnest desire was felt to ascertain, more plainly than can be learned from Mather's Magnalia, the derivation of Govr. Bradford. My application was made to the most competent authority, yet with only partial success, as the following letter evinces:

30 *Torrington Square, Sept.* 11, 1842.

My Dear Sir, — There have been many persons of the surname of Bradford, living in the parts of Yorkshire in the vicinity of Doncaster, and at Doncaster itself, where the name occurs in the Catalogue of Mayors. One family of the name, who were settled at Arksey, a village about three miles North of Doncaster, appeared at Sir William Dugdale's Visitation of the County in 1665 and 1666, when they recorded a Pedigree, which I have printed in my account of Arksey (South Yorkshire, Vol. I.) from MS. C. 40 in the College of Arms. There was a still older family of the name seated in the neighborhood of Wakefield, of whom I have seen account in Collections of Yorkshire Genealogies, but no mention of any member of it going to New England.

One family of the name possessed a small estate at Austerfield, a chapelry about nine miles south of Doncaster, and within a short distance of Bawtry. This name might be so easily read Ansterfield, that it appears highly probable such a mistake has been made by some one, and that this is the place at which Governor Bradford was born. At the same time I have seen nothing which directly connects him with this family, of whom the following is all that has occurred to me.

1606 April 11. Robert Bradfourth is a witness to the will of Robert Hartley of Austerfield, yeoman.

1607 March 1. Thomas Bradfurth of Doncaster, yeoman, "To Richard Bradfurth, my son, one bible-book and one

in which he is named in his father's will made in 1620, and was, when that will was altered, upon the death of Henry, presumed to be alive. This appears by his name remaining, the obliterated parts being included between * stars *. His baptism is not mentioned in the above list, and perhaps it occurred in Loudon. It may be thought, that in the transcription there is an error, and that Mrs. should be Mr. Of Nathaniel, before mentioned, notice is never found, and he, probably, died in early youth. The children of Govr. Winthrop, then, were fifteen in all, scilicet, the ten, whose baptisms are given above, one, the child of the second wife, dying before baptism, Mary and Forth, children of the first wife, perhaps not born at Groton, William, child of the third wife, and Joshua, of the fourth, both born in this city.

halberd," also a messuage and lands, — 20*s.* to the poor of Doncaster — daur. Catherine Bradfurth — daur. Anne Wildbore.

1609 April 15. Will of Robert Bradfurth of Austerfield, yeoman. After a short, pious, introduction, he gives to the Chapel at Austerfield 10*s.* — to his servant Grace Wade the use of a house — * * * * * Thomas Silvester clerk and servant Alice Welch — to his brother in law James Hall he gives a sorrel nag — son Robert his best iron-bound wain, his best yoke of oxen, his counter wherein the Evidences are, one corselet with all the furniture belonging to it, a cupboard, table, and form. The residue he gives to his four children Robert, Mary, Elizabeth and Margaret Bradforth, and makes them his Executors. His good neighbour, Mr. Richardson of Bawtry is to have the tuition of his son Robert and daughter Margaret, and of their fortunes till they are 21 ; William Downer of Scrooby to have the like of Elizabeth, and Mr. Silvester of Awkley of his daughter Mary. [Scrooby and Awkley are both villages near Austerfield.] He gives to his son Robert the reversion of two leases, one of which he has of the King's land in Austerfield, the other what he holds of Mr. Morton of Martin.

1628 Novr. 28. Will of William Vesey of Brampton, gent. gives "lands at Austerfield which I bought of Robert Bradforth."

1630 May 20. Will of Robert Wright of Doncaster, draper, "To Robert Bradford of Austerfield my grey suit of apparel." — To Richard Bradford, son of Robert of Austerfield one fustian doublet and one pair of hose.

1633 June 19. Will of Bryan Bradford of Doncaster, shearman — nephew Simon Bradford 10*s.* — wife to have the house he lives in, and on her death, to go to his nephew William Bradford &c. bequests small.

This you will, at once, perceive, proves little more than that a family of the name of Bradford had lands at a place called Austerfield in Yorkshire ; and in the absence of any proof of there being an Ansterfield in that County, it may be thought a no unreasonable presumption, that this was the place intended. Yours faithfully

JOSEPH HUNTER.

Austerfield, on my map of Yorkshire, is plainly to be seen,

about a mile from Bawtry in Nottinghamshire. But in the map of Thoroton, Vol. III. of his Antiquities of Nottinghamshire, 4to. Ed. by John Throsby, 1790, it is printed with a mistake of n. for u. Awkley is about five miles North of A. and Scrooby as far South, the latter being in Nottingham.

Greater felicity attended some of my inquiries in Devonshire, where a kind friend and most assiduous antiquary, Revd. George Oliver of Exeter, favored me with his own researches and interested another gentleman in similar pursuits. He wrote in September: "On one point I am satisfied, that the parish of Thorncombe was the cradle of the Bowditch family. I have met with Robert Bowditche (who lived there) as one of the overseers of the will of Benedict Colmer of Thorncombe, Devon, which was made 13th May 1598, and was proved at Honiton 5 Aug't. the same year. — Sarah Bowditch's will of Thorncombe was proved here in 1686. — I am informed that a Robert Bowditch died Vicar of Broadhembury in 1712, and that the will was proved 18 July that year by his relict and Executrix Anne Bowditch. I have further been informed, that the will of Charlotte Bowditch of Heavitree was proved as late as 1826.

I regret to add, that on the other interesting queries you propose, I cannot at present obtain *satisfactory* information. But I am not at all discouraged; if I can ferret out any thing to serve your laudable purpose, you may depend on my forwarding it to you at Boston. Every ingenuous mind must be gratified with your investigations; and they are particularly interesting at the present moment when the relations of the two countries approximate so much. The Mother country is much indebted to the Daughter country, but especially for the example she has given her of freedom of discussion and liberty of conscience."

In conformity with his voluntary engagement, that gentleman on 14 Novr. forwards me original *memoranda* supplied by his correspondent, James Davidson, at Axminster 11 Novr. 1842, to "serve as hints for further investigation, if required:" "Bowditch. The name of Bowditch is very common in Axminster and the surrounding parishes, and there is reason to think that it has been in some instances altered to Bowdige, Bowridge and Burridge, all which may

be met with. — John Hody of Beer Hall in Axminster left an only daughter married to Bowditch soon after 1635. Hody was descended from a respectable family at Nithaway in Brixham, of which several individuals are recorded by Lyson p. cc. To trace this family, it would probably be necessary to search the registers of many parishes. Geo. Bowdige of Axminster married Mary daur. of Geo. Warry of Wick in the same parish, and had a daur. Mary married at Musbury on the 24 Septr. 1751 to Jonathan Bilke of Axminster, clothier, and died Jany. 1795. Davy Bowditch was a landholder in Kilmington in 1751. — The name Bowridge appears at Shillingford — Burridge at Tiverton, and at Ottery St. Mary in the beginning of the 17th century. It would be desirable to know, whether any coat of arms has been preserved by the family of Bowditch which might be compared with that on a stone to the memory of several persons of the name of Burridge in the church of Lyme Regis.

Clap. I find the name Peter Clap, donor of parish lands in St. Sidwells, Exeter, in 1689 — at later dates the name may be met with at St. Patricks, and in Goldsmith street, Exeter, at Teignmouth, Okehampton, Bickleigh and Shute, and down to the present time, or nearly so, at South Tawton.

Drake. Of the family of Drake, in consequence of their possessions and connexions in this parish and the neighborhood, I have so many notices, that it would fill a little volume to transcribe them. I have pedigrees of the Drakes, knights and baronets of Ash, extending to twelve generations, and comprising not less than one hundred and fifty individuals, among them appear John and Robert Drake, sons of John Drake, Esq. of Exmouth (who was living in 1546) by Margaret, daur. of John Cole of Rill in the parish of Wythycombe Ralegh. John Drake the son was also of Exmouth, and married Julian, daur. and coheir of William Hurst of Exeter, by whom he had issue. — Of Robert D. his brother, no further particulars are mentioned, his name only being given in the Herald's Visitation. These were not of the family of the circumnavigator.

Gibbs. The name of Gibbs occurs in several instances prior to 1640, and in many subsequent to that date. John

Gibbs was witness to a deed at Modbury in 1464 — John Gibbs witness to a deed of Edw. Courtenay in 1475 — Robert Gibbs Vicar of Axmouth in 1597 — Gibbes of Fenton in the parish of Rattery sold his estates and removed about the time of Q. Eliz'h. — Canonteign in this county belonged to W. Gibbs about 1600. John Gibbs was donor of money to the poor of Dunchidcock in 1624. William Gibbs of Fenton sold Manworthy in Holsworthy to Hurst of Exeter. William Gibbs sold Boterford in North Huish to Prestwood of Exeter. In the pedigree of Drewe of Newton St. Cyres, Edmond D. married the daughter of Gibbs, and had an only daur. and heir, Mary, marrried 1st to Northcote, and 2dly to Sir E. Giles. — In the church of Clist St. George are monuments to John Gibbs in 1652, aged 82, and Anstice his wife. George Gibbs 1683 aged 81, George Gibbs 1723, who was donor of lands to the poor of that parish in 1721. If a coat of arms has been preserved, it might assist in tracing the connections of the family for whom inquiry is made with one or other of the foregoing. The name appears at subsequent dates at Exeter, among the inscribed stones in the Cathedral church — Brixham — Georgeham — Ottery St. Mary — Topsham — Thorncombe — Axminster. In the church of St. Mary Arches at Exeter are gravestones to the ancestors of the late Chief Justice Sir Vicary Gibbs — John G. Esq. 1726 — J. Gibbs Esq. 1746 &c.

Harvard. If this name were originally Harward, it may be connected with the family which still remains, as it has done for more than three centuries, at Hayne in the parish of Plymtree. Here again a coat of arms would be of service. I find no mention of Harvard.

Ludlow. Of this name I find no trace.

Maverick. Radford Maverick was Vicar of Ilsington in 1603. Radford Maverick, Rector of Trusham between 1586 and 1616. The registers of these parishes may possibly contribute some information.

Parsons. I meet with this name in the following instances. Polwhele mentions Parsons among the celebrated medical men of Devon. Lysons mentions among the natives of Plymouth Mrs. Parsons, author of above 60 volumes of novels. Elizabeth Parsons was a tenant under

the manor of East Membury in 1605.—Parsons under master of Tiverton school 1633. In Exeter cathedral church are stones inscribed to Grace, daur. of Thomas Irish, priest vicar in that church, and wife of Robert Parsons, died 1645, and Robert Parsons who died in 1676 — In Colyton church, Henry Parsons, died 1653 — Mary P. his wife, died 1666 — Sarah, wife of Thomas Parsons, died 1690. Among the donors of money to the poor of the parish of Culmstock appears John Parsons of Sanford Arundel in the Co. of Somerset, merchant in Portugal before 1674. John & Mary Parsons were donors of lands to the poor of the parish of Clayhiddon in 1693. Azariah Parsons of Peter's Tavy in the Co. of Devon was among the Royalists who compounded for their estates during the Usurpation in the 17th century — Robert Parsons Rector of Rewe in 1668. In 1732 Thomas Parsons was a freeholder in Kilmington. A stone in Tiverton church records John Parsons merchant who died in 1735. John Parsons merchant appears a donor to the charity lands of Tiverton in 1771 — he had a daur. Mrs. Lewis, whose daughter was the lady of Sir John Duntze, bart. There are several families of this name in humble life in the neighbourhood of Axminster.

Rossiter. The only instance I find of this name is in the Herald's Visitations for 1561, 1565 and 1620 — thus, William Perye of Westwater in the parish of Mambury Esq. by his wife the daughter of John Fry of the family at Garty had a daughter who was married to * * * Rossiter. There is, I think, a family of this name now residing at Tiverton and another at Torquay.

Southcott. This family branched out into many parts of Devon, into Essex, and Lincolnshire. In the pedigrees there are many individuals of the name of Thomas, about the middle of the 17th century. Thomas S. Esq. by Thomasine daur. of Kirkham of Blagdon in this county had 3 sons, George, Thomas & Peter. George had a son Thomas, who in 1643 was one of the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament for the sequestration of the estates of the Royalists in Devon. The only two whom I find, of the name of Richard, are the second son of John Southcott of Bovy Tracey living in 1562, and Richard, born 1616, the second son of John Southcott who was the third

son of John S. the eldest son of John S. of Winkleigh in the co. of Devon.

Warham. The only place in which I find this name mentioned is in the Revd. G. Oliver's Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon, Vol. II. p. 157, William Warham Prebendary in the cathedral church of Exeter in 1536."

Mr. Oliver subjoins: "The above is the handwriting of Mr. Davidson, a diligent Antiquary. I am perfectly satisfied, however, that the Bowditchs were settled at Holdiche in Thorncombe Parish at an early period. In their house was a chapel licensed in honor of St. Melor by Bp. Stafford A. D. 1417.

A few days since I was looking at the will of Bernard Prince of Kilmington, near Axminster, Gent. made 23 June 1605 and proved 22 July the same year. He concludes thus: I doe appointe Overseers of this my Testament my good Brothers in Lawe, John Bowdiche and George Bowdiche, Gents. and Thomas Prince the elder, my Brother.

I must repeat my promise not to lose sight of yr inquiries. I cannot sufficiently admire your love of antiquity, and the patriotism of your heraldic researches. To afford any assistance would be to me a pride and pleasure."

Mr. Oliver had, in June, favored me with some information not altogether superseded by the later memoranda of his correspondent, as will appear by these extracts: "Gibbe or Gibbs came originally from Venton or Fenton in Dartington Parish. To Thos. Gybbe & Margaret his wife Dr. Edmund Lacy, Bp. of Exeter on 22 June 1437 licensed a chapel, infra mansionem suam in Dartyngton situatam. In the early part of Q. Elizabeth's reign, the family sold this property, and settled in the Parish of St. George's Clist near Exeter. There I believe the late Surgeon of this City, Geo. Abraham Gibbs was born. He died here 9 Novr. 1794, & was buried in the family vault at George's Clist. You are aware, that he was father to Sir Vicary Gibbs, who was born near Palace Gates, Exeter, and was baptized 12 Novr. 1751 by Revd. Wm. West, the Arian Minister of this City. This eminent lawyer became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, & dying in Russell Square, London, on 8 Feb. 1820 was buried at Hayes, Kent. Arms of Gibbs, Ar. 3 Battle axes, sable.

Southcotes came from Winkley Parish. A branch settling at Indio in S. Bovey, made a considerable fortune at the dissolution of Religious houses in Devon, to several of which he, John S. had previously been steward. From Indio ramifications spread to Calverleigh, Mohun's Ottery, Shillingford, Dulcishays, all in Devon, and one branched to Bliborough, Co. Lincoln. Arms of Southcote, Arg. a Chevron Gules, betw. 3 cootes Sab."

From the same gentleman I had learned, in May, that a Lutheran clergyman of Bremen, the great-grandfather of Lord Ashburton, had son John, who was born there in 1697 came at the age of 20 to Exeter, was by Act of Parliament naturalized March 1723 died in 1748, having laid the foundations of the family property. He left several children, of whom one daughter married the celebrated lawyer, Dunning, the opponent of the ministry in the American revolutionary war, who, at its close, being made a peer, took the title of Lord Ashburton from the great landed interest of the Barings in that vicinity. Francis, a son, made a baronet May 1793 was father of Sir Thomas, of Alexander, the happy negotiator of the Treaty of Washington, and others.

Other inquiries in Devon, in which abundant kindness was exhibited in all quarters, from Plymouth to Axminster, furnished some reward. At the parish of Plympton St. Mary, in which part of the church dates back to 1240, the register afforded evidence, that Thomas Snelling, son of William Snelling of Chaddlewood, who was son of Robert S. of Plympton, was born 1560 "married Joan, daughter and heiress of Thomas Elford, Esquire, of Bridge House;" that "21 day of November 1644 was buried Thomas Snelling of Chaddlewood, gent." The incumbent of this parish, Revd. Wm. I. Coppard, favored me with copy of inscription, in the neighboring parish church of St. Maurice, to the honor of "Samuel Snelling, Gent. twise maior of this town. He died the 20 day of November 1624," which is terminated by some lines not worth bringing so great a distance. His eyes, perhaps aided by his memory, deciphered, from a time-worn, horizontal, freestone over a tomb in the grave yard, what would otherwise have eluded my power, the commemoration of "Sampson, son of John Snelling of Chaddlewood, who departed this life 26 Decr. 1638."

From him I learned, too, that the arms of the Snellings here were the same with those in Gwillim's Heraldry, to which we turned, for the Snellings of Surrey; and that the family in this quarter is long since extinct, and Chaddlewood has been some years in possession of the family of Symons.

By Revd. Ambrose Stapleton, Vicar of East Budleigh, near Sidmouth, I was most liberally supplied with evidence from the registry of many generations of the families of Clap, Conant, and Ford, of which perhaps these few may be sufficient:

William Conant married Novr. 26 — 1588
Roger Conant baptized April 9 — 1593
Philip Clap married Novr. 27 — 1606
Philip Clap baptized January 28 — 1609

Search for any memorial of Revd. John White, the friend of early planters in Massachusetts Bay before the Charter of Charles I, was unsuccessful. Vol. I. 390 of Hutchins' History of Dorset in 4 folios, in the part of his work assigned to the town and borough of Dorchester, title Parish of St. Peters, head of registers of burials, (which begins about 1560,) has these words: "1648 July 24, Mr. John White, minister of God's word, was buried after abiding forty one years minister of this town."

For the ancestor of the family of President Stiles of Yale College, Revd. Geo. Carter Cardale of Millbrook, near Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, searched the Parish register from 1564 for names of all the family down to 1650, and gave me transcript, as follows: "1581 Rychard Stylles sonne of Rychard Stylles was baptized 20th of June. 1591 Maria Stylles daughter of Thomas Stylles was baptized 7th of March. 1595 John Stylles the son of Thomas Stylles was Christened the 25th of December. 1600 Chrystopher Styles the sonne of Thomas Stylles was baptized 28th March. 1602 Francis Stylles son of Thomas Stylles was baptized the 1st day of August. 1604 Joane Stylles daughter of Thomas Stylles and Maria his Wyfe was baptized the 8th day of Januarie. 1605 Joane Stylles the Wyfe of Thomas Stylles was buried the 22 of Januarie. 1607 Elyzabeth Stylles Daughter of Thomas Stylles and Maria his Wyfe was baptized 28 December. 1612 Thomys Stylles Son of Thomas Stylles was baptized the 7 of February. 1614 Wyddow Styles was buried ye 20 March."

Information of our Revd Zechariah Symmes and of Long, one of his parishioners, was sought from the place of his earliest labours, and was communicated in a letter of which I copy the greater part:

"Dear Sir, — I am happy to inform you, that our Register contains many signatures by Zechariah Symmes as Minister of the parish of Dunstable in the County of Bedford. Burials 1625 from June to March 1625–6 we find 40 funerals, & all marked — plague

Signed Zecharye Symmes Minister.
Nicholas Perkins, John Crawley Churchwardens

Baptized 1626 Jany. 10 Willm. Symmes the son of Zacharie Symmes baptized the 10th Jany.
1628 Marie the Daughter of Zacharie Symmes was baptized the sixteenth day of April.
1629 Elizabeth the Daughter of Zachariah Symmes baptized the first of January.
1630 Huldah the Daughter of Zacharie Symmes the 18th March.
1632 Hannah the Daughter of Zechariah Symmes 22th of August.
1633 Rebekah Daughter of Zechariah Symmes 12th Feb.

Buried 1633, 20 Burials are recorded. Signed
Zechariah Symmes Minister

Baptized Anno Domini 1630 — Matthew Hickson, Daniel Fossie } Churchwardens
Zacharye Sonne of Robert Longe the 20th of October
Zachariah Symmes Minister.

I certify that the Registers of Births viz. seven written on the reverse side of this paper and that above are all true Copies extracted from the Register Books belonging to the parish of Dunstable in the County of Bedford

Solomon Piggott A. M. Rector of Dunstable
Dunstable July 4th 1842. witness George Derbyshire
Parish Clerk.

Buried Anno Dom. 1631.
Sarah Longe buried the 12th December
Zachariah Symmes Minister

I certify that the above is a true copy extracted from the Burial Register belonging to the parish of Dunstable in the County of Bedford. Solomon Piggott A. M. Rector.

Rectory, Dunstable July 4th, 1842.

Dear Sir, I suppose that the Revd. Zecharie Symmes was the Rector of Dunstable tho it is only mentioned Minister & as his Family of Daughters seems to have rapidly en-

creased & the Living being then very small in value, as it is at present, he removed to America; where I am glad to find from your account he obtained a good settlement & saw his Daughters married to worthy & substantial persons.—You may be sure that Zech. Symmes removed to support his family, as he remained at Dunstable only 8 years, his handwriting evincing this which thus commences, under Burials 1625

Z. S. the vith September.

16 March (signed by Minister and churchwardens, as in the first instance above.)

His signature ends 1633. The 25th March (signed as in second instance."

Mr. Piggott adds: "It is evident that the plague had occurred in July 1625 before Mr. Zech. Symmes came, which was in Septr. 1625; it raged also much 1630, for there are recorded about 30 deaths with plague.

Inquiry about Govr. Eaton at Stony Stratford produced from Revd. Wm. H. Bond this reply: "I have minutely examined the Register Books bellonging to the Parish of Stony Stratford in my possession, but the years previous to 1619 are in so mutilated a state that very little is legible in them. There are no remains of Registers so far back as 1590, so that the Baptism of the party, to whom your letter refers, cannot be met with. But I find, upon examining through the year 1618 traces of an entry of the Baptism of a child belonging to a Jerome Eaton, and also another entry in the year 1621 of a daughter of the same Jerome Eaton; so that it appears from our Register Books, that families of the name, to which your letter refers, were living in Stony Stratford a few years subsequent to the supposed date of the Birth of Theophilus Eaton, and probably they were his relatives, but I do not find any traces of the family name after 1621. This is all the information I am able to give you at present."

Revd. Dr. Taylor wrote from Dedham, 8 Septr. "I wish that my reply to your letter, now more than a month old, were more satisfactory to myself with regard to the interesting personages, who proceeded from our Village to be so honorably remembered on your side of the Atlantic.

I have diligently examined our oldest registers commen-

cing in 1596, and have found the following Entry; John son of Edmund Sherman baptized 4 Jan. 1614. The Village abounds in persons of the name. Not so Rogers, I hardly know at present one of the name; but one of our most striking monuments is that of John Rogers. It represents him in the act of preaching, and the following inscription is upon it:

Johannes Rogersius
Hic quam
Prædicavit expectat
Resurrectionem.
Oct 8vo
Domini 1636
Ælatis 65
Ministerii 42
Huic Ecclesiæ 31
Obiit
Hoc affect' sinceri symbolum pesuit
Geo. Dunne Chirurg bonis.

This John Rogers must, according to the above dates, have been born in 1571 & the Protomartyr's death happens in 1555. There remains the interval of 16 years between them, which would probably bring our John Rogers, the grandson of the martyr, if there is truth in your tradition, to which I have nothing here corresponding. I wish I could trace the descent, but it is hopeless to attempt it.

Among the names which met my view in searching the registers were the following, which I subjoin for no better purpose than for curiosity to speculate upon, if any of them are common in the new Dedham, as they are still in the old.

Sherman	Rogers	Cooper	Mason	Ham
Ellis	Barker	Baker	Garrod	Lewis
Freeman	Candeller	Abbott	Cole	Littlebury
Lufkin		Sidney	Templeman	

Upon inquiry among the people, I do not hear any tidings of the original Emigration."

Uncertain genealogies made no part of my investigations, but frequently cases turn up in England, that may be aided by inquiry in our country. Sir Thomas C. Banks, author of the Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England, wrote me, about our early settlers, "many of them were the branches of noble and distinguished houses in England. The Percys in Virginia I consider descended from the old Percys, Earls

of Northumberland, & their line traceable if duly inquired into. I suspect the family of Gardiner, at Gardiner's Island, to be the representatives of Mr. Gardiner, who married one of the co-heiresses of the Barony, the most ancient Barony of Fitz Walter, now under claim before the House of Lords by Sir H. Brooke Bridges, Bart. Fitz Walter was the General of the Barons army which obtained the Magna Charta of K. John. The Willoughbys also now in the United States I have reason to believe are the heirs of the dormant Barony of Willoughby of Parham. I do not know whether any of the Drummonds made any permanent settlement, but the Earl of Perth had a large grant. His heir, the Duke, who was in the rebellion of 1745, did not die at sea, as mentioned by most historians. He never quitted England. His grandson, his heir, is now living near Durham; and an interesting case respecting the Duke, his marriage, place of retirement after the fatal battle of Culloden, &c. &c. is about to be investigated before the Lords' Committees for privileges. About 5 or 6 years ago I drew up, and published the Case."

Less success attended my inquiries in Kent than was expected. From the clergyman of Tenterden a reply to questions was not obtained. A London friend, on an excursion to Dover for some weeks, obtained evidence, that a descendant of our Starr of whom the emigration from Kent is before mentioned, named Simon, "came from America" four generations ago, and settled at Dover. In the present day, one of the name, a Barrister, resides there; and another, in the generation before the last, married a Capt. Tickner at Ramsgate. The same gentleman, writing in Novr. from London, to another member of our Society, gives the result of research for another of our New England early families: "I made many enquiries of the family of Cheever, a most respected and useful character, without any effect. The name of Chivers (the same name) occurs in Town, as Drapers and Taylors. I always had a notion, that many of the Fathers would be in that state of life here, in which their families were likely to have issued local tokens. See 2 Annals of Commerce, 4to. pp. 390, 437, 560, 672. They were in that day small, of copper or brass, issued by tradesmen & innkeepers for their own

use and circulation (that is, between 1630 and 1700.) Knowing a Kentish young man, who had some coins, I applied to him, and was most agreeably surprised to receive one brass coin of the family of Cheever, which I will soon send to our friend. On one side, obverse, is James Cheever, with a hand grasping an antique pair of shears; reverse "In Canterbury 57," with a rose, round the edge; in the centre a rose (merely ornamental) and "J. C." 57 is 1657, it could be no other. I have a local coin of my own family, the date 1655; and I have others of the date. Of the scarcity of these coins I can speak: one of my family coins is in the Collection of the Duke of Cleveland, and besides my own I know no other. The shears have no holes for the fingers. This Cheever was of your New England family, and he was a Canterbury man. He was a draper, taylor, or perhaps an ironmonger. In those simple times these trades were very respectable. (See Life of Sir H. Davy, chap. I.)

I am making inquiries concerning a still more respected name in New England."

Selecting from Berry's County Genealogies, in many folios, that volume in which the Kent families are contained, and looking for one of our Old Colony settlers, on p. 30, 31, I find,

"William Tylden paid aid for lands in Kent, at the making the Black Prince a knight, 20th Edward III. from whom descended

William Tylden, of Wormshill, Co. Kent, Esq. ob. 23d Decr. 1613, and buried there in the back chancel.	=	Elizabeth, daur of James Tonge of Tunstall, Co. Kent, gent. ob. 3d June 1625, bur. at Wormshill in the back chancel.

The succession is given down to

Richard Tylden of Millsted, Esq. living in 1829.	=	Jane, daur. of Dr. Auchmuty, rector of New York, & coheiress to her brother Lieut. Gen. Sir Samuel Auchmuty, K. C. B. &c. &c.

Sir John Maxwell Tylden of Millsted, Co. Kent, a lieut. col. in the army, knighted 1812, as proxy for his maternal uncle, Gen. Sir Samuel Auchmuty, G. C. B. at the installation of the Knights of the Bath in that year."	William Burton Tylden, a major in the Royal Engineers.	Mary Isabella, mar. Ralph Price, rector of Lyminge, Kent.

The account proceeds: "The Tyldens are a very ancient family in this county, and appear to have separated into three distinct branches. The first, and the most ancient is here recorded. The second was originally of Tenterden, and went into Sussex; mention is made of this family in the visitation for that county. One of the Tenterden family went to America, with the Pilgrims, and has founded a numerous family of the name in that country, but they spell their name with an *i* instead of a *y*. The third branch settled at Ifield, in Kent, and spell their name with an *i*."

"In the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, William Tylden was settled at Wormshill in this county, and, from several remarks and notes in very old books, it appears that his brother was the clergyman of Brenchley, and there are memorials of the Tyldens in the churchyard; therefore it is presumed, that place was the original property of the family, and two farms in the adjoining parish of Marden are now called Great and Little Tilden." The author might have added, as my map shows, that the parish of Tilden is at no great distance. The termination, *den*, is very common in names of places in Kent, as *ham* is in Norfolk, and many other counties.

Of another Old Colony stock my friend, who is named in the following transcript, furnished the account: "The Gorhams of New England probably emigrated from Benefield, near Oundle, in Northamptonshire. In Benefield Register of Baptisms we have the following entry, John Gorram, son of Ralph Gorram baptized Jan. 28, 1620–1; the name of Ralph is not found in any subsequent Register, though there are many entries of this family down to 1671; neither is the death of John his son recorded there. Hence it is certain that both Ralph and John quitted Benefield for some other abode. It was, probably, therefore this Ralph Gorram who had a grant of land in New Plymouth in 1637, and that John Gorram, who died of a fever at Swanzey,* while in command of a company in Philip's war, 5 Febr. 1675–6, was his son. John had sons, James, John, Joseph, and Jabez, as mentioned in Farmer's Genealogical Register,

* I. Mather's Hist. Indian Wars, 21.

Appendix. The second, John, was a colonel, and died at Barnstaple * in 1715, where there is a monumental inscription to his memory. He left a son John, who was sheriff of Barnstaple.

This family was descended from the De Gorrams of La Tanniere near Gorram, in Maine on the borders of Brittany, where William, son of Ralph de Gorram, built a castle in 1128. A branch came over to England with the Conqueror. One of the family occurs in 1086 at Coppenhall near Fressingfield, Suffolk, (Domesday II. 441.) Two others were Abbots of St. Albans, namely Geoffrey, from 1120–1146, and Robert, his nephew, from 1151–1166. The Abbots granted one of their manors, Westwyk, now Gorhambury, near St. Albans, and other property, to a favoured relative, whose descendants settled in Hertfordshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. Sir Hugh de Gorram died at Churchfield near Oundle in 1325. His eldest son sold Churchfield in 1332, from which time the family declined, but continued in that vicinity, at Benefield, Glapthorne, and King's Cliff, till the latter part of the 17th century. The only remaining branch of the Northamptonshire Gorhams settled at St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, about 1676, and remained there till 1840. It is still continued in the Revd. George Cornelius Gorham, B. D. late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, now of Remenham, near Henley on Thames, who, in the Collectanea Topographica (Vol. V. pp. 182–199, 329–345 and Vol. VI. pp. 284–289, and in Vol. VII.) has given an elaborate account of the Anglo-Norman family of his name, during the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries; and who possesses many antient Charters and seals of the Norman family, from 1162 to 1238, when it became extinct in France. The father of Ralph Gorram, above mentioned, who emigrated to New England, was James Gorram of Benefield, born cir. 1550, married 1572 Agnes Bernington, and died 1576. Ralph was born 1575."

Perplexity about *our* Sir Richard Saltonstall, called by Hutchinson (who is not often either so indistinct or erroneous) "son or grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Lord Mayor of London," was relieved by finding in Thoresby's

* My friend uses the English form of this name.

History of Leeds, Ed. 2, by T. D. Whitaker, LL. D. &c. Vol. II. 236: "Gilbert Saltonstall of Halifax had son, by his first wife, Samuel, who was father of Sir Richard Saltonstall,* knight, who married Grace, d. of Robert Kaye, Esq. and by her had son Richard, born at Woodsome 1610, obiit 1694, married Mariel d. of Brampton Gurdon, of Assington in Suffolk, Esq."

A lineal descendant of the Harlackendens, Charles K. Probert, Esquire, of Newport, near Bishop Stortford, having obtained my letter to Rev'd. Robert Watkinson, vicar of Earls Colne in Essex, to whom I had written for any information of the family above what Morant's Essex could afford, kindly undertook the task of reply. Besides favouring me with a pedigree purporting to begin in 1081, accompanied with an inscription of that date on the tomb of William Harlakenden, Esquire, of Woodchurch in the County of Kent, and illustrated with a "Nota q'd iste Willmus Harlakenden vocatus fuit de antiqua familia Harlakendeni in Woodchurch que cognoscitur tam per nomen Burgi alias The Boroughe of Harlakenden quam per nomen Speluncæ alias the Denne of Harlakenden," (which pedigree, embracing but twelve generations before its verification "under the hand of William Segar Garter King of Arms," may reasonably be thought to have lost a couple of hundred years,) he sent me the Arms of the Harlakendens of Earls Colne, handsomely tricked off, "the same as those borne by Richard and Roger and all the Essex branch of the family." It bears date 1635. Quarterly, Harlakenden, Willes, Londenoys and Oxenbridge. 1st quarter. Azure, a fess erminè between three lions heads erased Or. langued Gules. By the name of Harlakenden. 2d. quarter. Argent a bordure Gules, within it three chevronels of the second. By the name of Willes. 3d. quarter. Or. three cross croslets fitchy Gules. By the name of Londenoys. 4th. quarter. Gules within a bordure Vert. 11 scullop shells Argent, a lion rampant Argent, langued Azure. By the name of Oxenbridge.

Roger Harlakenden, apparently the first of the family in Essex, born Aug. 1541, died 21 Jan. 1602, married Eliza-

* "Sir Richard, Lord Mayor of London, 1597, was son of Gilbert by third wife." So, it appears, our patentee was his nephew.

beth, fil. Thomæ Hardres et relicta Georgii Harlakenden de Woodchurch, Arm. and had issue Richard, his second son, born 22 July 1568, died 22 Aug. 1631, married Margaret Hubbert, d. of Edwd. Hubbert, Esq. of Stansted. Mountfitchet, Essex. His eldest son, Richard, born 21 Decr. 1600, died 4 Septr. 1677 married Alice, d. of Henry Mildmay of Graces, Essex, about May 1630. His second son, Roger, born 1 Oct. 1611 at Earls Colne, married Elizabeth, d. of Godfrey Bosseville of Gunthwayte, County of Yorke, Arm. 4 June 1635, came to New England the next month. His seventh daughter, Mabell, born 27 Septr. 1614 at Earls Colne, accompanied her brother, and is said in this genealogy to have married John Haynes. Our Governer Hayres, who we know had large estate in Essex, was come over the year before Harlakenden.

Morant informs us, that Roger Harlackenden, Esquire, purchased from the Earl of Oxford, 2 Sept. 1583, for the sum of £2000 the manor and park of Earls Colne, with the appurtenances, and 5 messuages, 5 tofts, 5 gardens, 5 orchards, 1000 acres of arable, 200 of meadow, 600 of pasture, and 45s. rent. Henry, Earl of Oxford, the son, granted a release, 2 March 1622, to Richard and Thomas, sons of said Roger Harlackenden. See Vol. II. 211. He says, the family of Harlackenden was very ancient in Kent.

This Henry Mildmay, who was third son of Sir Thomas and his wife Alice, and so cousin of our first Govr. Winthrop, took for his second wife, says Morant II. 24. 25, Amia, d. of Brampton Gurdon abovenamed. William Mildmay, of Harvard College, 1647, was son of this gentleman, I think, rather than of Sir Henry, as Mather says. The regicide was of Mulsho, in the same County; but there were several families of the name.

From Lysons, Magna Britannia I. 137, of the parish of Stretley, I extract: "The family of Wingate had a seat at Sharpenhoe, a hamlet of this parish, for several generations; and here it was that Edward Wingate, the arithmetician, is said to have been born. — At this hamlet is a charity school for eight children, founded in 1686 by Richard Norton, and endowed with a rent charge of £10 per annum." My inquiry, about this family of Norton, from the clergyman of Luton, the nearest town to Stretley, because this parish was

vacant, produced no information. Of our John Norton Mather gives the birthplace Starford in the County of Herts, but as no such place can be found, the English authority of Brook in Lives of the Puritans III. 419 which makes it Storford in that County might be followed, did not the family tradition point to Sharpenhoe above mentioned.

It may be thought that of Revd. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston, every desirable point of knowledge is commonly possessed. Of his father, the Revd. William, Prebendary of Windsor, where our John was born, much is told in Ashmole's (Elias) Antiquities of Berkshire III. 157.

Sir Henry Chauncy published in 1700 the History of Hertfordshire, reprinted at Bishop Stortford, 1826; but though our Charles Chauncy, Vicar of Ware 1627–34, is mentioned in his place, no account of his origin, which was at Yardley in this same County, is given, though the author fondly recounts his own genealogy from the conquest.

Northampton furnishes a more abundant relation to our country than many of the inland counties. Brown, the founder of a short-lived opprobrious name of a sect, had a living in 1592, at Achurch, near Oundle, and a fair account of him is found in Bridges' History, 2 Vol. folio. ed. Oxford 1791 by Revd. Peter Whalley, II. 366. Baker, in his History and Antiquities of the County, which I regret to say will be left incomplete, besides his pedigree of the Washington family, supplies a candid account of Oxenbridge to take off the venom of honest Antony Wood. From him I take an inscription in the church of Dodford, because our Dr. Franklin's origin is from the immediate neighborhood. In I. 362 he gives it:

> Elizabeth Francklyn
> wife of Lemuel Francklyn vicar
> of Little Hoton who died
> Novr. the 30th.
> 1685.

Examination of a Register of the diocese of Sarum, from early in the 13th century, printed by Sir Thomas Philips, a distinguished Antiquary, but never published, helped me to one or two of our New England divines from Wiltshire: Wiliel-mus Noyes p. m. at the church of Choldrington 1602, and

Nathan Noyes p. r. Wm Noyes at the church of West Chaldrington 1621. I conjecture the meaning of p. m. here to be, by removal; and p. r. pro rectore. Petrus Thatcher p. r. Hugonis Williams at the church of St. Edmund, Sarum, by the Bishop in 1622. Also Thomas Hotchkiss p. m. Johannis Woodbridge, inducted at the church of Stanton juxta Highworth 1637. Chaldrington, Choldrington, or Choulderton is near Great Amesbury.

The baptismal name of Saxton, minister of Scituate, which Mather failed to give, who returned home and was settled at Leeds, is in Thoresby's Vicaria Leodicensis found to be Peter.

At the Library in Red Cross street, London, usually called Dr. Williams's, sometimes the Dissenters' Library, were found some MSS. of collections about church affairs, apparently compiled 150 years since, containing many biographical notices; but in three immense folios all that seemed worth extracting follows:

"Mr. Thomas Allen, a Nonconformable Minister, son of John Allen a Dyer in the city of Norwich of a competent estate was born and baptized in that city in 1608. He was educated in Caius College in Cambridge where he took the degree of M. A. He was afterwards Minister of St. Edmunds in the said city of Norwich and was silenced by Bishop Wren about the year 1636 (together with Mr. Bridges and others) for refusing to read the book of sports and conform to other things, or to conform to other innovations then imposed. He fled into New England in the year 1638 and continued there till about the year 1651, and then returned to Norwich where he was chosen Minister and so continued till the 24th of August 1662 about eleven years. Then he was ejected for Nonconformity, as near 2000 more were, and thenceforward, preached upon all occasions he could get, to a Congregational Church there till his death.

He married 1 Anne the daughter of Mr. Sadler of Patcham in Sussex by his wife, the daughter of Shelley, by whom he had a son named Thomas. 2 He married the widow of Major Sedgwick, but by her he had no issue.

He writ a book, entitled "A Chain of Scripture Chronology, from the creation of the world till the death of Jesus Christ in 7 periods." London pr. 1659. There is before

it a Preface "To the judicious reader," written by William Greenhill, the 9th of the 6th mo (June) 1658. He was a very religious, able and practical preacher. This Mr. Thomas Allen died at Norwich in September 1673 in the 65 year of his age and was buried there.

Mr. Thomas Allen, the son of this Mr. Thomas Allen the Nonconformable Minister by Anne his first wife was educated first at school where he made very good progress and afterwards admitted of Lincoln's Inn. He is a very accomplished and ingenious gentleman but much depressed with melancholy, which renders him in a manner useless. He was living in Norwich in 1692.

I first borrowed and then bought that excellent large Book in folio of manuscripts and a great number of loose sheets in the year 1690. They were left him by his father, who was a very understanding person, and were formerly, as I have been credibly informed, Sir John Highams of Suffolk, a most religious gentleman and an eminent patron of the Puritans, and Patriot of his Country and a curious collector of choice manuscripts.

Robert Allen, brother to the said Thomas Allen the Nonconformable Minister was sheriff of Norwich in 1648, and was put out from being Alderman in 1660 upon the Restoration of King Charles II. The Alderman was living in 1692."

"Johannes Elliot junr. Coll. Jes. admissus in matriculam Academiæ Cant. Jul. 5 an. 1621.—Regr. Acad.

Tho. Eliot Coll. Jes. Art. Bac. an. 1623. Art. Mr. Coll. Jes. an. 1627.

Joh. Eliot non occurrit Art. Bac. vel Art. M.

An. 1622 May 15 Joh. Eliot has his grace (viz. in College) to commence B. A. spondente mro. Beale. (noted by Dr. Worthington from ye books.)

Johannes Eliot (sen.) Coll. Jes. conv. 2. admissus in matriculam Acad. Cant. Mar. 20, 1618 (Regi. Acad.) non occurrit A. B. vel Art. Mr.

But I must not be expected to derive knowledge from such disconnected, or discordant entries.

Much higher satisfaction may by some readers be felt on receiving my transcripts of the State Paper Office.

Gatherings at her Majesty's State Paper Office, transcribed 9 Sept. 1842. From Vol. XI of Papers relating to Trade and Plantations fol. 69.

"Right honorable,

After the performance of our most humble duties, may

it please your good lordships to receive hereinclosed a list of the names of such passengers as took shipping at this port for New England, and that only in April last, in the good ship called the James of London, whereof William Cooper went master. And this in due obedience and observance of your honours letter dated the last of December past. Thus we humbly take leave. Southampton the XIIth day of June 1635. Your lordships most humble servants.

THO. WALFRIS *Coll'r.*
N. DINGLEY *Compt'r.*
JOH. KNAPP *Search'r.*"

Labelled "New England
12 June 1635."
"Passengers for New England."

Addressed "To the right honr'ble the lords of his Majesty's most honorable privie counsell, this at Whitehall,
LONDON."

"Southampton. A list of the names of such passengers as shipt themselves at the town of Hampton in the James of London of III C tonnes, William Cooper master versus New England in and about the VI of April 1635.

Augustine Clement, sometime of *Steadinge* paynter &c.
Thomas Whealer his servant
Thomas Browne of Malford weaver
Hercules Woodman of the same mercer
John & Stephen Evered alias Webb, Gyles Butler, George Coussens, Thomas Colman, Thomas Goddard, John Pithouse } of Marlborough laborers or husbandmen
Anthoney Morse, Willm. Morse } of Marlborough shoemakers
John Hide tayler, John Parker carpenter, Richard Walker shoemaker, *Maurice* Ingles fuller, Thomas Davyes sawyer } late of Marlborough
Thomas Carpenter of Amsbury carpenter
Thomas Scoales of Sarum laborer
John Pike, John Musselwhite } of Langford laborers
Sampson Salter of Caversham fisherman
Henry Kinge of Brentsley laborer
William Andrewes of Hampsworth carpenter
John Knight, Richard Knight } of Romsey taylers
Thomas Smithe of the same weaver
Nicholos Holte thereof tanner
Robert Feild of Yealing laborer
Anthoney Thetcher of Sarum tayler &c.
Peter Higden his servant
James Browne, Laurence Seager } youthes of Hampton of about 17 yeares old
Henry Leverage, William Parsons } of Sarum taylers &c.
John Emery, Anthoney Emery } of Romsey carpenters
Willm Kemp servant

Willm. Paddey skinner } late of London
Edmund Hawes cutler }
Edmund Batter maulster }
John Smale his servant }
Michael Shafflin tayler }
Josuah Verrin roper } late of
Thomas Antram weaver & } New
Thomas Browne his servant } Sarum
George Smythe tayler }
Phillip Varren roper }
John Greene surgeon }
Zacheus Courtis of Downton laborer
Henry Rose of Platford laborer
Nicholas Batt of the Devizes linnen weaver

The total number of these men, youthes and boyes are LIII persons. Besides the wives and children of divers of the.

N. Dingley *Compt'r.*
Joh. Knapp *Search'r.*

Tho. Wulfris *Coll'r. ibidem.*

Hereunder follows, from the preceding volume, being X. of same collection fol. 22.

"*Bristoll last of August* 1632.

Worthye Sir, — Althought I am not knowne unto you, yet I cannot but sertifie you of the carrage of an unworthy person, on Sir Cristofor Gardner which is lately arrived here in Bristoll out of New England. He is a man I suppose you have herd of, for I am informed he hath in London two wives; about two years and some odd months he went from them both with a harlot into New England, where he remayned some spasse of tyme, before they had intelligence what he was. But in the ende on Isake Allerton cominge over, which testified to the Governor and Assistants that he had spake with on or both of his wives, this Gardner, understanding soe much, fearing he should be called in question, fled, thinking to have gon to the Duch plantation, and soe to have freed himselfe from them, but they speedely making after him, by the helpe of the natives of the country apprehended him and brought him backe, and he remayned with them some spasse of tyme. And then on Purchess, a man who liveth in the estern part of New England, comminge

to the Massatusets, there did he marrye with this Gardner's wench, and take her awaye and this Gardner both with him; which was done about 12 months since, where this Gardner remayned ever since, till the 15th of August last he apeared here in Bristoll, where he doth most scandeslye and baselye abuse that worthye Governor Master Winthrop with the Assistants and enhabitants who lyve under him, reporting that they are noe lesse then traytors and rebels against his Majestye, with divers others most scandols and aprobious speches, which on mye owne knolage is most falce, and sayth furthermore, that he was droven to swime for his lyfe, because he stoode for the king's cause. But the truth is, it was doutinge that they would have hanged him for his abigumie.

I could desire, that you would youse some menes to stope this fellos mouth. Yf I weare sertayne that his 2 wives ar yet alyve, I should be willinge to do mye best that the lawe might be exicuted upon him. Where they lyve, I knowe not, but in London I hear they ar. I would desire you, that you would enquire, whether they ar, and whether they ar yet alyve, and let me understand your minde in it. In the meane whylle I shall doe my best to take offe his falce aspersions which I hope I shall doe amonge honest men, and for others it matters not. Master Wintrop did tell me, he had write to you and to Master Umfris conserning me. I determine to come and may bee to bee with you. There was an oulde acquayntance of mine, which was with me of late, on Lance, a marchant taylor now living In Gloster, which since my first acquayntance with him hath ben in some parts of the West Indes or the Careebo Ilandes, and as he pretendes to me hath goten expectance of a sertayne stabell commoditye which will bee verye benificiallye for New England, where he desires to goe and to plant it there. I hope he is an honest man, which makes me to give some credit to him. I wished him to talke with Master Humfris and yourselfe about it, & yf you can finde any probibillitye, which I dout not but you will, In discoursinge with him, you maye doe well to *furdor* him the Best you maye, for I assure you stabell commodityes is the thinge they want there. I shall not *need*, I dout, declare the happy prosedinge and *welfare* of New England, but I dout not but you have hard it from others. But this I maye saye, the Lord hath ben verye gra-

sious unto them, and it is a wonder to me to see what maters theye have done In soe smalle a tyme. Thusse desiringe the Lords blessinge to bee upon you and all thosse that unfaynedly desire his glorye I humbellye take my leve and rest.

Yours to comand & all love,

THOMAS WIGGIN."

Addressed

"To his worthye frend
Master Downinge att his howse
In flete Strete nere
fleete Cundet
dde
LONDON."

Fol. 34 of same vol.

"Right hono^{ble}

Havinge lately bin in New England in America, and taken notice both of some comodities and advantages to this State wch that contrie will afford, and there havinge visited the plantations of the English and amongst the rest that especially in the Mattachusetts (being the largest best and most prospering in all that land) I have made bold to inform yo'r hono'r of some observations wch I have taken both of the contrie and that Plantation.

As for the contrie it is well stored with goodly Timber and Masts for shippinge, and will afford Cordage, Pitch and Tarr, and as good hempe and fflax as in any pte of the world, growes there naturally fitt for cordage and sayles, whereof this kingdome will soone finde the benefitt, if the plantation proceed awhile without discouragemt. as hitherto it hath done.

For the plantation in the Mattachusetts, the English there being about 2000 people, yonge and old, are generally most industrious and fitt for such a worke, having in three yeares done more in buyldinge and plantinge then others have done in seaven tymes that space, and with at least ten tymes lesse expence.

Besides I have observed the planters there, and by theire loving just and kind dealinge with the Indians, have gotten theire love and respect and drawne them to an outward con-

formity to the English, soe that the Indians repaire to the English Governor there and his deputies for justice.

And for the Governor himselfe, I have observed him to bee a discreete and sober man, givinge good example to all the planters, wearinge plaine apparell, such as may well beseeme a meane man, drinkinge ordinarily water, and when he is not conversant about matters of justice, putting his hand to any ordinarye labour with his servants, ruling wth much mildness, and in this particular I observed him to be strict in execution of Justice upon such as have scandalized this state, either in civill or ecclesiasticall government, to the greate contentmt of those that are best affected, and to the terror of offendors.

Of all wch. I myselfe havinge bin an eye witnesse am the rather induced to present the same to yo'r hono'r to cleare the reputation of the plantation from certain false rumors and scandales, wch. I perceive since my retorne to England some persons, ill affected to the plantations there, have cast abroad, as namely one Sir Christopher Gardiner, whoe leavinge two wives here in England, went with an other yonge woman into New England, there, being discovered by letters from England, he was seperated from his wench. A second is one Moreton whoe (as I am Informed by his wife's sonne and others) upon a foule suspition of Murther fled hence to New England, and there falling out with some of the Indians, he shott them with a fowling peice, for wch and other misdemeanors, upon the Indians complaint, his howse by order of Court there, was destroyed and he banished the plantation. A third was one Ratcliffe whoe as I am crediblie informed, for most horible blasphemy was condemned there to lose his eares, whoe with the former two, and some other the like discontented and scandalous persons, are lately retorned hither, seekinge to cover the shame of theire owne facts, by castinge reproaches upon the plantation, doe addresse themselves to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whoe by theire false informations is nowe projectinge howe to deprive that plantation of the priviledges graunted by his Ma'tie and to subvert theire government, the effects whereof will be the utter ruine of this hopefull plantation, by hinderinge all such as would goe to them, and drivinge those alredy planted there either to retorne, or disperse into other

places, wch I leave to your grave judgm't myselfe being none of theire plantation, but a neighbour by, have done this out of that respect I bere to the generall good. I have bin too breife in this relation in regard I feared to be over troblesome to yo'r hono'r. Soe I take leave and rest

The XIXth daye of November 1632. Yo'r honors humble servant
THO. WIGGIN."

[This letter is evidently written in a hand different from that of the signer, but his signature varies materially from that of the prior letter, addressed to Downing, which is of the same with the body of *that* letter. Was one letter written by the father, and the other by the son? If so, this letter is from the son, and it is addressed]

"To the right hono'ble S'r John Cooke knt. principall Secretary to his Ma'tie and one of his highnes most hono'ble privie councell. These dr."

[10 Septr. 1842] fol. 41 of same vol.

"Right ho^ble.

Being last night at the Exchandge, I enquired what ship carpenters Mr. Winthrop the Governor had with him in New England. Where I was enformed by Mr. Aldersy, the lord keepers brother in law and Mr. Cradock, that the Governor hath with him one William Stephens a shipwright, soe able a man, as they beleive there is hardly such an other to be found in this kingdome, there be 2 or 3 others, but for want of theire names, I could not be satisfied of them. this Stephens hath built here manie ships of great burthen, he made the Royal Merchant, a ship of 600 tonns. this man as they enformed me had more reguard to his substantiall performance, then the wages he was to receive, and soe grew to poverty, whereupon he was preparing to goe for Spayne, where he knew he should have wages answearable to his paynes, had not some friends perswaded him to N. England, where now he lives with great content; had the

State of Spayne obteyned him, he should have be'n as a pretious Jewell to them; I was further enformed that the plantation having warning this yeare, to accommodate themselves accordinglie, will be able next yeare to build a shipp of any burthen; I have here-inclosed sent yo'r hono'r the copie of the lords order, I pray God assist yo'r hono'r for the defence and mayntenance of this ho'ble work, and that those lewd and scandolous persons may receive their condigne punishem't, and the plantation proceed with incouradgemt. as yt doth observe, soe humbly craving pardon for this boldnes, dayly praying for yo'r honors health and happines to Gods glorie and the good of his church I rest

yo'r honors humble servant

3° Ja. 1632 EM. DOWNINGE."

Addressed "To the right hono'ble Sr. John Coke knt. principall Secretary to his Ma'tie and one of his highnes most hono'ble privie councell. these dr. at Court."

From Vol. I. of Papers called "New England Papers," fol. 145, 146.

"Most Honored Sir,

I receaved yours of the 14th of february last heer in Boston, by the hands of Cap. Baker the 28th of May, since which tyme I have had noe safe oportunitie to returne any answer. Sir In obedience to his Ma'ties comands I went imediately to the Governor to whome I shewed your letter and after a serious consultation with himselfe & some of others of aproved integrity and fidelity to his Ma'tie it was resolved to send some persons presently in persuance of Whaly & Goff, whoe were newly fled out of this jurisdiction, before your letters came, by reason the Governor had made a strict search for them, upon sight of a proclamation that came by way of Barbados hether wherein they were proclaymed Traytors; whereupon two persons were selected Mr. Tho. Kellond a marchant, & Mr Kirke cap. of a ship, who went hence the same day by post. The progresse

they made in this busines together with the Governors orders I have sent heer inclosed under the Secretarys hand, as also a copy of a letter & apollogy from one Mr. Davenport a minister, to me altogether unknowne.

Honored Sir, Haveing seriously considered of some expressions in your letter of his Ma'ties gratious acceptance of my former obedience and fidelity, as alsoe something of a more then ordinary earnestnes (as I conceaved) in his Ma'ties desyre of those Coll. aprehensions, and their safe conveying to London, I thought it my duty and humbly intreat it may not be imputed to presumption, that I heer beg leave to informe your honor of some thing in reference thereunto, leaveing the whole to your more exact and better judgment.

First, Sir, I conceave, and am of opinion, that these Coll. Whaly & Goff are still in this country and are concealed in some of the Southerne parts untill they may finde a better opertunity to make their escape; and for my ground of this beliefe, I have bin soe informed about two days since by one Mr. Pinchin and Cap. Lord two of the most considerable persons that live in those parts, with whome I have joyned myselfe in a secrett designe, only knowne to us three, resolving to use my uttmost indeavor to aprehend & secure their persons and have great hopes to effect it, if they are in these parts; and have allreddy given these gentlemen all the incouragement I could by assuring them how acceptable a service it will be to his Ma'tie and beneficiall to themselves, to whome I have alsoe comunicated your letter to me.

I shall not presume, most honored Sir, to give you any further trouble in this, but only to intreat you to lett his Ma'tie know that in all humble duty and reverence I cast myselfe at his most sacred feet, humbly acknowledging his great favor in those expressions of his gratious acceptance of my fidelity and obedience, intimated in your letter, for whose service I shall willingly hazard both life and fortune whenever he shall thinke me worthy that honor. and as to this particular concerning Whaly & Goff, as I have hetherto used all the dilligence & industry I am capable off, soe I shall still continue the same untill his Ma'ties comands are effected. And for your owne particular, Noble Sir, I have presumed to beseech this farther favor from you, that you would be pleased to cast your ey upon this enclosed paper

to yourselfe, when your leasure may permitt, it relates only to my owne affayres, which I durst not mingle with any thing concerns his Ma'tie. Soe most humbly and fervently recomending you to the safe protection of the Almighty, I remayne

Most honored Sir,
Your most humble and most obedient servant
T. TEMPLE."

Boston in N. E. the 20th
of August 1661.

Labelled "Boston 20 August, 1661
"From Coll. Temple to
Mr. Sec'y. Morice
about Goffe & Whalley."

—

Fol. 147 of same vol.

"Noble Sir,

Whom though unknowne to me by Face, as allso I am to yourselfe, I Honnour for your noble disposition & for your neare Relation, to my, Ever Honoured, Lord, Viscount, Say And Sele, unto whom I have bene continually neare 40 yeares Past, Exceedingly obliged for Sundry Testimoneyes of his Speciall Favors towardes me when I lived in London, & when I was in Holland, & after my Returne thence to London, And since my abode in this Wildernesse, which hath bine above 24 yeares. If the most high hath taken him From us, by Death, as I am Informed he hath, The King hath lost the Best of his Peeres & Counsaleirs for Godley Wisdome & Faithfulnesse, The Church and People of god an Assured Pattron, The Commons and Parliament a most Emminent Patriott, the Nobility a Singular Pattiren and ornament, And my Poore Worthlesse Selfe a most Honorable & Faithfull frend, And that in a time when I have most need of his helpe, which I am assured Would not have Failed my Confident Expectation, if any Complaint against me had bene Presented to his Honor with the rest of his Maj'ties most Hono'ble Councell. Multis ille Bonis Flebilis occiditt, Nulli Flebilior quam mihi. Yet as long as his right honorable Son, my lord Fines liveth, he cannot Die,

For in him & I hope in his Posterity that Noble Familey will be like that Golden tree the Boughes and Branches whereof Flourished in a Continuall Succession.

Uno Avulso non defficit alter
Aureus Et Simili Frondescens Virga Mettallo.

Sir, being Encouraged by some Expressions of your good affection toward mee, Brought to my Knowledge by one who came lateley, from Boston, heither, I take the Boldnesse to desier this Favor, that you would be pleased to cast your eyes uppon the Enclosed Appoligie, which I formerly Transmitted to the Deputy Govenor of Massachusets to be by him Communicated to the General Courte. In it you will Find myne Innocyency in Referance to the 2 Collonells to be shuch as might secure me From all feare of Danger & Futher molestation from his Ma'tie in that Respecte, yet because I am sensible of of Possible misrepresentations of mine actions, & Intentions, I humbly Crave leave to Intreate you to lay up in the Repositorie of your minde, your memorie, The true State of my Case that you may Speake a good an Seasonable word of truth in the Cause of the Dumbe & deafe, when God shall have Brought you in Safety to London, as occasion may be offired in the King's Courte, would my age which is past the great Climactericall yeare, & the weakness of my Boddy, which is under sensible decaies as well Shute with so long a Voyage as my minde is Propense to it, I should not Fear to answer anything that can be Suggested or objected against mee, in his Ma'tie presence, being Confident in the King's Justice and æqunimitie, that uppon a faire hearing I should be acquitted, & some in Boston who raile against mee, should have their Injurious mouthes Stopped, what Libbirty is denyed unto me, if God Inclyne & Encourage your hearte theirunto, a word From your noble selfe Spoken in Season may be blessed of god to make up, with advantage, & to worke Favorable & Right apprehensions aud perswations of mee in his Ma'tie & shuch of his most Hono'ble Councells as you maye have occasion of Discourse with aboute these matters.

This is my great Intendment in this lines, humbly to Crave your mindfulnesse of me & helpefulness Toward mee in this Exigent, And not for myselfe alone doe I make this humble Request, But also on the Behalfe of this Poore Col-

loney & of our Govenor & majestrates, who wanted neither will nor Industery to have served his Ma'tie in apprehending ye 2 Collonells, but were Prevented & Hindered by gods overruilling Providence, which withheld them that they Could not Exciqute their true Purpose therein; And the same Providence Could have done ye same, in the Same Curcumstances, if they had bine in London, or in the Tower, The Case was thus, The Collones hearing that some who had Entertained them, at their Houses, were in Extreme danger, uppon that Accompt to Prevent the same, Came from another Colloney where they were, & had bine somtime, to N. H: Professing, that their true Intentions, in their Coming at that time was to yeld themselves to be apprehended, for the afforesaid Purpose & accordingly they staied 2 dayes, This was knowne in the Towne, The D. G. waited for the Comming of the Govenor & other majestrats to this towne on the 2d. day, which they allso did according to Former Aggrement, Imediately uppon their Coming together, they fell into a Consultation, being out of any Feare of that which Followed, Before they had Issued their Consultation which was not long, the Collonels were gon away, no man knowing how nor whether, Thereuppon a Diligent Search was Renewed, & many were sent Forth on Foote & horsebacke, to recover them in to their hands, But all in vaine. I belive if his Ma'tie Rightly understood the Curcumstances of this Event he would not be displeased with our majestrates, but to accquiesce in the Providence of the most high well Knowing that the way of man is not in himselfe, but god worketh all things according to the Counsaile of his owne will, It is now high time that I begge pardon for putting so much trouble uppon you, & that I Conclude with my Prayers to him, whom windes & seas obey to Fill your sailes with Favorable windes & to Carrie your Person as uppon Eagles winges Far above the reach of all hurtfull Dangers, till he shall have landed you safe at your desiered Port, & then to make you a Blessed Instrument of some good unto this Poore Colloney & to myselfe, For which I shall Remaine

Noble Sir, your Humble Servt. & obliged
Faithfull Frend JOHN DAVENPORT.

N. H y'e 19th day of ye 6 mounth
Called Augst. 1661.

Sir,

If my lord Saye be yet in vivis, be pleased to Communicate ye inclosed to him, with ye reason of my not writing to his honor at Present, & my Earnest desier of his Favorable helpe, that ye King may be rightly informed Concerning me in this matter; if you shall find he is not in ye land of ye living my humble request is the same to my lord Fines. But if his honor have not Sufficient Interest in those about his ma'tie for shuch a purpose, my Intreaty to yourselfe is ye same aforementioned. Allso if the Deputy Govenor Mr. Bellingham hath not Rec'd. yt. Letter & ye Appologie to ye General Courte wch I sent above 5 weekes since be pleased to let him peruse this & gett a Coppie of it (I meane ye appoligie) transcribed & Retturne yours againe to your Noble Selfe, to be Improved as you find opertunity to ye best advantage on my behalfe, lastley lett it please you to accept a booke newly come forth wch I make bold to Present unto you for a vade mecum, in your voyage at sea, & for an helpe to Fix your Anchor aright when you come to land & for ever, ye lord Jesus be with you both at sea & land & to Etternity as a mighty Saviour

Amen Farewell, interim."

[12 Sept. 1842.] From Vol. II. of New England Papers, fol. 56.

" Right honourable,

In obedience to your hon'rs comands I have sent yu herew'th as full and true an Answer as I am capeable to give unto the 27 heads of Inquyrie, I received from your hon'rs by our agents, this being the first opertunyty that hath presented, since my receipt thereof, hoping of your hon'rs favourable acceptance thereof & satisfaccon thereby. And I do most humbly desire, that his ma'tie and your Lordships were truely and fully informed of the state and condicon of this his ma'ties Colony of the Massachusetts, and the temper, loyalty and good affeccon of his dutifull subjects here. For I understand, that there hath bene several misinformacons presented to his ma'tie and amongst others, that the Inhabitants here have not right to Land or Government but

are Usurpers, that we have protected the murtherers of his ma'ties Royall Father in Contempt of his ma'ties proclamacon of the 6th of June 1660, which is manefestly untrue. And that we violate all the acts of trade and navigation &c. whereby his ma'tie is damaged in his Customes to the value of 100,000£ yearly, and the kingdom much more, when as by the stricktest inquyry that I can make of merchants, unconcerned, and others there hath never bene 5000£ irregularly traded by the merchants of this place in a yeare. It is true now and then, a small vessell or two may slip asyde to France or Holland &c. which the greatest care and diligence can hardly alwayes prevent, yet the damage to his ma'tie is inconsiderable being only for goods imported; for what they carry from hence, the full custome is payd att the place from whence they first bring them, being the groath of some other of his ma'ties plantacons, and if they carry them to England, which generlly is done, they pay the Custome againe, of which our merchants much complaine, and is a temptacon to them to carry some pt. of them elsewhere; but if once discovered, it will make satisfaccon for many transgressions. And whatever omissions have bene formerly, I hope hereafter will be carefully redressed. Mr. Randolph, his ma'ties Collect'r here, hath bene very active, and diligent, in the discharge of his place & trust ever since he came hither, and hath had as much helpe and assistance from myselfe as I was able to afford, or hee in reason could desire, wch I doubt not, but hee will alwayes readyly acknowledge, yet I doe not heare that hee hath mett with any forfeits in this place, that hee hath seene cause to bring to tryall: hee hath sometyme complayned to mee of some affronts and discouragemt. wch. hee hath mett withall in words, which would have bene severly anymadverted upon could the persons offending have bene knowne. It is true that the people here shew him lyttle respect, or good affeccon, because they generally looke att him as one that beares noe good will to the Country, but sought the ruin of it, by being a meanes and instrument highly to incense his ma'tie and y'r honers against this poore place, and people, for which they are deepely senceable and sorrowfull, which noe thing but the shines of his ma'ties gracious Countenance, and your hon'rs just fav'r and

indulgence can remove and make glad; which with pardon for this bouldnes and trouble is humbly implored by

Your hon'rs humble and
most obedient Ser'vt.
SIMON BRADSTREET."

Boston 18 May 1680
The Lords of his Ma'ties Pr. Councill

Addressed
"For the Right honourable, the Lords of his ma'ties most hon'able privy Council being a Committee for trade and Forreigne Plantations.
theis humbly
present."

Labelled
"From the Governor of The Massachusetts with Answers to Inquiries. Rec'd. the 28 June 1680."

Fol. 58, 59, 60, 61, 62 of same vol.

An Answer of the Governor of his Majesties Colony of the Mattachusetts in New England to severall heads of Inquiry pursuant to the Order of the Right Honoble the Lords of his majesties privy Council, appointed a Comittee for trade and forreign plantations.

1°. Wee have one Generall Court or Assembly yearly for the Election of the Governor, Deputy Governour and Assistants chosen by the Freemen of the Company, who being so chosen are the standing Council of this Goverment. Wee may also have three more General Courts consisting of Governor, Deputy Governor Assistants and Freemen who have the Legislative power for making Laws rayseing mony's, granting Lands Setling Townships &c[a].

2°. Wee have yearely two Courts of Assistants held by the Governor Deputy Governor & Assistants and may have as many more as the occasion of the Corporation requires. This is the highest ordinary Court of Judicature which we have, and to which belongs the issuing of Appeales from Inferiour Courts, and tryal by Jurys of all capital Offenders

and maritime or Admiralty cases without a Jury according to the Sea Laws &c[a].

3°. Our Limits by pattent as now stated is divided into four parts or Countys, in every of which (for the ease of the people) there are held County Courts, kept by such magistrates and other fit persons as are appointed by the General Court, who have power to heare and determin all cases in that County civil mixt or criminall, not extending to life member or banishment, with liberty for any party greived to Appeale to the Court of Assistants.

4°. Our Statutes, Laws and orders are many, contained in a printed Booke too many and large to transcribe, Some whereof are repealed and more may suddenly bee as any of them may be found repugnant to the Laws of England or otherwise inconvenient.

5°. Wee have no standing Forces, but in our four County's about Forty townes in every of which generally there is a foote Company of listed soldiers, some bigger some lesser, trayned six times in a yeare; in Boston there are eight Company's, in Salem two, and in some other Townes there may bee two, where the Company's are compleate, they have a Capt'n. Lt. and Ensigne &c[a]. The lesser Company's commanded by inferiour Officers, in each County there is a Serjeant major, and over the whole a major Generall: Wee have also Six or Seven troopes of horse, all well armed both horse and foote, every Soldier by Law being required to bee alwaies furnished and have in a readiness one pound of powder with bullets match &c[a]. proportionable, and every Towne to have alwaies in readiness one barrell of powder for fifty Soldiers, and so proportionable, as a Town Stocke, this besides the Country's magazine.

6°. Wee have onely one Castle scituated upon an Island in the Bay about 3 or 4 miles from Boston, that commands the channel by which ships must pass to the Towne of a considerable strength furnished with about thirty guns, and a platforme by the water side, in the Towne and before the harbour, there is a Blockhouse and severall platformes or Battery's with guns mounted, and the like at Charlestowne to secure and defend the harbour. At Salem likewise there is a small Fort with some few guns in the Towne. The Castle in the Bay is kept with a small garrison in time of

peace, but may suddenly bee strengthened by Soldiers from the Adjacent Town's listed and in readines for that Service, and competently provided with victuals and Amunition.

7°. No privateers or pyrates frequents our Coasts: It may bee, once in Seven or ten yeares a prize may bee brought into our Harbour. About two yeares since one Capt. Bernard La Moyne a Frenchman brought hither a Dutch prize taken upon the Coast of Cuba by himselfe and some Englishmen, that assisted him, together with several wounded Dutchmen, which was a trouble and charge to us, one yet remaining amongst us decrepit and unfit for service. But the cargo was Sold or disposed of before the Ship came under comand, two or three more ships of the same company taken by him, hee or his men carryed into New York Road Island &c[a].

8.° The Strength of our Bordering Neighbours is not great, either English, French or Indians; The greatest strength of the Indians now since the Warr are the Maquees living about two hundred miles westward of us towards Canada, with whome wee have ever had Friendship since wee came hither; but of late are somewhat jealous of them, by reason of their receiving and entertaining severall of our Indian Enemies that fled from these parts in the time of the warr, & have carried it unhandsomly since towards our Freind Indians who are o'r Neighbours.

9°. Wee have little or no commerce with the French at Canada, they are reported to be four or five thousand men setled in severall plantations; They at Nova Scotia are but few and weake both at Sea and Land; wee keepe freindship with them and those at Canada, as with all other our Neighbours English & Indians, and of other nations here are none.

10°. Our bounds as now stated by his Majesty from three miles Northerly of Merrimack River to our Southerly line where wee joine to Plimouth Line, is by Land betwixt Forty and Fifty miles; but by Sea (the Land bending inwards) not more than eight or ten Leagues, and so to run in a streight line at both ends through the maine Land from Sea to Sea, the contents of Acres not to bee calculated, nor can it be knowne how much manurable Land there is im-

proved or unimproved. In generall the Country is full of rockey hills Swamps and other unprofitable Land and useless ground, not one Acre of ten or twenty in many places manurable or improvable for tillage or hardly for pasturage.

11°. The principall Townes of trade within our Goverment are Boston Charlestown and Salem, some little trade there is for Country people at Ipswich & Newberry &c^{a}. the buildings in the Country are generally of timber, many fortified with strong pallisados a good security against the Indians arrows and small shot: In Boston there are some houses of Brick and stone of competent strength and largeness sutable to the condition of the Owners: Since the last great fire in Boston, that consumed about two hundred houses besides warehouses &c^{a}. It is endeavoured and ordered that all should bee built in the places thereof with brick or Stone; which yet will hardly bee attained by reason of the poverty of the Inhabitants.

12°. There are as many precincts and divisions within our Goverment as there are Town's vizt. about Forty. In Boston there are three large Churches or meeting houses to wch belongs four ministers, the other Town's generally have one minister some two.

13°. Our chiefe Rivers are Merrimack navigable for small Vessells about twenty miles and Charles River, our harbours, Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Glocester, and Marblehead capable to receive Ships of good burthen.

14°. Wee have few or no manufactures as yet vendible in Forreign parts (at least considerable) the Cloth, both woolen and Linnen, Shoes, hats &c.^{a} made here are used and spent in the Country; our Staple comodities are fish, some peltry mostly traded with, or brought in by our Neighbours, horses, provisions, Cyder, boards timber pipestaves, mackaril and Fish hath formerly been more beneficiall for trade with other his Majesties plantations in America, then now they are, wherewith our merchants produced Sugars Rhum Indigo cotton wool Tobacco &c.^{a} which they transport usually in their own Vessels to England; Some pipe staves, fish, mackarel &c.^{a} wee send to Madera and western Islands, which procures wines for the use of the Country, and some to trade with other English plantations.

Wee have good timber for Shipping tarr pitch and Iron

made in the Country, though in noe great Quantity, hempe and Flax grow's well here, but labour so deare that it can not bee made a commodity to send to other parts; but is onely improved by the Country people for their own occasions: Wee have all our Rigging for Ships generally out of England much cheaper then it can bee made here, the truth is the Country in generall is very poore, and very hard it is for them to cloath themselves and Familys, especially since the great charges and taxes have been upon them, by reason of the late Indian warr, thô for victuall they make a reasonable good shift being a very laborious and industrious people and having Lands of their own. For at our first comming hither and ever since Lands were allotted and Townships granted freely without any purchase or reservacon of Rent, otherwise it was foreseen, the people would have been discouraged & the Country not Subdued and improved as now it is. The Comodities imported hither from England are of all sorts generally which that Land affords and may amount to the value of Forty or Fifty thousand pounds yearely.

15°. Some little tryal there hath been of makeing Saltpeter here, which there is no question but by Art may be done, but at so dear a rate by reason of the great wages, wee give for labour at present as makes it uncapable of being a comodity vendable in England, but to much loss.

16°. There may bee neer twenty English merchants within our Goverment bred up to that calling, and neer as many others that do trade and merchandize more or less; but Forreign merchants of other Nations we have none. — Planters and Servants wee have no certain Account of their number, but are in the generall intimated before; we account all generally from Sixteen to Sixty that are healthfull and strong body's both householders and Servants fit to beare Armes, except Negros and Slaves whom wee arme not.

17°. There have been very few English come to plant in this Jurisdiction for Seven yeares past and more, and few or no Scots Irish or Forreigners in the like space, they rather go to Carolina or other places more comodious and less inhabited, for with us all the Lands neer the Sea Coast are appropriated and improved, and up into the

Country is more difficult (especially for new comers) to plant and Subdue, and must be done by the Setled Inhabitants by degrees, as divers Towns already have been. — There hath been no Company of blacks or Slaves brought into the Country since the beginning of this plantation, for the space of Fifty yeares, onely one small Vessell about two yeares since after twenty months' voyage to Madagasca brought hither betwixt Forty and fifty Negro's most women and Children Sold here for ten 15£ and 20£ apeice, which stood the merchants in neer 40£ apeice one with another: "Now and then, two or three Negro's are brought hither from Barbados and other of his Majesties plantations, and sold here for about twenty pounds apeice, So that there may bee within our Goverment about one hundred or one hundred and twenty, and it may be as many Scots brought hither and sold for Servants in the time of the warr with Scotland, and most now married and living here, and about halfe so many Irish, brought hither at severall times as servants.

18°. There a very few blacks borne here I thinke not above or Six at the most in a yeare, none baptized that I ever heard of, the number of whites born yearly I cannot give an exact Acco't of, but Suppose there may bee four or five hundred born one yeare with another, most baptized except the Anabaptists who will not and some others that do not desire it.

19°. As for marriages there are about two or three hundred yearely it may bee somewhat more.

20°. I thinke that ordinarily there are more born then dye in a year, except in the time of the Indian Warr and the small pox about two year's since, wherein many more dyed then was borne; for the warrs consumed Seven or eight hundred and the small pox no less.

21°. It's hard to give a true and certain estimate of merchants Estates, which many cannot do themselves; but there are two or three in our Corporation that may bee worth Sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds apeice, some few others worth eight or ten thousand pounds apeice, a third sort worth four or five thousand pounds apeice, and some worth little or nothing; Few planters or Country people have any great Estates, hee is accounted a rich man in the Country that is worth one thousand or Fifteen hun-

dred pounds, where Land is esteemed far above the true worth, or proportionable to the rent that it will give, and it must bee a very great stock of cattle that will amount to five hundred pounds, and more then ordinarily any man in the Country keepes, they bearing no greater price here then in England if so much, the wealth of our Colony is rather in conceit then in reality.

22°. There about one hundred or one hundred and twenty Ships Sloopes Katches and other Vessells that trade to and from hence yearly of our own or English built, most of them belonging to this Colony ; wee have eight or ten Ships of one hundred ton's or upwards, three or four of two hundred ton's or more, and about forty or Fifty fishing Katches of betwixt twenty and Forty ton's ; Six or eight English Ships do usually come hither yearly belonging to the Kingdom of England, bringing comodities of all sorts from thence.

23°. The obstructions wee [meet] with in our trade is the generall decay of any profitable trade in the places wee mostly trade unto, viz^{t}. to all his Majesties plantations in America, where wea vend our horses, boards timber provision, mackaril fish, &c^{a}. for the comodities of those places which are spent here or transported into England, but finde those markets many times so overlaid and clogged with the like comoditys from England Ireland and other places, that many of our comodities are sold at cheaper rates many times then they were worth at home. 2'ly. The Algeir men of warr infesting the Seas in Europe have taken some of our Ships and men, which is a discouragement to our trade and navigation. 3^{ly}. The French at Nova Scotia, or Acada (as they call it) do interrupt our Fishers in those parts, and Sr. Edmond Andros Governour of New Yorke for his highness the Duke of Yorke doth the like betwixt the French and Pemaquid, requiring duty to be paid to them by all our Vessells that fish in those Seas, otherwise threatning to make prize of them, which hath been alwaies formerly free for his Majesties Subjects for Fishing ever since we came hither: Wee humbly pray to understand his Majesties pleasure herein. 4^{ly}. The double custom which our merchants pay for Sugar Indigo Cotton wool Tobacco &c^{a}. first at the places from whence they fetch these comodities,

the greatest part whereof is transported from hence to England, where they pay the full custome again.

24°. The greatest advantage and improvement of our trade and incouragement of this poore plantation will bee his Majesties gracious Favour and protection of us (and of your Honors under him) in the free and full injoiement of all our liberties and priviledges granted by his Royal Father of blessed memory, and confirmed by his present Majesty in his gracious Letter of 22th. of June 1662 with an additionall gratious and princely promiss to advance the benefit trade and welfare of this his Majesties Colony by his utmost indeavour. 2ly. A free trade, if it may stand with his Majesties pleasure (at least for some few ships for some time) in regard of that low condition, with this Colony is now reduced unto by the late Indian warr, wherein (for the safeguard of our Selves & neighbours) wee expended above Forty thousand pounds, and the two great fires in Boston, the first whereof consumed above 70 houses the latter about 200 dwelling houses, with many Warehouses, whereby it is thought the third part (at least) of the wealth of Boston was consumed.

25°. Wee impose no rates or duty's upon goods exported they being generally the produce of the Country got with hard labour and sold at low prizes, or such as have paid large Custom's to his Majesty at the ports from whence they are brought hither, and but one penny per pound upon goods imported, when they come into the merchants hands, which is the taxe wee have set upon houses Lands cattle and other Estate of the Country yearly, which with twenty pence per head poll money, and a small rate upon wine Rhum Cyder beare &c.a amounts neer Fifteen hundred pounds per annum, which is all the taxe and revenue wee have for the support of the Goverment, Salary's to Officers, charges of Fortifications, garrison at the castle &c.a but in the time of the Indian warr, were forced to have 10 or 15 of those rates upon all mens Estates in a year which hath much impoverished the Country, and yet we remain much in debt to this day.

26°. Our Religion in matters of Doctrine which wee profess, is the same with the Churches of England Scotland and Ireland, and other reformed Orthodox Churches in Eu-

rope &c[a]. As to the Discipline and Goverment of the Church, that which is owned and practized generally by ministers and people as with one consent is that which is called the Congregationall way (except some few Anobaptists generally of the meanor sort to the number according to my best estimation of about Eighty or one hundred, and neere halfe so many Quakers which hold their seperate meetings; the latter wee cannot account amongst the number of Christians, haveing denyed the Faith and the Lord Jesus Christ to bee the Saviour of mankinde and by their tenents overthrowing all the fundamentall points of Christian Riligion, as appeares in their printed bookes, whose principles (as his Majesty well observes in his gracious Letter of 28 June 1662) are inconsistent with any kinde of Goverment.

27°. Wee have as many Churches as Townes except two or three not yet fully Setled, and a minister belonging to every one of them; some have two apeice, so through the mercy of God wee want none; but some able Schollars fit for the ministery rather want imploiment. And for the instruction of the people they generally preach twice on the Lords dayes, besides Lectures, in some of the biggest Townes on the weeke dayes, and chatechizeing of Children, and the youth of the place as they have oppertunity. As to the maintenance of ministers in Boston, it is by a voluntary, weekely, contribution, well pleasing to ministers and people, but in the rest of the Townes generally by a yearly Assesement of all the Inhabitants of the place; which they freely assent unto, the severall Courts takeing speciall care that all ministers have comfortable maintenance allowed them according to the poor ability of the place and people. Wee have no beggars and few idle Vagabonds, except now and then some Quakers from Road Island &c[a]. that much molest us and endanger the seducing of the people, where they come. And all Townes are enjoined by Law to take care of and provide for all the poore decayed and impotent persons within their respective limits, which accordingly they doe.

Finished these transcriptions 14 Septr. 1842.

There is a printed proclamation, with the seal on the top, "To our Brethren and Friends, the Inhabitants of the

Colony of the Mattachusetts," "dated in Boston the 7th of December, 1675." "By the Council, Edward Rawson Secret." It relates altogether to the war with the Indians, to explain its origin, and justify its necessity. There is a letter, or copy of one, from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, dated about 1637, in which it is plain he was to have been Governor General of the New England Colonies, if happy circumstances had not defeated that project. A catalogue of Harvard College of 1674, printed on a single Broadside, having the masters indicated to 1671 inclusive and bachelors of the later year, is dedicated, like the old fashioned Theses, to John Leverett, &c. &c. and the Vice Governors, &c. &c. signed L. H. initials of President Hoar. Besides these, an enumeration of the inhabitants of Virginia, in the early part of 1635, in the several small settlements respectively, not one exceeding 900, and the aggregate being 5059, including 145 just arrived from Bermudas, if my memory carried the particulars correctly, may be found.

Sufficient importance did not attach to these papers, or several others, to engage my time. Of the liberality, with which the use of such materials is permitted, the agent of the State of New York will soon furnish most abundant evidence, if the expense of making copies be not too great for the contemplated value. As my own researches were less dignified in object and less comprehensive in extent, it may not be amiss to give the manner of application and the reply.

The Undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, has the honor to acquaint the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that Mr. James Savage, of Boston in the United States, has lately arrived in London, for the purpose of pursuing his inquiries into the personal history of the first settlers of New England; — a subject on which he has already bestowed much successful labor. Mr. Savage's researches are exclusively literary and historical, undertaken solely to gratify a liberal curiosity and to throw light on the character of the founders of his native country. He has no political object whatever,

and does not wish to pursue his investigations below the year 1688.

The Undersigned requests that Mr. Savage may have access to the books in the State Paper office, including those lately removed from the Board of Trade, under such restrictions as Lord Aberdeen may think proper; — and the Undersigned cheerfully pledges himself, on behalf of Mr. Savage, that he will make use of the permission, if granted to him, in good faith, for the sole object for which it is sought.

[Signed] EDWARD EVERETT.

46 Grosvenor Place,
29 June, 1842.

Lord Aberdeen presents his compliments to Mr. Everett, and in reply to his note of the 29th instant, requesting that Mr. James Savage of Boston, may be permitted to examine certain Records in the State Paper Office down to the year 1688, with a view to elucidate the early history of New England, has the honor to inform Mr. Everett, that orders have been given that Mr. Savage may have free access to the volumes of the State Papers prior to and including the year 1688, with reference to the object which Mr. Savage is stated to have in view.

Mr. Savage will however, like Mr. Brodhead, be expected to pursue his examination of the Volumes submitted to him in the presence of an Officer of the State Paper Office, to mark with slips of paper such Papers as he may wish to have Copies or Extracts of, and not to transcribe, or make Extracts of any of them, until the Papers so indicated shall have been examined and allowed on the part of Lord Aberdeen.

Foreign Office,
July 2, 1842.

Probably the visit to Boston, in Lincolnshire, and partial examination of its records may vindicate a claim to short notice here.

On 13 August the Records of the Municipal government were by the Mayor submitted to my inspection with full liberty to make extracts. Few formal statements of such

concerns as necessarily occupied the deliberations of Aldermen and Common Councilmen in a Provincial town two hundred years since may seem worth copying, and I selected but two dates out of a long lapse of time: "At an Assembly there holden upon Friday the xxth. day of October 1620, before the Maior, Aldermen and Common Council,"

(Here are names of absent Aldermen) (Absent Councilmen)

The first article mentioned in the record of this meeting is receipt of payment of a sum of money from Sir John Read.

"Item at this Assembly there is delivered out of the Treasury to Thomas Leverett the sum of £5. xviii*s.* 9*d.* expended by him in riding to London, and charges in Law, and for two messengers sent this last vacation, & for money expended by Mr. Askham for the copy of the Demurrer this last vacation about the town's land now in suit in the Chancery."

"At an Assembly holden at the Guildhall of the Borough of Boston in the County of Lincoln this xxiith day of July 1633 before the Maior, Aldermen & Common Council;

At this Assembly Mr. John Cotton late Vicar of Boston yielded up his place of being Vicar by his letter dated in July 1633, which this house have accepted.

At this Assembly Mr. Atherton Hough, an Alderman of this Borough, hath surrendered his place of Aldermanship within this Borough by his letters under his hand this day delivered & read at this Assembly, and this house hath accordingly accepted the same.

At this Assembly Mr. Thomas Leverett, an Alderman of this Borough hath surrendered his place of Aldermanship within this Borough by his letters under his hand delivered and read at this Assembly, and this house hath accepted thereof accordingly.

At this Assembly there was an intimation delivered to the Maior & Burgesses of this Borough from the right honorable John, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, by the hands of Mr. Thomas Cony of this town, intimating that the eight of July 1633 Mr. John Cotton, late Vicar of Boston, had resigned his said vicarage to the said Bishop, and that the said Lord Bishop did the same day at his house in the College of Westminster accept of the same resignation, and did then

pronounce the same vicarage to be actually void of Incumbent, and that he did then by the said Thomas Cony intimate to the Maior & Burgesses of Boston the voydance of the same to the end that the said Maior and Burgesses may when they please present some able person thereunto."

Forthwith the Corporation proceeded, as the Record shows, and made choice of Mr. Anthony Tuckney to be their Vicar. He, we know, became one of the most celebrated divines in England, was appointed one of the famous Westminster Assembly, and afterwards Master of Emanuel College, and Vice Chancellor of the University.

Of our Samuel Whiting of Lynn, Farmer has told, that he was son of John, mayor of Boston. The family was in high repute there, we may infer, for Thompson's History of the Borough shows, that John was mayor in 1600, and again in 1608, that John Whiting junr., probably son of the former, and brother of our divine, was Mayor in 1626, and John Whiting, reasonably to be regarded as the same gentleman, was in the same office in 1633 and again 1644 and 1655. Skirbeck church, where S. Whiting was minister, is less than a mile from Boston, which is in Shirbeck wapentake, the river Witham dividing the parishes.

In 1628 Atherton Hough was Mayor, this office being filled from the Board of Aldermen, and I doubt not it was the same man, and not, as Farmer supposes, his son, who resigned his place of Alderman, according to the record above, in 1633, when about to accompany his spiritual guide to our country, where they arrived 4 Septr. of the same year.

By the same authority of Thompson we learn, that Richard Bellingham was Recorder of Boston from 1625 to 1633. He came in the following year, not, as Hutchinson implies, 1635.

Commock, known to our early historians as a nephew of the Earl of Warwick, I found a common family name at Boston in those times, when the records also mention an Edmund Jackson, a Thomas Scott, besides a John Wright, who was an Alderman in 1630. It may not be a worthless conjecture, that persons bearing those names here a few years later were all drawn by the influence of Cotton to be of his flock or neighborhood on this side of the ocean, if they had been taught by him in old England.

For giving the two following letters, of which the originals are in possession of one of our countrymen, domiciled in London, though they are not connected with our early history, yet being letters of Washington, hitherto unpublished, who kept no copies of them, in the opinion of Professor Sparks, apology must be unnecessary.

Copy of a letter from Washington, addressed "To the Hon. I. Palmer, Watertown."

(All in his handwriting, well known to me. J. S.)

"CAMBRIDGE, Augt. 7th, 1775.

Sir, — Your favour of yesterday came duely to my hands — as I did not consider local appointments, as having any operation upon the general one, I had partly engaged (at least in my own mind) the office of Quartermaster Genl. before your favour was presented to me. In truth, Sir, I think it sound policy to bestow offices indiscriminately among Gentlemen of the different Governm'ts. for as all bear a proportionable part towards the expence of this War, if no Gentleman out of these four Governments come in for any share of the appointments, it may be apt to create jealousies which will, in the end, give disgust; for this reason, I would earnestly recom'd it to your Board to provide for some of the Volunteers who are come from Philadelphia, with very warm recommendations, tho' strangers to me.

In respect to the Boats &ª. from Salem, I doubt, in the first place, whether they could be brought over by Land — in the second, I am sure nothing could ever by executed here by surprise, as I am well convinced that nothing is transacted in our Camp, or Lines, but what is known in Boston in less than 24 hours, — indeed, circumstanced as we are, it is scarce possible to be otherwise, unless we were to stop the communication between the Country & our Camp & Lines, in which case, we sh'd render our supplies of milk, vegetables, &ª. difficult & precarious. We are now building a kind of Floating Battery; when that is done, and the utility of it discovered, I may possibly apply for Timber to build more, as circumstances shall require.

I remain with great esteem, Sir,

y'r most h'ble serv't.

GO. WASHINGTON."

Another letter, of same hand, addressed like the former, taken from another volume of MSS.

"Cambridge, Augt. 22d, 1775.

Sir, — In answer to your favour of yesterday, I must inform you, that I have often been told of the advantages of Point Alderton with respect to its command of the shipping going in and out of Boston Harbour; and that it has, before now, been the object of my particular enquiries — That I find the accounts differ exceedingly in regard to the distance of the ship channel, — & that, there is a passage on the other side of the light House Island for all vessells except ships of the first Rate.

My knowledge of this matter would not have rested upon enquiries only, if I had found myself at any one time since I came to this place, in a condition to have taken such a Post. But it becomes my duty to consider, not only what place is advantageous, but what number of men are necessary to defend it — how they can be supported in case of an attack — how they may retreat, if they cannot be supported — & what stock of ammunition we are provided with for the purpose of self defence, or annoyance of the Enemy. — In respect to the first, I conceive our defence must be proportioned to the attack of Genl. Gage's whole force (leaving him just enough to man his Lines on Charles Town Neck & Roxbury) and with regard to the second, and most important object, we have only 184 Barrls. of powder in all, which is not sufficient to give 30 musket cartridges a man, and scarce enough to serve the artillery in any brisk action a single day.

Would it be prudent then in me, under these circumstances, to take a Post 30 miles distant from this place when we already have a Line of Circumvallation at least Ten miles in extent, any part of which may be attacked (if the Enemy will keep their own Council) without our having one hours previous notice of it? — Or is it prudent to attempt a measure which necessarily would bring on a consumption of all the ammunition we have; thereby leaving the army at the mercy of the Enemy, or to disperse, & the Country to be ravaged, and laid waste at discretion? — To you, Sir, who is a well-wisher to the cause, and can reason upon the ef-

fects of such a Conduct, I may open myself with freedom, because no improper discoveries will be made of our Situation; but I cannot expose my weakness to the Enemy (tho' I believe they are pretty well informed of every thing that passes) by telling this, and that man, who are daily pointing out this — that — and t'other place, of all the motives that govern my actions, notwithstanding I know what will be the consequence of not doing it — namely, that I shall be accused of inattention to the publick Service — and perhaps with want of Spirit to prosecute it. But this shall have no effect upon my conduct. I will steadily (as far as my judgment will assist me) pursue such measures as I think most conducive to the Interest of the cause, & rest satisfied under any obloquy that shall be thrown, conscious of having discharged my duty to the best of my abilities.

I am much obliged to you however, as I shall be to every Gentleman, for pointing out any measure which is thought conducive to the publick good, and cheerfully follow any advice which is not inconsistent with, but correspondent to, the general Plan in view, & practicable under such particular circumstances as govern in cases of the like kind. — In respect to point Alderton, I was no longer ago than Monday last, talking to Genl. Thomas on this head, & proposing to send Colo. Putnam down to take the distances &c^{a}. but considered it could answer no end but to alarm, & make the Enemy more vigilant, unless we were in a condition to possess the Post to effect. I thought it as well to postpone the matter a while.

I am, Sir,

Y'r very hble. serv't.

G. Washington."

Few and slight as these memorials appear, they amply repay my short research; nor may they be wholly useless, if others are excited hereby, through more patient labors, to more successful acquisitions. The land of our fathers' sepulchres is abundant in objects of liberal inquiry, hoary with ancient renown, or brilliant in recent improvement; and each class invites attention from citizens of our republic, one as generous competitors in civilization, the other as partakers of a common inheritance. More than six hundred

years ago, our progenitors assisted in the solemnity of laying the foundations of Magna Charta, and no violence has yet reached deep enough to disturb the fabric of human rights erected by the Laws of England, however changed have been parts of the superstructure, and occasionally fantastic some division of the ornaments. In the offspring the inhabitants of that island, generally, seemed to me willing to perceive no degeneracy, and to rejoice at our enterprize, and to desire our welfare.

29 Decr. 1842.

Note. An error is observable in the date of certificate No. 20 in the list of passengers of the Hercules of Sandwich, p. 275, 26 Mar. 1634, which, in the old mode of computation, would have been eleven months and eighteen days earlier than that immediately preceding, 16 Mar. 1634. We might presume, that both referred to our reckoning of the year, as March was the first month, though the first day of the year was 25th March; but this is forbidden by some of the dates being in February, and there can be no doubt, that voyage was in 1635. By the letter of the officers of the Custom House, on p. 319, we find, that the regulation from the Commissioners of the Privy Council was not issued before the month of December 1634. At the beginning of a year, most persons are liable to a similar mistake, in dating a letter, to use the old, instead of the new number.

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